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The life of Erasmus

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SYSTON PARK.

T H E
L I F E
O F
E R A S M U S.

(John Fortin)

V O L. II.

*Ego nullius obscuro gloriam, nullius obſto commodis, nullius obſtrepo ſtudiis;
non ambio dignitates, non venor quæſtum; ſed quaecunque talentu-
lum meum in commune profero. Cui mea non placent, liberum eſt
abſtinere.*

ERASMUS.

L O N D O N,

Printed for J. WHISTON and B. WHITE, in Fleet-Street.

M.DCC.LX.

T. H. E.

L I F E

O F

E R A S M U S

V O L . II.

Ego nullius obsequio gloriam, nullius obsequio commodis, nullius obsequio studiis;
non ambio dignitates, non cerno quaestum; sed quaecunque talentum
meum in commune profecto. Qui me non faciant, liberum est
oblivisci.

ERASMUS

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

L O N D O N

Printed for J. Whiston and B. White, in Fleet-Street.

M D C C I X

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C O N T E N T S.

B O O K I.

The Life of ERASMUS.

B O O K II.

Remarks upon the Works of ERASMUS.

B O O K III.

*Appendix, containing Extracts from ERASMUS, and
from other Writers.*

INDEX to the two VOLUMES.

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BOOK I.

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REMARKS

ON THE

WORKS

OF

ERASMUS.

BEFORE we offer Remarks on the *Works of Erasmus*, we will give some Account of the Judgments which learned Men have passed upon him.

In the First Tome of his Works, amongst the *Prolegomena*, are collected *Testimonia Principum*, &c. The testimony of Princes and learned men in favour of Erasmus.

They are Leo X, Adrian VI, Paul III, the Emperor Charles V, Ferdinand Arch-duke of Austria, Henry VIII, Sigismund King of Poland, Cardinal Bembus, Raphael Cardinal of St. George, Alphonsus Fonseca Archbishop of Toledo, Peter Bishop of Cracow, Joannes Turzo Bishop of Breslaw, Sadolet, Stanislaus Turzo Bishop of Olmutz, Paulus Jovius, Franciscus Deloinus, Guil. Budæus, Thomas More, Lil. Gregorius Gyraldus, Joan. Sturmius, Luther, Barthol. Latomus, Andr. Alciatus, Lud. Vives, Camerarius, Joan. Sleidanus, Adrianus Junius, Conrad. Gesnerus, Theod. Beza, Jac. Boissardus, Jos. Scaliger,

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B

liger, Gaspar Scioppius, Dominic. Baudius, Sweertius, Joan. Maldonatus, Aubertus Miræus, Ger. Vossius, Grotius, Episcopus, Calixtus, Huetius, Rolandus Marefius, Morhofius, Hofmannus.

Of these testimonies we shall pass over such as are mere compliments, and select those which are rather of the critical kind, and add to them several more which we have collected from various authors.

PAULUS JOVIUS.

Erasmus — perpetuis eruditæ laudis honoribus extollendus videtur, postquam ætatis nostræ scriptorum prope omnium decus, ingenii fertilitate, superavit. Is ab adolescentia pio religioso animi decreto, ad cucullatos sacerdotes se contulit, tanquam humana despiceret. Sed non multo post pertæsus intempestivæ servitutis, votique temere suscepti, ea sacri Ordinis septa transiit; ut ad excolendum ingenium plane liber per omnia Europæ gymnasia vagaretur. Contendebat enim cura ingenti ad summæ gloriæ fastigium, ad quod literarum omnium cognitione perveniri posse intelligebat. Quum jam ad arcana cujusque doctrinæ infinita lectione inusitataque memoria penetrasset, edidit *Moriam*, atque inde primam nominis famam longissime protulit, imitatione Luciani Satyræ, pungentes aculeos passim relinquens; omnium scilicet sectarum actionibus ad insaniam revocatis. Opus quidem falsa adspersione perjucundum, vel gravibus et occupatis; sed sacro viro prorsus indecorum, quum divinis quoque rebus illuisse videretur. Sed mature demum, quod ejus intemperantiæ male audiendo pœnas daret, sanctiores literas complexus est, tanta robustissimi ingenii contentione, ut vertendo Græca et Commentarios excudendo, plura quam quisquam alius, volumina publicaret. Verum seipso haud dubie cunctis admirabilior futurus, si Latinæ linguæ conditores graviter imitari, quam fervido properantique ingenio indulgere maluisset. Quærebat enim peculiarem laudem ex elocutionis atque structuræ novitate, quæ nulla certe Veterum æmulatione pararetur, ut in *Ciceroniano* non occulti livoris plenus ostendit. Tanta enim erat naturæ fecunditas, ut plena semper, ac ideo superfætante alvo, varia et festinata luxuriantis ingenii prole delectatus, novum aliquid, quod statim ederetur, Chalcographis, tanquam intentis obstetricibus, parturiret. —

Varro sui sæculi, et *Cicero* Germaniæ.

Paulus

^a *Paulus Jovius*, who thus animadvert upon the style of Erasmus, had been better employed in mending his own, which is certainly inferior to that of Erasmus, and condemned by many learned Critics. However some of these censurers seem to have treated Jovius rather too severely, whose diction, though florid and full of affectation, is lively and perspicuous. If it be sometimes impure and unclassical, as indeed it is, yet this will be the case, more or less, with the Moderns, and it is hardly possible to compose much in a dead language without falling now and then into errors of that kind.

There is a worse fault in this Bishop, and that is, that he writes like a very Pagan, and is for ever talking of *Fate*, and *Fortune*, and the *immortal Gods*; a fault which Erasmus hath frequently and justly censured in some of his contemporaries. Jovius, as he was very ingenious, is, with all his defects, an agreeable and entertaining writer.

JOANNES TURZO.

"*Turzo*, Bishop of Breslaw, had great connections with Erasmus, and took a long voyage on purpose to be personally acquainted with him; like that citizen of Cadiz, who, as Pliny relates, came to Rome, only to see Livy. *N. Bibl. German. Juillet -- Septembre 1758. p. 136.*"

Mr. de Miffy gave me this extract. Turzo had indeed the highest ^b esteem for Erasmus; but as to the Voyage mentioned by the Journalist, it is a mistake.

STURMIUS.

Erasmus Rot. qui copiam Linguae Latinae auxit, vir ad omne genus scribendi naturâ idoneus, exercitatione etiam perfectus, si odio Longoliani instituti, delectum verborum, et curam stylo non recusasset adhibere; in Religionis autem tractatione, nescio quomodo, cum omnium literatorum hominum gratia et favore, plusquam Lutherus, urbanitate, Pontificiorum et Monachorum auctoritati obfuit.

^a Bayle *Jove*. Pope Blount, p. 447.

^b *Life of Erasm.* p. 212.

HENR. BULLINGERUS.

—— ^c *Versatus* sum in Schola Colonienſi —— Deguſtavi tum quoque Theologiam Scholaſticam — Sed, Deo ita volente, et Auguſtini Eraſmique libris aliquot prælucentibus, melioribus ſtudiis et ſinceriori Theologiæ memet conſecrare cœpi.

ANTONIUS THYSIUS.

Exhibemus tibi — Eraſmi vitam — qui tot volumina conſcripſit, quot alii vix legere; qui acri judicio, ſtylo volubili tantum nomen accepit, ut nonnullis etiam eruditis invidiam crearet. Quale hoc, per Deum immortalem, Andreæ Schotti, viri cæteroquin eruditi, judicium, qui tam egregia Eraſmi opera ne quidem lectione dignatur, ſi Proverbiorum opus exceperis? Qui naturæ ejus fœcunditatem, quæ exuberanti amni ſimilis ſeipſam non capit, vitio vertit? Et hoc ideo, ſi diis placet, quia Ciceronis verba ubique non captat. — *Quæ* porro hic concumulata ſunt, Pauli Merulæ diligentia, vel Petri Scriverii induſtria ſuppeditavit. Quin et ipſum Eraſmi autographum, de vita ejus ne quis dubitet, adhuc integrum exſtat in inſtructiſſima Bibliotheca Hieronymi de Backere. ——

Schottus was a Jeſuit and a Ciceronian; and upon both accounts too much prejudiced againſt Eraſmus, to be capable of forming a proper judgment of his abilities, which ſurpaſſed thoſe of Schottus beyond all compariſon.

The Abbé Longuerue deſpiſed Schottus as much as Schottus deſpiſed Eraſmus.

“ *What* a wretched tranſlator, ſays he, is the Jeſuit Schottus! He knows not what he is about, and his ^d Verſion of Photius is for the moſt part the work of his ſcholars.” *Longuer.* l. 23.

CAMERARIUS.

Eraſmus, cum et ingenio eſſet præditus eccellente, et ſtudiï induſtria non facile alteri cuiquam cederet, copia artium et literarum inſtructus, neglectos jamdudum et in pulvere jacentes libros et monumenta doctrinæ Chriſtianæ in lucem reduxit, et ad hos in manus ſumendos hominum cupiditatem excitavit. Cum autem hoc pulcherrimo factō quampluri-

^c *Epist.* ad Marcum A. 1545. in *Hæſæi* Bibl. Brem. Claſſ. iii. Faſc. 6. p. 1064.

^d *Vid.* Fabric. Bibl. Gr. ix. 379.

morum odia erga se commovisset et irritasset animos, distractæ cogitationes illius et impedita opera nonnunquam fuit, necessitate quadam defensionis, dum a se quasi vim et injuriam insectationum propulsare cogitur. Sed nimirum verum id est, quod Senarius Latinus memorat,

Nimis altercando veritas amittitur.

Nam et semel ille quasi impulsus, ruere deinde cœpit, responsumque et assertionum frequentia, cum longius interdum ab instituto videretur recessisse, tum certe his occupationibus commoda, quæ interea conciliari studiosis piarum literarum potuissent, fuerunt interversa. Neque ego video, quæ gratia ab ullo digne meritis ipsius haberi possit; cujus diligentia, labore, assiduitate, et constantia illis temporibus periculosa, perfectum est ut et libros Scriptorum Apostolicorum et Evangelicæ Historiæ integros purosque habeamus. Neque mea quidem sententia, ullius operæ, quæ corrigendo ultra Erasmicas notationes progrediatur, locus est relictus.

THUANUS.

At Protestantes laudas, quos nempe Vatinus
 Debueras odisse odio, et cane pejus et angue.
 Eloquium quidni laudem, ingeniumque colendis
 Artibus, et si quid calamo vel voce valebant? —
 Ergo Leunclaius, Gesnerus, Fabriciusque
 Dictus honorifice, Camerarius, atque Xylander,
 Insuper et plures alii. Quid magnus Erasmus?
 Mene in eum, cui res tantum^e literaria debet,
 Et debebit adhuc, genuinum stringere? crimen,
 Vos veneror, Manes, hoc a me, deprecor, absit.
 At peccavit. Homo fuit, atque humanus Erasmus,
 Humane et carpi voluit, placideque moneri.
 Hem, quis homo es, qui ferre alium nequis, improbe, lapsu]
 Peccantem humano, cum tu deterrima pecces
 Interea, inque homines Divosque injurius ipsos,
 Obscœnasque cavo luctantis pectoris antro
 Admota doleas face perlucere latebras?

^e A false quantity: unless he intended to say *litraria* for *literaria*, as *porgite* for *porigite*. But this, I think, is hardly allowable.

Sunt

Sunt hominum ætates variæ : juveniliter illum
 Exultasse stylo fateor. Verum ultima semper
 Distractæ studiis spectanda est clausula vitæ ;
 Quæ pulchra in Batavo fuit irreprehensaque cycno.
 Ad Belgas testis quam scripsit^f epistola fratres.

De Vita sua, L. v. p. 83.

J. CÆS. SCALIGER.

In his *Poetica*, he hath passed this judgment upon Erasmus, that he was *Homo ex alieno ingenio poëta, ex suo versificator*. His meaning was, that Erasmus, when he copied or translated ancient poets, appeared as a poet ; but when he made poems of his own invention, was only a versifier. His remark is perhaps true enough. But what sort of poet was Scaliger ? “ His poems, says Menage, make an huge volume in octavo. Scarcely are there four or five epigrams in the whole collection that can pass muster.” *Menagian*. ii. 275.

AVENTINUS.

Universos quoque Veteris ac Novi Instrumenti libros, librariorum imperitia, lectorum oscitantia, interpretum inscitia, et incuria temporum depravatos, ad amussim et veritatem fontis correxit [Carolus Magnus.] Existat publicum decretum : nec sivit, ut tanti imperatoris verbis utar, in divinis lectionibus, templisque, inter sacra officia, inconditos solœcismos, barbarismosque inconcinnos obstrepere : in quibus quidam religiosuli, nostra memoria, sanctitatem collocant, quasi vero erroris aut inscitiae turpitudine, præstigiøsæ atri genii tenebræ, iraque superum, Deo optimo scientiæ et sapientiæ largitori fabroque complacent. Atque illi crabrones iniquissimo ferunt animo, quod nostro demum felicissimo (Christo propitio) seculo, Erasmus Roterodamus (quo nemo multis jam ætatibus utilior Christiano contigit orbi) jussu Leonis decimi Pontificis maximi, novi Instrumenti sacros libros ad Græcorum fidem, hoc est, veritatis fontem, emendavit.

Joannes & *Aventinus* Annal. Boiorum L. iv. Ed. Francof. 1627. pag. 221.

^f Thuanus doth no honour to his own judgment, in thus recommending that peevish Letter of Erasmus.

^g Life of Eras. p. 98.

SCALI-

SCALIGERANA.

Erasmus perspicacissimo vir ingenio, seipso haud dubio futurus major (quod scribit Paulus Jovius) si Latinæ Linguae conditores imitari, quam petulanti linguæ indulgere maluisset. *Erasmi Chiliades* excellentissimum opus. Nimius tamen fuit, et quandoque sapit Germanum, videtur enim magnum numerum affectasse, eadem quater repetens.

Potissima ejus opera sunt *Chiliades*, *Epistolæ*, et novum Testamentum, quod bonum est. Non paucis erroribus laborant, quoad Latinitatem, ejus *Colloquia*. Nimio habet in pretio Latinitatem Hieronymi, qui male loquebatur. *Erasmus* melius quam ille loquebatur. Nullus unquam sive *Papista*, sive *Lutheranus*, sive *Calvinista* præstantiorem elucubravit librum nec elegantiorum ejus in novum Testamentum *Paraphrasi*. Quamvis parens meus adversus *Erasmi* calamum strinxerit, magni tamen *Erasmi* facio: magnus fuit vir. O quam præclara *Epistola* in ejus *Epistolarum* fronte scripta est! *Erasmus* magnus vir divinam edidit *Paraphrasin*, *Erasmi* *Præfatio* in *Senecam* est præstantissima: optime de eo judicavit, melius adhuc quam *Lipsius*. Poenituit patrem adversus illum scripsisse. Culpam suam agnovit, sed fuerat irritatus cum vocaretur ab *Erasmo miles*, quasi per contemptum, ut *Amphitheatrum* vocat *Dominos Plessæum* et *Lanovium*, *militēs*, per contemptum. In Italia, *Adagia* typis mandari curarunt, ac expunxerunt *Erasmi* verba, et 500 inseruerunt *Adagia*, quæ talia non sunt. *Muretus* illos ridet. *Erasmi* *Annotationes* in *Novum Testamentum* multa habent doctissima, et ipsius *Paraphrasis* est instar optimi *Commentarii*, quamvis in quibusdam erret. Oportet magnos viros in vita semel errare; et ille in *Dialogo Ciceroniano* nugaciter lapsus.

DOMINICUS BAUDIUS.

Salibus, et iis interdum aculeatis, abundant nonnulla ejus opera, in quibus crassos errores, et aniles quasdam superstitiones orationis libertate perstringit, unde orta est opinio contemptarum Religionum: sed norma Christianæ charitatis suadere debuit humaniorem interpretationem. Videtur autem *Erasmus* magis habuisse quid fugeret, quam quid sequeretur. Unus omnia pervidere non potuit, et rem haud exigam præstitit, quod in tantis ignorantiae tenebris oculos attollere poterit ad investigandam lucem veritatis. Meticulosior fuit et timens of-
fensio-

fensionum, atque hoc unice in vita studuit, ut omnium ordinum et generum benevolentiam colligeret. Id forsan impedimento fuit quominus cornicum oculos configere ausus fuerit, et omnia iniquitatis mysteria velo levato patefacere. Multum tamen, imo infinitum ei debet posteritas, et forte non haberent reprehensores ejus unde famam consequi potuissent, nisi ipsis dedisset quod reprehenderent.

AUBERTUS MIRÆUS.

Erasmus, ut erat peregrinationis amans, plerasque Christiani orbis Academias, magna celebritate famæ, qua docendo, qua scribendo, obivit; major et apud posteros futurus, si minor esse voluisset. Nam si intra professionis literariæ terminos substitisset, seque totum hisce studiis dedidisset, haud dubie cum primis illis Latini sermonis auctoribus paria facere potuisset. At vero postquam Theologum agere cœpit, ingenio fîsus nimium sibi sumsit; dumque in tractandis Sacris Literis veterumque Patrum scriptis, severum nimis se præbet Aristarchum, nominis sui auctoritatem vehementer labefactavit. &c. *Elog. Belg.* p. 122.

So this Ecclesiastic condemns the Theological works of Erasmus; and it was natural for him to pass such a judgment.

BISHOP JEWELL.

Erasmi quidem opera trivit [Juellus] Chiliades Adagiorum in primis et volumen epistolarum, deinde postea omnes tomos; cujus dictio, quia non solum verborum et figurarum quasi stellis insignita, sed et argumentorum nervis et rerum varietate convestita, et fabularum jucunda accommodatione commendata est, lectores valde allicit et inescat. *Vita Juelli*, auctore *Laurentio Humfredo*, p. 24.

Rules of the Lords of the Council, in England, A. 1582. for conferences with Priests and Jesuits.

VI. *Item.* To be sure that such books as shall be alledged in the name of any ancient Doctor, be not *supposititii*. For that diverse books are printed with Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Augustin &c. which be none of theirs: to the knowledge whereof Erasmus hath given great light. *Strype's Life of Whitgift*, p. 98.

G. J. VOSSIUS.

G. J. VOSSIUS.

Quis ferat quod Erasmus, seu jure, seu injuria, reprehendere non contentus Julius Scaliger, mox subdat: Sed facilius potuit spernere philosophiam, quam nesciebat, quam imitari quos formidabat. Nempe non potuit summus vir ab animo suo impetrare, ut occasionem ullam negligeret maledicendi Erasmo, viro tam præclare merito de orbe literato. Atqui non spretam esse ab Erasmo philosophiam naturalem, vel Colloquiorum arguat liber. In his dialogus, qui *Puerpera* inscribitur, ubi multa de animæ facultatibus, item ille, cui titulus *Problema*, ubi de levium ac gravium motu: et quid omnia congeram? Nec satis erat, si in philosophiæ studio sic traduceret. Quid pœne ei laudis reliquit? Satis res aperta ex Oratione adversus Ciceronianum Erasmi. Quid ea virulentius? Sed contineamus nos in illis, quæ postea exaravit. Operis de Re Poëtica lib. iv. qui *Parasceve* inscribitur, c. i. cum Petrum Aponensem culpasset, quod orationi Latinæ misceret particulas Græcas, ἐτι, πάλιν, subjicit deinde: *Contextus, cujusmodi videas quotidie prodire ex claustris Monachorum; neque ex his solum, sed illis quoque, penes quos summa rei literariæ diu stetit judicio imperitorum pædagogorum, inter quos Erasmus; cujus mirificam animadvertas Latinitatem, vel cum dicit, se calculum suum recantare.* Non vacat cætera id genus adscribere; nec opus, quando ipsum, credo, Scaligerum subiit tandem hujus maledicentiæ pœnitudo. Hoc enim colligi videtur ex carmine isto, libro, quem *Heroës* inscripsit, *Tune etiam moreris, &c.* Quid dicere potuit magnificentius? Inde igitur potius æstimemus magnitudinem Erasmi, quam aliis ejusdem a nigræ succo loliginis derivatis. Nec fane Erasmus Scaligero, viro licet in non una studiorum parte incomparabili, minus de orbe ac studiis meritis esse censendus, modo totum cogitemus Erasmus. Quod nemo negaverit, nisi qui operam ejus sacris literis et tot Græcis, Latinisque Patribus impensam suo nesciat pretio æstimare. *De Idol.* iv. 13.

Idem, Epist. LXV. p. 105.

Prodiit nunc Epistolarum (Jof. Scaligeri) opus. Præfatio est ab Heinsio, sed sub Elzevirianorum nomine. Magnifice extollit Scaligeros. — Quibus ego laudibus non invideo: etsi non arbitrer Erasmus fuisse iis minorem, præsertim quando cogito tempora, in quæ hujus

pueritia incidit; tum etiam quam præclare de Novo Testamento, et tot S. S. Patribus meritus sit. Nec enim persuadere mihi possum minoris momenti aut fructus esse operam istam, quam quæ subtilius sæpe quam verius adversus Cardanum Julius disputat; aut quæ de Re Poetica vel Causis Linguae Latinæ idem nos docet: præsertim cum ne filius quidem in iis, quæ de poëtis judicaret, parentis iudicium sequendum putarit: et opus de Causis L. L. sæpe quærat quod non est, Alchymistarum instar, ut ipse ejus auctor agnovit — Ut igitur redeam ad Erasmum, mihi utroque illo Heroë non minor videtur, præsertim si seculum infelix attendam, quo Erasmus, inter indoctos Monachos, in tanta tot librorum bonorum penuria, qui necdum vel corruptissime prodi-
erant, ad illud eruditionis fastigium potuit aspirare.

Idem, Epist. CCLXXIII. p. 277.

— *Vir* nec sua ætate quoquam minor, nec nostra fortasse, nec intermedia, saltem si totum consideremus Erasmum.

Idem, DANIELI HEINSIO, Epist. CCCCXXXIV. p. 389.

— *Redeo* ad gratissimos labores tuos: in quibus dissimulare non possum, inter alia mihi fuisse illud jucundissimum, quod antiquum obtineas in tuendo Erasmo, viro optime de literarum studiis merito, nec minus de toto sanctorum Patrum choro. — Quare etsi hominem fuisse sciam, nec jurare semper in ejus sententiam velim (quem honorem nulli hominum deferendum censeo) tamen probare eos non possum, qui tam irreverenter illum habent: parum cogitantes, quibus temporibus vixerit, quantumque omnis ei debeat posteritas.

NANNIUS.

Petrus Nannius Alcmarianus Paulo Leopardo suo S. D.

Nihil minus arbitror, optime Leoparde, quam Frobenios offensum iri tuis castigationibus in Erasmum. Aliud est errata tollere, et sanare in pulchro corpore quod vitiosum est; aliud est criminosè insultare. Nec mihi unquam movisset stomachum Robortelli ab Erasmo dissensio, etiamsi mille locis discrepauisset. Hominis virulentam debacchationem et furiosas blasphemias ferre non potui: neque alia intentione calami in eum sumsi, quam ut docerem hominem, qui sub nomine Erasmi omnes Transalpinos sibi videtur triumphare, nihil prorsus esse: ostendi-
que

que in multis eum vitia, quæ nulla essent, calumniari, et quæ essent, ipsum non videre, ac proinde ipse aliquot vitia Erasmi subjeci. Quapropter oro te, per quicquid Musis et Musarum cultoribus charum et sacrum est, ut primo quoque tempore librum tuum eruditissimum edas, ut videat ille Cæcilius quantopere cæcutiat, quum tamen tantopere emissitios oculos in scripta Erasmi defigat. Non dubium, miratur, ægrescit, quod aliquid viderim ab ipso non animadversum: quid futurum est ubi tuum Oceanum suis undis æstuantem cognoverit? Crede mihi, optime Leoparde, retundendus est fastus quorundam Italorum, qui se Ciceronianos volunt, quique dum frigidam et superstitiosam quandam elegantiam soni verborumque inanum sint consecuti, cæteros omnes præ se contemnunt, et magnis conspirationibus adobruunt. Si utaris Frobenio, rectum erit: sive Oporino, non minus faustum erit: bonus et doctus vir est, et qui tuas dotes optime intelliget. Si ad alterutrum meam operam requires, ea tibi non negabitur. Vides quam libere ad te scribam: idque ideo facio, ut ex fiducia sentias quanti te faciam, et quantopere tibi confidam. Bene vale. Lovanii, XV. Calend. Decemb. 1551.

MURETUS.

“*Muretus*, in his *Variae Lectiones*,^s finds fault with Erasmus for inserting many things in his Adages, which are not proverbs, and complains that he wrote with too much precipitation. Ludovicus Vives says that the *Adagia* are a good introduction to the reading of the best ancient authors. Daniel Heinsius commends that work as being full of learning, though he finds many faults in it.” *Simon's Select Bibliotheca*, XLVI.

“*Muretus* treats the *Adagia* of Erasmus with contempt. It must be confessed indeed that Erasmus hath made several mistakes in that vast collection, as Daniel Heinsius owns; who yet speaks of the work with far more respect than Muretus. Muretus, with all his learning and his elegant manner of writing, could not have made such a book, which required a more extensive erudition than he possessed. Hen. Stephanus, who hath on many occasions defended Erasmus against the censures of Muretus, acknowledges that there are several errors in the *Adagia*, and hath corrected them in his remarks upon that work,

^s So doth Yvo Villiomarus, *i. e.* Joseph Scaliger. See *Adag.* c. 1047. and the note.

which are to be found in the notes of the Edition of Leyden. I have also added some criticisms of the same kind, without any design to diminish the esteem which is due to this great man." *Le Clerc* Bibl. A. and M. I. 188.

"*I am* surpris'd to find pretty often in Muretus, one of the most exact Latin writers among the moderns, the verb *deprædicare*, which is not in any good ancient author, and which, I believe, was first used by Erasmus." *La Mennoye* in the *Menagiana* iii. 387.

Here follow some passages in Muretus, in which Erasmus is slighted or censured.

"*Multæ* ac variæ lectionis hominem, qui memoria nostra ex utriusque linguæ scriptoribus tantam vim collegit proverbiorum, fugere quædam, et quidem illustri in primis loco sita: quod quidem mihi nonnunquam pervideri mirum solet. &c." *Var. Lect.* IV. 17.

"*Eruditus* fane vir, ac multæ lectionis, qui tot millia *παροιμίων* unum in corpus contulit, hæc non vidit." VII. 15.

" — cum et Erasmus ridicula quædam attulisset, et Alciatus in *Parergis* nihilo meliora, &c." VIII. 11.

" — Nam cum is, qui primus aliquot proverbiorum millia collegerat, qui utinam aut ne attigisset unquam theologica, aut in eis religiosius et sincerius versatus esset, homo, qui neque legendò expleri, neque scribendo defatigari posset, multa in illo præcipiti scribendi calore male interpretatus esset, multa conjecisset in illum acervum proverbiorum, quæ proverbîa non erant, &c. —" XII. 16.

"*Erasmus*, aliud cogitans, ex Horatio proverbium fecerat, *Maesta hostia lenior* — Nonne oportuit tam ridiculam interpretationem tolli, &c?" XII. 17.

[*Muretus* also speaks with great disdain of an edition of the Adages, purged from all that was heretical and scandalous, and published at Florence.]

"*Erasmus* in quodam versu scripserat, facile videri, proverbîa scribere; idque se non negare: sed difficile esse chiliadas scribere. At si talia proverbîa recipiamus, jam non chiliadas, sed myriadam myriadas scribere facile fuerit." XII. 17.

As Muretus hath made remarks upon Erasmus, why should we not take the same liberty with Muretus?

In

In Homer's *Odyſſea*, *Λ. 222.* the Ghost of Anticlea, the mother of Ulyſſes, ſays to her ſon, after ſome converſation ;

Ἄλλὰ φέωσδε τάχιστα λιλαίεο· ταῦτα δὲ πάντα
ἴδ', ἵνα καὶ μελόπιδε τεῇ εἴπησθα γυναικί.

*Sed in lucem celerrime contende ; hæc autem omnia
Scias, ut etiam in posterum tuæ dicas uxori.*

Here old Homer, according to Muretus, was jocoſe, and intended to give his readers a hint, that the converſation, which Ulyſſes had with the ſhades below, was all a poëtic fiction, and a ſtory fit only to be told to a ſilly woman, by the fire ſide, in a winter evening. *Var. Lect. XI. 7.*

Obſerve, firſt, that Muretus purloined this obſervation from Plutarch *De audiendis poëtis* ; and ſecondly, that the obſervation was not worth the taking, and is a falſe refinement of Plutarch.

Amongſt the orations of Muretus, there is a moſt ſhocking one, in praiſe of the maſſacre at Paris, on St. Bartholomew's Day :

Pro Carolo IX. ad Gregorium XIII. Pont. Max. Oratio XXII. habita Romæ Anno 1572, poſt lanienam Pariſienſem.

It is no wonder that Muretus had little reſpect for the memory of Erasmus. He entered himſelf into the ſociety of the Jeſuits, and in his old days grew exceſſively devout ; and the poor man ſhewed his zeal by abhorring the Lutherans, and the Reformed, and all ſuch moderate and free-thinking Catholics as Erasmus.

PAULUS MANUTIUS.

Paulus Manutius, quum ſummum Ciceronianitatis attigiſſe gradum exiſtimetur, ad eam tamen ſe nonniſi ductu et auſpiciis hominis Galli perveniſſe fatetur. Ita enim hic in quadam ad Vidum Fabrum epiſtola (quæ eſt libro ejus epiſtolarum primo) de noſtro Petro Bunello ; *Ego ab illo maximum habebam beneficium, quod me cum Politianis et Erasmis nescio quibus miſere errantem, in hanc recte ſcribendi viam primus induxerat.* Sed in poſterioribus editionibus cum *Philelphis et Campanis* pro illis cum *Politianis et Erasmis* ſcriptum eſt. Utrocunque tamen ſcribatur modo, primùm Ciceroniane ſcribendi noſtro Bunello laus conſtat :

¹ Thomafius Præf. ad Opera Mureti, p. 6. Bencius Vit. Mureti.

non parva illa quidem, vel ipsius Manutii judicio. Is enim Politianos et Erasmus (in quorum postea locum Philelphi et Campani substituti fuerunt) quod eam quam ipsi Bunellus ostendit scribendi viam non tenuerint, misere errasse arbitratur. *H. Stephanus* Præf. ad Epistolas *Bunelli*.

It cannot be denied that Manutius and Bunellus write with great accuracy and purity, and give you Latin words and Latin phrases : but there is more entertainment and more instruction in one Epistle of Erasmus than in fourscore of theirs, which one can hardly read without falling asleep.

H U E T I U S.

*At suo tandem ordine prodeat Desiderius Erasmus vere seculi sui Phœnix ; quis enim tot doctrinis cumulatus ? quis tanta multiplicis ingenii ubertate circumfluens ? quis tam portentosæ memoriæ capacitate instructus ? quis suavitate in scribendo, quis salibus et facetiis conditior ? quis vero in ea, quam habemus in manibus, convertendi industria tanta felicitate numeros omnes absolvit ? Sententias acute peruestigat, dilucide expedit ; sincera omnia atque sana ; sine ariditate, sicca ; sine exilitate, angusta ; sine exuberantia, aperta ; sine squalore, neglecta. Ad hæc pro rerum varietate sermonem suum temperat : in Scripturis Sacris vel minimos apices summa fide persequitur ; in reliquis pro rata cujusque parte rigidam illam accurationem inflectit ; ut in eo artificio unus admodum regnum tenere videatur. Quod si cespitavit aliquando, ut causantur fastidiosi quidam et difficiles, homo fuit ; ego vero ubi plura nitent, paucis maculis non offendor. *De Clar. Interp.* p. 230.*

*Quidam intra Novi solius Testamenti cancellos suam in interpretando industriam explicuerunt, quorum facile, meo judicio, princeps est Desiderius Erasmus : is ea felicitate hanc ornavit Spartam, ut et verba verbis, et sententias sententiis, et saporem sapore exæquaverit ; et perspicuitatem tamen cum dictionis castitate, et nativo illo colore obtinuerit, quæ ad integram Interpretis laudem unice requirebamus. Quinetiam ubi propter Latinæ Linguæ indolem, quod uno Græci, idem pluribus exponere verbis necesse habuit, adscititia verba vario et insigni charactere depingi curavit, quo fidei suæ integritas palam extaret. *De Clar. Interpr.* p. 149:*

These

These are high commendations : but in another place Huetius hath censured Erasmus with strange asperity, for some of his remarks upon Origen :

Erasmus in Epistola ad Cigalinum scripserat has (Homilias in Lucam) alterius cujusdam esse videri, quam Origenis; sed in Censura ad libros Origenis mutavit sententiam. — Addit Erasmus; *Dein quum in cæteris nihil habeatur erroris, hic multa sunt vel suspecta, vel damnata.* Itane vero? Nihilne in libris Περὶ Ἀρχῶν, in Commentariis in Matthæum, in reliquis operibus habetur erroris? Mirare, Lector, effrænem Erasmi in Veterum expendendis scriptis, et projectam temeritatem. *Origenian.* lib. III. p. 253.

But Erasmus did not think Origen to be orthodox in all points; and hath often declared as much. See *Ep.* 633. c. 726.

BILLIUS, and GIRAC.

Girac says of Costar :

“ This man is so blind, that although Erasmus be one of the most faulty writers in the world, he can discern none of those faults. Yet Erasmus is mistaken in an infinite number of passages, insomuch that the Abbé Billi seriously affirms, that in this author’s version of eight Homilies of S. Chrysostom, he hath found more than an hundred and fifty errors. In another place he is forced to count by myriads his blunders in his translation of all Chrysostom’s Homilies on St. Paul; and yet no man ever wrote with less obscurity and more elegance than this Father. — Erasmus however was a very able man, and I believe that the faults above-mentioned in his translations proceeded from the great contempt in which he held this Saint; for such was his insolence, that in a letter to Tonstal he made his boast, that if he were drunk, he could write better things than Chrysostom in his Commentaries on the Acts. Thus the Wits and Geniuses of these later ages take upon them! ”

But Erasmus, in that letter to Tonstal, intimates at the same time that he did not think those works to be genuine, upon which he bestowed so much contempt. *Aliud spirat Chrysostomus*, says he. See Bayle ERASME, Not. D. D.

COLOMESIUS.

COLOMESIUS.

“ *Erasmus* is one of the greatest Divines who hath arisen since the days of the Apostles. His Paraphrases on the New Testament are so excellent, that I can hardly refrain from thinking them divinely inspired. They are worth all our Commentaries, not excepting those of Calvin, who in many places hath very judiciously followed them, but who at other times departs from them, as well as Beza, without much reason. Never, says Jos. Scaliger, *did Papist, Lutheran, or Calvinist compose a better or a more elegant work than the Paraphrase of Erasmus*. His style is not less sweet and agreeable, than his reasoning is persuasive. His Adages shew an extensive erudition, and his Epistles an uncommon genius. His piety shines in all his writings, particularly in his Commentaries upon some Psalms, and in his treatise called, *The Preacher*. His Enemies were very numerous, but he dexterously overcame them, so as to compell even some of them to admire him. In a word, he was the ornament of his own age, and would be no less esteemed in ours, if we perused his works with less prejudice.” *Melange Curieux*, p. 844. 4to Ed.

Amavi, fateor, ab ineunte fere ætate virorum doctorum epistolas: cum propter multarum rerum non facile alibi occurrentium notitiam, tum ob genuinas clarorum virorum effigies, quas in epistolis, tanquam in speculo, cernere est. Crevit amor iste cum annis; et quas antea solum amabam, eæ nunc in deliciis mihi esse cœpere. Quid hic eloquar quanto cum fructu Marci Tullii et Plinii Junioris epistolas sæpius legam? Quot egregia, quæ incassum alibi quæras, me docuerint Angelii Bassi, a patria Politiani, et Roterodamensium Phœnicis epistolæ? reclamante licet Paulo Manutio, viro quidem politissimo, sed in cujus epistolis, præter verba nihil habeas. His addantur merito suo Josephi Scaligeri, et Isaaci Casauboni Epistolæ; e quibus historiam literariam plenissime didicimus; ut ex Hugonis Grotii, quæ nuperrime prodire, Philologica, Politica, ac Theologica multa. Agmen claudat vir seculorum memoria longe dignissimus G. J. Vossius. *Colomesii Præfat. ad Epistolas G. J. Vossii*.

DANIEL

DANIEL HEINSIUS

hath highly extolled Erasmus, in a letter to Scriverius, which is inserted in the first Tome of Erasmus, c. 894.

BAUDIUS.

The letter of Baudius to Paul Merula is an elegant encomium upon Erasmus, and a defence of his style, which, as he truly observes, is copious, easy, flowing, and perspicuous. Ep. 514. c. 1916. It was written A. D. 1606.

EPISCOPIUS.

Hicce cur non adjungamus Erasmum nostrum, portentum certo sæculi sui, et Hollandiæ nostræ lumen? Etsi enim, ut de eo Sturmius ait, quod in Pontificatu vidit, non ita ut potuit, voluit detegere; eam tamen animi moderationem, in dijudicandis ac discernendis necessariis a non necessariis dogmatibus, ubique servavit, contra Theologorum Pontificiorum, aliorumque præcipitem ac præfractam in condemnandis quibuslibet pene errantibus *αὐθαδείαν* ac licentiam, ut miraculum prudentiæ ac perspicacitatis, in isto caliginoso ævo hodieque videri possit, adeoque non viam tantum monstrasse veritatis simul ac pacis studiosis, sed perfectum et omnibus numeris absolutum exemplar, si in hoc ævum nostrum incidisset, præbiturus fuisset. Non citabimus loca, unde id manifesto liquet. Scripta ejus ad unum omnia, Apologiæ, Epistolæ, Præfationes in Patres, ab ima ad summam usque chordam, aliud pene nihil sonant, quam pacis, tolerantiae, moderationis consilia, non minus erudita, quam salutaria.

GROTIUS.

Vidit hoc, qui nihil prope non vidit Erasmus. —

CALIXTUS.

Vir magno ingenio et eruditione [Erasmus,] neque minore judicio et prudentia: qui tamen noster profecto non fuit, neque esse vel audire unquam voluit.

VOL. II.

D

SECKEN-

SECKENDORF.

Quæ Maimburgius de Erasmo narrat, ex Pallavicino sumfit: in quibus plus est etiam invidiæ et loliginis; sed ejus abstergendæ labor a proposito meo longius abit, et pleraque supra tetigi. Etsi enim summæ et infinitæ pene eruditionis sacræ et profanæ laudem, nulla censorum malitia apud eos imminuere possit, qui declamatorias et sophisticas artes a solida sapientia, et fucum a nativa pulchritudine discernere valent; in religionis tamen negotio, ut dudum cum Luthero et post eum questi sunt nostrates, eum se non præbuit Erasmus, qualem potuisset et debuisset: excusatione quidem dignior, si pacis tantum et concordiæ, sive vitandi, ut sæpe scripsit, tumultus studio, medius veluti hæsisset. Cogitasse me sæpius fateor, imo doluisse, quid tantæ scientiæ et moderationis virum ea jam ætate et conditione, ut ubique terrarum honestam stationem invenire potuisset, impediverit, quo minus veritati manus aperte daret, et Reformationis negotium, ut poterat, abjecta de corrigendis Romanæ Curia defectibus spe, serio et candide juvaret. In mentem quidem venit, eum honorum laudum et præmiorum cupidissimum fuisse, idque suspicabar ex frequentibus ejus ad aulas itineribus, ex banditiis, quibus magnates demulcet, ex deprædicatis remunerationibus, et callidis favoris parandi, vel invidiæ declinandæ artibus, quibus usum esse epistolæ ostendunt. Vidi postea acriter illi ab Hutteno objectam inconstantiam, levitatem, et constupratam, ut loquitur, conscientiam, Theologo, qui veritatem antea docuerit, et adhuc probe norit, minime dignam. Labi autem eum statuit ob inexplebilem famæ sitim, gloriæ avaritiam, animi imbecillitatem, minis terroribusque cedentem, et muneribus atque honoris spe facile corrupendum et ebrium. Sed cum ea non tantum edito libello, cui *Spongiæ* nomen dedit, a se amoliat, sed et in epistolis ad familiares ab honoris et opum cupidine immunem se tota vita fuisse ad mortem usque sancte affirmet, sæpe etiam oblatas dignitates et opima sacerdotia recusaverit, nolui meo judicio Hutteni fervori subscribere. Addam quæ Lutherus de Erasmo senserit, epistola, antequam cum eo in disputationem venisset, ad Spalatinum data: *Erasmus*, ait, *a cognitione gratiæ longinquum esse video, qui non ad crucem, sed ad pacem spectat in omnibus scriptis. Hinc omnia putat civiliter et benevolentia quadam humanitatis tractanda gerendaque; sed hanc non curat Behemoth,*

neque

neque hinc quisquam se emendat. Objicit etiam ei gloriæ studium, se vero nulla de re gloriari audere, nisi de verbo veritatis, a Domino dato. Addit postmodum: *Igitur illorum scripta* (loquitur de Capitone et Erasmo) *quia abstinent ab increpando, mordendo, offendendo, nihil promoven-* *vent.* *Civiliter enim admoniti Pontifices sibi blanditum putant, et veluti* *ius habeant incorrigibilitatis, perseverant, contenti quod tremendi sint, et* *nemo eos reprehendere audeat.* L. i. Ep. 243. Cæterum quæ Coloniæ pro Lutheri causa Erasmus egerit, fide stant Jesuitarum, Aleandri relationem sequentium, qui ex contubernali inimicus Erasmo factus erat. Ex actis Lutheri traditis a Spalatino, nihil præter illa apparet, quæ supra retulimus. Nec reperio, quid Fridericus, Erasmo monente, de stylo temperando ad Lutherum scripserit, quæ spreta huic esse narrat Maimburgius. Video tamen Lutherum in *Dedicatione Evangelicarum Enarrationum*, T. ii. Lat. Jen. f. 339. aliquid ejusmodi agnoscere, et veluti deprecari, *quod Principis monitis in acrimonia contentionum de lana caprina* (id est, de indulgentiis) *vitanda non satisfecerit, sed improborum procacitates asperius quam pro religione et modestia tractasset, veniam autem sperat, si perpendatur, quantas virulentias unus ipse perpeffus sit.* Sed ista, ut dixi, acrius in epistola ad Spalatinum postea propugnavit.

Probabile videtur conferentibus Erasmi et Lutheri ingenia, et eventum spectantibus, nisi Lutherus incredibili adversus pericula animi constantia et severitate proposito suo institisset, sed Erasmi versutam lenitatem imitari voluisset, nihil metuendum Pontifici de reformatione fuisse. De vita Erasmi certiora, quam Maimburgius refert, aliunde petenda sunt. L. i. p. 140.

ROLANDUS MARESIUS.

Erasmi, quanquam fere extemporaliter, et ab occupatissimo scriptæ, Epistolæ mihi supra modum placent. Præter eruditionem enim, eloquentiam, et tam in literis, quam in quibusvis aliis rebus prudentiam, quam continent, Lutheranae etiam sectæ initia, aliasque res tradunt: quas nescio cur Auctor secundum temporis ordinem, qui in literis edendis omnino necessarius est, non digesserit: sed ejus rei causas se habuisse dicit.

Inter recentes, qui multa egregie scripserunt, nemo mea sententia Erasmus præcessit, five judicium, five eruditionem, five eloquentiam spectes, quem non verear cum quovis antiquorum conferre: qui si

tota vita cum Theologis quibusdam et Monachis conflictatus non fuisset, meliora etiam quam edidit, orbi communicare potuisset; et si tam mordax, aut in quibusdam tuendis tam pertinax non fuisset, nihil in eo viro illa ætas quod desideraret, habuisset.

MORHOFIUS.

Erasmi Epistolis nihil est suavius et acutius. Latinitas in illis non mala; non quidem talis, quam ad imitandum aliquis proponere sibi debeat (hic enim antiqui Scriptores omne ferunt punctum) sed nativa, extemporalis, et interdum aliquem ex rebus colorem trahens, quod accidit interdum scriptoribus doctissimis, Grotio, Salmasio, ac aliis. Illi enim auctores prout res sunt, quas tractant, prout in auctores scribunt, a quorum lectione recentiores discedunt, stylum suum formare solent. --- Vastum hoc opus est variarum ejus epistolarum, non quidem omnium; nam multæ etiamnum ineditæ sunt, et earum multæ manuscriptæ in Bibliotheca Gudiana asservantur. Ipse Erasmus non diffitebatur, multas sibi esse Epistolas ex tempore scriptas et dictatas, quarum nullum ille exemplum servaverat, doletque multas ex illis in vulgus emanasse. — Continentur in illo libro arcana statûs Civilis, Ecclesiastici, Literarii illorum temporum, faceta nonnunquam et jocosa, ut ipse fuit ingenio mire festivo. — Editio Epistolarum illarum Frobeniana editione Londinensi et cæteris longe melior est et correctior: multis enim mendis hæc postrema scatet, quanquam aliqua parte locupletior. Index huic operi subjectus utilissimus est. Lites in Theologorum palæstris tum ventilatas, et quicquid in illarum historiam pertinet, illic deprehendes. Quanquam Erasmus se medium semper gesserit, studium tamen partium non raro deprehendes. Magna fuit ejus viri veneratio, et merito quidem, ingenium excellens, vastum, diffusum, fecundum, acre, promptum, ad omnia paratum, in decus et miraculum seculi natum. Triumphare duobus his civibus Batavia potest, Erasmo et Grotio, quibus pares postera secula non facile datura sunt.

Erasmus primus fuit inter Adagiorum collectores, quod opus ipsi suo tempore profecto fuit difficillimum: nam credo illum plus laboris operæque huic scripto impendisse, quam multis aliis. ^k Liticulam illi aliquando movit Cœlius Rhodiginus, quasi surripuerit sibi aliqua cir-

^k See Bayle, who corrects Morhof. ERASME. Not. C. C.

ca Adagia meditata; sed non habet, quo jactet se Rhodiginus, quod guttula una vel altera hunc fontem auxerit: paucula enim sunt quæ in opere ipsius *Antiquarum Lectionum* habentur de quibusdam adagiis. Etiam Verdierius, nugacissimus ille Veterum et Recentiorum censor, unguis suos in hoc opere figit, cui similem ille ne paginam quidem scribere poterat. Multæ sunt operis ejus editiones. Frobeniana est emendatissima. Edidit et Henricus Stephani e typographeo suo. Nova Editio omnium est corruptissima, licet cæteris locupletior: nam adjecta sunt Erasmi Chiliadibus, Cognati, Junii, et aliorum auctorum Adagia. Liber est, quo nemo carere potest Latinæ Linguae paululum studiosior. —

GUY PATIN.

Patin, who was a wit and an humourist, was a great admirer of Erasmus, and had hung up the picture of Erasmus on the one side, and that of Joseph Scaliger on the other side of a Crucifix, which he had in his chamber. *Lettres de Patin.*

DAILLÉ.

Quod vero Erasmus et Vallam sciolos dixit Bellarminus, id convicium esse, et quidem impudens, omnes sciunt, quibus duo illi viri vel ex ungue noti sunt; optime suo seculo de literis sacris profanisque meriti: et si Bellarmini libri perennaverint, omnes posterius os hominis mirabuntur, qui *Sciolos* eos vocare ausus est, quorum et ingenium plane eximium fuisse, et animum in instaurandis literis maximum, et labores felicissimos, et rerum denique divinarum atque humanarum stupendam, pro illius præsertim temporis captu, cognitionem, quæ diutissime (si quid conjicere liceat) supererunt, ipsorum opera loquuntur. Sed viros egregios hac contumelia affici, a quoquam quidem indignum est; a Bellarmino vero indignissimum; quem nemo, opinor, eruditus negaverit *Scioli* nomine multo esse quam Erasmus et Vallam, digniorem. *De Libr. Supp.* See Pope Blount, p. 326.

The COUNCIL of TRENT.

This Council, says F. Paul, condemned the following proposition taken from Erasmus.

When

When they who have been baptized in their infancy arrive to years of discretion, they are to be asked whether they will ratify their baptism. If they refuse, they should be left at liberty so to do.

The Fathers of the Council inveighed vehemently against Erasmus, as the inventor of this doctrine, which they called impious and pernicious, and proper to open the way to the abolition of Christianity. They added, that if the circumcised children of the Jews were obliged, when they were come to riper years, to observe the whole Law, and liable to punishment when they transgressed it, it was far more fit to oblige the children of the Faithful to keep the Law of Jesus Christ; that the University of Paris had justly condemned this doctrine of Erasmus; and that the Council ought also to condemn it.

“ *I* see not, says Dr. Courayer, what danger there was in this Proposition, and still less how it could be treated as impious; since assuredly Erasmus had proposed it as a proper method of establishing piety, and of admitting amongst Christians only such as were so, sincerely and willingly. Another thing to be observed, as tending to justify Erasmus, is that he had only proposed it as a thought which he left to be examined and determined by the Clergy, and not as a law which he wanted to impose upon the Church. This may suffice to excuse him from the imputation of rashness, if any one should not be disposed to clear him from the charge of imprudence.” *F. Paul, T. i. B. 11. p. 391.*

AMOENITATES LITERARIÆ.

Eandem fortunam [cremari, scilicet] sæpius Magni Erasmi, quem Bellarminus inter semichristianos retulit, ac Forerus dignum censuit, qui ex omnium hominum memoria erasus esset, ¹ libros fuisse expertos, haud abs re conjicio. Acriter scilicet vir summus inscitiam Monachorum sui ævi, intolerabili junctam fastui, in scriptis suis passim pupugerat, atque ita implacabile in se eorum converterat odium, quod ab illis in posteros, etiam licet multo meliores, propagatum est. En unicum ex recentioribus testem, Arsenium Sulger, Ordinis Benedictini Monachum: — ^m *Desiderius Erasmus, vineæ Dei callida devastatrix vulpecula, alter Lucianus, cui et merito potuisset pro epitaphio inscribi,*

¹ Vid. Wagenfeil, l. c. p. 592.

^m In Annalibus Imperialis Monasterii Zwifaltensis, Pars. ii. p. 128. sq.

ERAS MUS. *Nec scio, uter Catholicæ pietati plus damni dederit, Lutherus, an ejus prodromus Erasmus; ille palam insaniendo, iste clam virus evulgando: certe sola ejus Colloquia plus quam Chaldaicis flammis digna pronuncio, quæ quo demulcent blandius, perimunt inopinatus, et dulce venenum tam dissimulanter instillant, ut non citius te perire sentias, quam periisti. Fuit olim Eremita Augustinianus, et, teste Brietio, Monachorum hostis acerrimus. Fertur quoque expectatione Cardinalitiæ dignitatis, ad quam illum Paulus III. evehere cogitaverit, retentus ab aperta fidei Catholicæ ejuratione; adeo etiam honores malos exterius in officio continere quandoque possunt, ne appareant saltem pessimi. Neque vero mirandum, tam exofas esse Monachis Erasmi lucubrationes, cum eas ipse Vaticanus Præsul, Paulus IV. rogo publice injiciendas Romæ curaverit: de quo alio tempore plura^a. Tom. VII. p. 110*

Vidimus nos haud semel istiusmodi libros fenestratos et cancellatos, atque truculentam censorum manum jam passos, et Ulmæ quidem in Bibliotheca publica S. Hieronymi opera, ab Erasmo edita. Ipsius vero Erasmi lucubrationes Christophorus Arnoldus, Norimbergæ suæ quondam decus, in Bibliotheca publica Daventriensi ab ineptis glutinatoribus per omnes paginas charta fenestrata in locis istis obtectas, in quibus acerrimi judicii scriptor temporis istius Ecclesiam et mores Religiosorum notaverat, perlustrasse se testatur: proinde judicans, operæ fore pretium, si quis glutinatorum vestigia relegens, chartis scalpello parum elevatis, insignes illas περιηρονας exciperet. Verum isthoc labore opus haud esse arbitror, cum otium nobis fecerint Indices Expurgatorii, e quibus facilius loca illa cognoscere licet. Disces inde non sine indignatione, magna, eaque optima sui parte truncari eximia viri laudatissimi scripta. Equidem in Indice Belgico, Philippi II. jussu concinnato, permulta jam in iis expungenda fuere indicata: longe tamen plura abolita et recisa (delendis enim vix integra sufficerent atramentaria) vult in suo ° Bernardus de Sandoval et Roxas, Cardinalis et Archiepiscopus Toletanus, qui non Erasmi tantum nomini AUCTORIS DAMNATI elogium adscribi, sed et ejus operum fronti hoc stigma

^a Vide interim J. H. Hottingeri Histor. Eccles. N. T. Tom. ix. p. 408.

° P. 228. sqq. edit. Genev. 1619. Minus igitur recte Ben. Arias Montanus, in Præfatione Indicis Belgici, existimavit, in eo observata esse loca omnia, in quibus aliqua vel minima offensio, vel offensionis suspicio notari posset, nullis etiam levissimis rebus prætermisiss.

inuri jussit: *Opera omnia Erasmi caute legenda: tam multa enim insunt correctione digna, ut vix omnia expurgari possint.* Videbis ibi integras paginas, integras epistolas, non ab eo duntaxat ad alios, verum etiam ab aliis, iisque non raro Ecclesiæ Romanæ deditissimis, Cardinalibus etiam ac Episcopis, ad ipsum exaratas, lituris devotas, imo integra opera, Colloquia videlicet familiaria, Moriæ Encomium, Christiani Matrimonii Institutionem, &c. expuncta. Mirum quod non etiam proscripta sit epistola Leonis X. P. M. Novo Testamento præmissa, et debitis Erasmo laudibus prosequens, ad cujus marginem ponenda mandantur verba: *Dulcibus encomiis pius Pater nutantem ovem allicere conatur.* E Synodi præterea Tridentinæ decreto, Adagiorum ejus Chiliades corrigendæ traditæ fuerunt Paulo Manutio, sub cujus nomine ita refictæ et castratæ dein prodierunt, ne quidem mentione Erasmi habita, utpote istorum censorum judicio digni, cujus nomen in perpetua oblivione jaceat. *Tom. viii. p. 353.*

Haud potuit Erasmus evitare Pauli IV. rigidam sententiam, qua non omnia duntaxat ejus opera, sed et scripta Patrum, illius cura emendatius in lucem emissâ, Romæ ad ignes condemnavit. Ita enim Bullingerus ad Ambrosium Blaurerum, A. 1557. Exurit libros Romæ Paulus IV. et quidem Erasmi Roterodami omnes. Nunc et Cyprianus, Hieronymus, Augustinus comburuntur, eo quod Scholiis Erasmi sint (ut os fœculentum ait) coinquinati. *Tom. viii. p. 499.*

CANISIUS.

Nondum anni sunt L. quod Erasmus Roterodamus in humanis fuit, vir sane sua ætate ubique percelebris et præclaræ inter doctos existimationis. Fuit in eo, quod negari non potest, ingenium lepidum et perjucundum, Latinæ Græcæque linguæ peritia singularis, eruditio multiplex, mira scribendi facilitas et copia, eloquentia vero, ut illis temporibus, rara et admirabilis. Cæterum, quemadmodum diligentia ejus et doctrina ad bonarum artium studia excitanda atque a barbarie vindicanda, multis haud parum contulit, ita rursus, si libere dicendum est, in rebus Christianæ religionis et quæ ad Theologiam spectant, tum sibi tum aliis haud parum incommodavit. Etenim qua ipse usus est, hanc alios etiam docuit immodicam libertatem in Veterum scriptis, in Ecclesiæ constitutionibus, in Theologorum sententiis, in publicis ritibus judicandis, imo et convellendis atque exagitandis.
Igitur,

Igitur, quod Veteres de Philone viro disertissimo dicere consueverunt; Aut Philo Platonizat, aut Plato Philonizat; hoc permulti de ipso etiam tandem pronunciarunt in hunc modum; Aut Erasmus Lutherizat, aut Lutherus Erasmozat. Et tamen fatendum est, si sincere judicare velimus, inter Erasmus et Lutherum plurimum interesse. Ille Catholicum semper nomen retinuit, hic Ecclesiæ Catholicæ manifestus non solum desertor, sed impius etiam oppugnator, multarumque sectarum caput extitit: ille arte potius quam potestate, sicut de Juliano dixit Orosius, religionem est infectatus, magnam sæpe suis vel opinionibus vel erroribus cautionem ac moderationem adhibens; hic autem natura vehemens, turbulentus, ardens, factiosus, modum omnem excessit, ad extremaque ruit præceps, tam arrogans ut nulli cederet, tam durus et pertinax in sententiis, ut suis etiam sæpe visus sit intolerabilis, tanto demum Ecclesiæ odio inflammatus, ut ad illius exitium aperto Marte et furiosissime nihil non moliretur. Judicavit Erasmus quæ in Theologorum doctrina et Ecclesia improbanda corrigendaque putabat, atque ita, sive sciens sive imprudens, Momum egit, ut magnam simul fenestram Luthero et aliis aperuerit ad Religionem universam innovandam, et ad tumultus eos concitandos, quos in Christiano orbe nunc maximo malo consecutos esse videmus, satisque deplorare non possumus. Unde illud etiam a multis usurpari cœpit; Ubi Erasmus innuit, sive joco scilicet, sive serio agens, illic Lutherus irruit, et quæ ille ova posuit, hic tandem excubavit. Illud certo constat, Theologica Erasmi scripta, quæ permulta ille quidem edidit, nec posse hodie, nec debere undequaque defendi: quandoquidem censura Ecclesiastica, quæ apud orthodoxos quidem valet ac valere debet plurimum, Erasmica scripta, paucis exceptis, legi vetuit, et gravissimas ob causas, licet Auctorem ipsum non damnaverit, tamen ejus opera, velut lectoribus obfutura potius quam profutura improbavit. *De Corruptel. Verb. D. lib. v. c. 10.*

BARLÆUS.

Caspar Barlæus was one of the defenders of Erasmus, and published a book against Bogerman; *in quo etiam crimina a Matthæo Slado imposita Erasmo Roterodamo diluuntur.* Bayle *Dict.* BARLÆUS.

VOL. II.

E

CLAR-

CLARMUNDUS.

Burckhard, in the Preface to his life of *Hutten*, mentions a disguised author, who called himself *Clarmundus*, and wrote, besides other lives, that of *Erasmus*. *Menckenius* assures us that this *Clarmundus* is a most stupid and despicable Author. *Vit. Politian.* p. 432. I know nothing more of him.

TERENUMUS.

Joannes Terenumus (alias *Vryspenninek*) in *Epistola ad Abr. Ortelium* scripta, 15. Junii, 1561.

“ — *poteris* igitur cum prima occasione ejusmodi picturas, alias sculpturas, mittere experimenti loco : optime autem forent historiæ Veteris et Novi Testamenti, figuræ illustrium virorum, Catholicorum, ut ita dicam ; nam ERASMUM jam hæreticum hic habent, tum passionis Christi, tum, &c.” *Mr. de Missy.*

GERARD BRANDT, and GROTIUS.

“ About four years before the death of *Kempis* (i. e. A. 1467.) on *Simon and Jude's* day, was born that great miracle of wit and learning *Desiderius Erasmus* at *Rotterdam*, (his name in our mother tongue was *Gerrit Gerritson*) ^p *who bath so well shewed us the way to a true reformation*, (I describe him in the words of that great man of *Delft*, that was afterwards so like him in many things, that fell short of him in very few, and in some exceeded him) *never suffering himself to be enslaved by disputable questions, nor by the ceremonies of either party. We Hollanders can never sufficiently thank this man ; and for my own part, I think myself happy, that at this distance I can in some measure comprehend his virtues.*” *Hist. of the Ref. Vol. I. p. 29.*

SIMON.

This ^q *Critic* is not inclined, upon the whole, to favour *Erasmus* ; and sometimes he censures him upon things which are of no great

^p *Grotius* in a letter to *Uitenbogaert*.

^q *H. Crit. du N. T. Pref. p. 2. and p. 48. 203. 205. 214. 339. 364. H. Crit. des Versions, &c. p. 150. 151. 158. 242. H. Crit. des Comment. du N. T. p. 130. 504. 638. Diff. Crit. sur les MSS. du N. T. p. 3. Nouv. Observ. p. 121. 486. 4to Edd.*

importance.

importance. He himself lies much more open to rebuke than Erasmus; and all that he hath set forth in behalf of Tradition, and for the Authenticity of the Vulgate, is mere shuffle, and vile sophistry. Whether he believed what he said, is another point, on which I shall determine nothing.

He allows Erasmus to have been a learned man, and a good Grammarian; he calls him the most able Critic of his time, even in sacred literature, and one who gave great light and help to those that came after him. He thinks that Erasmus was too bold and free, that he wrote with too much precipitation, and undertook too many works at once. Erasmus would have acknowledged part of this charge to be true.

He accuses Erasmus of too much rigour in some of his censures on the Vulgate (others have made the same remark) and of being too solicitous to avoid barbarisms in his own version. There is something mean and sycophantic in his accusing Erasmus of favouring Arianism.

He blames him for having supposed that the Greek MSS. of the N. T. had been sometimes adulterated, and corrected from the Latin Version, by the Greeks. And yet Simon himself denies not the fact totally, but affirms that it was rather done by the Latins than by the Greeks. Whosoever did it, it hath certainly been done.

He blames Erasmus for his frequent digressions, and his ridiculing the Divines and the Monks, in his notes on the N. T. It is true that some of those episodes seem rather out of place; but they are so ingenious and useful, that it is better that they should be where they are, than that we should have been deprived of them.

He extolls Stunica too much, when he says that this Spaniard was not only skilled in Hebrew, but that he understood Latin and Greek as well as Erasmus.

He blames Erasmus for having said that the style of Origen is clear: and it must be owned that this is not one of Origen's accomplishments, who is rather inelegant, obscure, and embarrassed.

One of Simon's favourite paradoxes, was his Hypothesis of the *Rouleaux*. He supposed that the Hebrews wrote their sacred books upon small sheets of paper (or something that served for paper) and rolled them up one over another upon a stick; and that these sheets

not being fastened together, it came to pass, in process of time, that some of them were lost, and others displaced.

We might as well suppose that the artist, who invented a pair of breeches, had not the wit to find some method to fasten them up; and that men walked for several centuries with their breeches about their heels, till at length a Genius arose, who contrived buttons and button-holes.

CRENIUS.

*Erasmus scripsit Laudem Stultitiæ, in qua, censente Jacobo Pontano lib. iii. Progymn. se ipsum stultum fieri et ridiculum non animadvertit: quod Jesuitæ judicium minime miramur, quia Moria ista sua, qua studia et mores Theologorum sui sæculi false perstrinxit, crabrones Erasmus sic irritavit, ut omni fere apud Papiſtas exciderit gratia. Inde et Bernardus Gualtheri in dedicatione Juliæ Cæsaris Scaligeri Orationi pro M. Tullio Cicerone contra Ciceronianum Erasmi præfixa, et a se editæ Coloniae A. 1600. in 12. Erasmus his petit verbis: *Erasmiani (non) nisi e Moria, hoc est Stultitia, sapere discunt; eorumque Corrumunt mores colloquia prava, ut vere est a Menandro Comico pronuntiatur. Putat autem Colloquia Erasmi, de quibus diximus in quarta nostrarum Animadversionum parte. Crenius, De erudit. comparanda, p. 180.**

CAVE.

Summa officinæ Frobenianæ gloria erat magnus ille Erasmus, sæculi sui decus, quem semper patronum, sæpius domi suæ per plures menses hospitem habuit Frobenius; cujus stupenda cura et indefessa diligentia Irenæi, Cypriani, Hilarii, Hieronymi, Augustini, aliorumque opera undique conquisita, accurate recognita, bonis avibus exierunt, iteratis editionibus non semel ibidem repetita. Hist. Lit. Proleg. p. xxvii.

BAILLET.

Some Extracts from Baillet.

Cardinal Perron gives us a mean idea of the critical talents of Erasmus; and says, that he hath committed great faults in the judgments which he hath passed upon Authors.

Mauſſac

Mauffac observes, that, in the *Ciceronianus* there is much passion and envy against the Authors who are called over, many injurious expressions, and low buffoonry, both with regard to Cicero, the father and the source of Roman purity, and with regard to his followers, and particularly to the Italians of the fifteenth and sixteenth Centuries, who thought that they had hit upon the true Ciceronian manner. He compares Erasmus to a Banditto, who stopping no where, and thinking every thing to be lawful prize, scours and pillages the country. And yet Erasmus was sometimes in the right, and principally where he explains himself against those, who boasting that they imitated Cicero alone, condemned every thing that was not in the style of this Orator, without examining whether the times, persons, and places, and the subjects which are handled, would admit of that manner, and those expressions.

Julius Scaliger made two Orations, or rather invectives against this work of Erasmus; but with too much heat, as he afterwards acknowledged himself; and with so little success, that his son Joseph, to save the honour of his name and family, employed all possible means to suppress these Declamations, without being able to accomplish his design.

As to the style of the *Ciceronianus*, Borremans says that Erasmus hath observed in it neither *decorum*, nor uniformity, and that, far from speaking like a Ciceronian himself (in the person of a Ciceronian) and from following the maxims which he prescribes to others, he runs into another extreme, into the poetical style; that he often quits Cicero, to speak of the poets, as though he had forgotten his subject; and that this new Censor pretended to pass sentence upon contemporaries, whose works he had never read.

It is difficult enough to fix upon a true medium between the panegyrics of his admirers, and the accusations of his enviers.

Every one agrees that he had a vast genius, a great extent of reading, and as great a facility of writing; that he was most laborious and indefatigable, and that it would be hard to name any person who contributed more than he to the re-establishment and improvement of the *Belles Lettres*.

Scioppius says that he had a divine genius, and had joined art and industry to a most extraordinary fund of erudition. —

De Arte Critic. p. 6.

Vives.

* Vives, with a sort of reserve, says of him that he was an ingenious censor of the works of the Ancients. And yet this is no small commendation, when we consider how difficult it was then to perform the true office of a Critic.

For living in an age, which was unpolished, and lay under a cloud of ignorance and barbarity not yet dispelled, he both preserved himself from the infection, and with unspeakable success, attempted to remove it out of the world. And though he could not bring things to a state of perfection, it was a great deal to open the way to others, to have first attempted a critical review of the Fathers, and by correcting a multitude of faults in the copies of their works, to have given, as Rhenanus observes, such proofs of a singular presence and penetration of mind. So that even his enviers have been forced to own, that for many centuries there had never been found in one man more solidity of judgment, more good taste and discernment, joined to a consummate erudition.

This made the same author say, that we are obliged to Erasmus for having contributed in part to the re-establishment of *Positive Divinity*, which the *Scholastic* had expelled or overwhelmed, and for having by his industry brought men back to the study of the Fathers, whom the Chicanery of the School-men had caused to be neglected and despised in later ages. He adds that, for the space of a thousand years no person had arisen so well versed in all good authors Ecclesiastical and Classical. —

Here is perhaps a part of the things which may be, or have been said in his commendation; and if some excess be remarked in these Elogies, there is at least as much in the accusations, with which others have loaded him.

Of the Declaimers who have inveighed against him, the most famous, doubtless, is Julius Scaliger, who treats him as the most despicable of all writers. He says, amongst other things, that his works are mere prattling, words amassed without choice, without study, without discretion, without wit, without common sense; that he is the corrupter of pure Latinity, the destroyer of eloquence, the executioner of Letters, the dishonour of Learning and learned studies, the pest

— Apud M. Adam Vit. Germ.

and

and poison of all ages, and the father of lies; that neither the Literary nor the Christian Republic can subsist with honour, whilst his works are extant; that he is a Viper, a Fury, a Busris, a Jakes, a Dunghill, and a triple Parricide.

Poor Erasmus drew all these compliments upon himself, for having said in one of his Dialogues, that there are in the world bad imitators of the Ancients, and for having confessed that in the days of his youth he did not relish Cicero, because he did not know him sufficiently. Scaliger, thinking that he had not insulted Erasmus enough in his first Invektive, drew up a second of the same kind against the *Ciceronianus*.

The quarrel, which Erasmus had with all the world, was of more importance than that with Scaliger: for he drew upon himself the censures both of Catholics and Heretics, for not having confined himself within the bounds of his ^t profession, which was Philology, for the advancement of which he seemed to be born, as Aubertus Miræus observes.

But by a temerity and presumption, so incident to the human understanding, he would act the Theologer, and thought himself capable of reasoning upon the doctrines of Religion, and the discipline of the Church. Here he failed, in the opinion of the Catholics and the Heretics; and having equally offended both, he was rejected as Heterodox, and none would acknowledge him as a person of their Communion, as Verheiden testifies, though a Protestant. This appeared more especially after he had published a Treatise to conciliate the contending parties, and set himself up for a judge and an arbitrator.

Therefore Bellarmin placeth him amongst the half-christians, Possévin and Salmero say that he ought not to be reckoned amongst the children of the Romish Church, and several Catholics have treated him as a lover of novelties.

On the other hand the Protestants disown him, and either give him to us, or range him among the Doubters, as may be seen in ^u Alstedius. —

^t What do these men mean by his *Profession*; since he was a Doctor of Divinity?

^u Encyclop. T. iv. de Histor.

There are also persons of both communions, who accuse him of having so misinterpreted and enervated the texts of Scripture relating to the Divinity of the Son of God, as to give cause for a suspicion that he inclined a little to the sentiments of the ancient Arians. He hath been considered as the forerunner of the Socinians and modern Photinians, as ^w Quenstedt informs us. And indeed Socinus claims him for his own, and writing to one of that sect, he ^x tells him that Erasmus had examined all the passages relating to the person of Christ with such scrupulous diligence, that he had, not without cause, made himself suspected of Arianism by the Trinitarians, and given reason to the Unitarians to account him inclined, secretly at least, to their opinion.

Nevertheless, it ought to be candidly acknowledged that Erasmus hath been accounted somewhat more heterodox in this point than he really was.

But it is not so easy to excuse in Erasmus that excessive liberty which he assumed of delivering his sentiments concerning Ecclesiastical discipline, and of censuring all the abuses and disorders with which he supposed it to be infected, as if he would have set himself up for the Aristarchus of the age.

He himself acknowledged to Rhenanus, and to other friends, that he had inconsiderately advanced several things, of which an ill use might be made, and from which bad consequences might be drawn, though his intentions had been honest and harmless. He often protests that if he had foreseen the disorders which the Lutherans and Sacramentarians excited in the Church, he would have used more care and caution; that is to say, he would not have attacked so rashly the Ecclesiastics and the Monks, or have taken upon him to censure, without being authorized, the corruptions, as they had seemed to him, both of discipline in general, and of particular orders or persons.

In an answer to Luther, and in a letter to Pope Adrian, he makes the same declarations. He had indeed just reason to condemn his own censorious and bantering disposition; and a ^y Protestant writer

^w Dial. de Patriis vir. Illustr. p. 121, 122.

^x Epist. ad Franc. David, p. 186. ap Gerhard Patrol. p. 693.

^y Jo. Jac. Grynæus ap Melch. Ad.

hath observed well enough, that Erasmus did more harm to the Pope by his railleries, than Luther by his invectives.

And yet, with all his facetiousness, he could be often splenetic and severe; so that ^z Grynæus, who artfully insinuated his doctrines by an apparent modesty and civility, told Erasmus sometimes, that his satirical and insulting manner caused his arguments to be less efficacious.

The Faculty of Louvain gave a commission to Hentenius, a Dominican, to collect from all the works of Erasmus all erroneous and scandalous propositions, that they might be carried to the Council of Trent. He made a large collection; and pretending to have found there many errors, concerning human constitutions, ceremonies, vows, celibacy, marriage, the power of the Pope, choice of meats, abstinence, feasts, fasts, and war, without enumerating his calumnies against persons of eminent rank in the Church, he adds that Erasmus would never acknowledge his faults, but always alledged plausible excuses, under which were concealed a fraud and a malice capable of imposing upon simple-minded persons, who suspected no evil.

But it is visible that this report of Hentenius is somewhat exaggerated, and that he was determined to make Erasmus an heretic, in spite of himself, with a view to get him condemned by a zeal rather too precipitated, as it may be seen in the ^a *Bibl. Belgica*.

There are, it is true, some *Indices* of prohibited books, wherein he is ranked amongst heretics, and his books condemned in the whole, and without any distinction: not, says ^b Possevin, that there is not a multitude of good things in many of his writings, but because there is a certain air of pride and vanity, which runs through them all, and he sets up for an independent Author, producing no vouchers, and hath given occasion to some heresies. However some discrimination hath been made since, and the Inquisitors having absolutely prohibited his *Colloquies*, his *Moria*, his treatise on the *Tongue*, his *Christian Marriage*, his book in defence of the free use of meats, and his Paraphrase on St. Matthew, have permitted the reading of the rest, after they had been corrected with a scrupulous kind of diligence. A collection of these laborious

^z De Clavigny de Sainte Honor. usag. des liv. susp. p. 35. ^a Val. And. p. 177.

^b Appar. Sacr. p. 151. 419. 420.

corrections may be found in the *Apparatus* of Possevin, and in the *Index* of Sotomayor.

But whatsoever these Censurers may have said against Erasmus, that should not hinder us from firmly believing that he lived and died in the bosom of the Catholic Church, and that if some of his advice had been followed, a part of the heretics would probably have returned to the communion of the Roman Church. Upon this subject see ^d Mercier, towards the end of his book.

It remains only to relate some of the judgments, which have been made concerning his style, his manner, and his compositions. Rhenanus says that his style was regular, easy, natural, agreeable, neat, and flowing, that he had made himself a master in it by long habit and continual exercise, and that it was regulated by a solidity of judgment which never forsook him. Yet he adds that Erasmus had not been so happy in imitating the purity and the manner of Cicero, as several other writers of less merit than he. But, says he, this small defect is abundantly compensated by many other advantages far more important than a bare classical purity, which the subject itself will not always admit.

If we will allow Erasmus himself to be a competent judge in his own cause, we must confess that he deserves not to be ranked amongst the Ciceronians, and the elegant composers; that he was rather a scribbler than an author; that he spent all his days in transcribing, correcting, and commenting the works of others; that he produced and polished nothing of his own; that he threw his first thoughts upon paper, rude and indigested as they were; that he wrote with too much precipitation, and never could prevail upon himself to revise what he had written; that he affected not the style of Cicero, and pretended not to his air and manner; that he used Ecclesiastical and inelegant words and phrases, and low and mean expressions.

So frank a judgment passed upon himself doth him no dishonour, and whilst he points out to us some of his defects, he shews us at the same time that he was a man of good sense. He did not follow this method of writing in a lower style, through ignorance of the grand and the

Possevin. ap. 421. ad 458. Ind. Exp. Sotom. ^d Nic. Mercer. vit. Erasmi. num. 60.-64.

sublime, and he gave sufficient reasons to satisfy those who would have obliged him to use Ciceronian expressions. He could not endure the superstition of these men, who, being slaves and adorers of Pagan Antiquity, had made themselves a law to say and to write nothing for which they had not the authority of Cicero, or of some other ancient author, and which was not brilliant and sententious.

In his *Ciceronianus*, having observed that Bembus and Longolius had disgraced themselves by preferring this servile eloquence to good sense, and having commended Sadolet as one who wrote prudently and conformably to the present state of religion, and preferred Ecclesiastical terms to Ciceronian words, which would have been forced and unnatural, and yet always kept as close to a purity of style as his subject would permit, he would have been blame-worthy if he had not himself practised these rules which he gave to others.

But although the style of Erasmus be not Ciceronian, yet neither is it so bad as his own modesty and the censure of his envious critics have represented it. It hath both neatness and purity, in the opinion of many good judges. It is masculine and nervous, and neither brilliant nor pompous nor affected, intended rather to instruct the reader, than to make a parade of the writer's wit.

Another and a more material exception to that universal erudition ascribed to Erasmus by his admirers, is his deficiency in the Greek tongue. ^d Halefius says that as a critic he hath performed very well upon Latin, but not upon Greek authors. ^e Marianus Victorius, who gave us an edition of Jerom, goes farther, and affirms that he knew nothing at all of Greek.

But Jos. Scaliger was of a quite contrary opinion, and so was Huetius, who hath greatly commended his translations from the Greek. It is however generally allowed that he was not the best Grecian of his age, and in this respect was inferior to Budæus.

As to his works, in general, they shew forth that subtle and discerning genius, which Scaliger and others have ascribed to him, so that ^f Verderius the younger had small reason to say that he had mean and moderate talents; he is not perhaps quite so far in the wrong, when he accuses Erasmus of too much self-love and self-conceit.

^d Not. ad Chryf. in Paul ad Hebr. Auct. p. 159.

^e Præf. ad Hier.

^f Cl. Verder. Censura

Scaliger allows his Adages to be an excellent work, but rather too diffuse, and too ostentatious of learning, &c.

^g Colerus says that his Dialogues are learned, witty, and judicious.

As to the juvenile and Grammatical works of Erasmus, he hath himself taught us how to judge of them. He says that he composed some of them to amuse himself and exercise his style, without premeditation, or any design of printing them, and that he drew up some for the use of school-boys, as his Colloquies, which would have slept in obscurity, if one Holonius, who had met with a copy of them, had not sold them for a good sum to Froben, pretending that other printers had importuned him to part with them, and had offered him his own price.

Another book, as he says, was printed under his name with the impertinent title of *Elegantiarum Paraphrases*, so interpolated and spoilt, that he would have been ashamed to dictate such stuff even to boys.

His scholars, to whom he used to read lectures, did him ill offices of this kind, and published in the same silly manner his tract *De conscribendis Epistolis*, and another *De Principiis Rhetorices*.

He also makes some complaints of the first publication of his Letters.

Amongst other apologies for his Colloquies, he tells Cardinal Wolsey, that he would be well pleased if any person would take the pains to strike out from them every thing that had given offence, and so to make them fit for the use of young students.

^h Nicolas Cannius, who had been his amanuensis, attempted to perform this. His work is not extant: but Mercier, Sub-Principal of the College of Navarre, undertook it, and having purged the Colloquies of every offensive passage, he added notes useful for Schools, and a new Dialogue of his own.

Let us add a word concerning his book which he called *Encomium Moriae*, alluding to the name of his good friend More, to whom it was dedicated.

Paul Jovius condemns it as a work unbecoming an Ecclesiastic; and the reading of it hath been justly prohibited. Erasmus endeavoured

^g De Stud. politic. p. 208.

^h Val. Andr. p. 178.

to excuse himself by pleading that at the time when he composed it, the church enjoyed an happy calm, and that he could not then foresee the storm which Luther excited afterwards, and the ill use which the enemies of the church would make of that ludicrous piece ¹.

Notwithstanding these considerations, Charles Patin thought proper to reprint it not long ago, with remarks of his own, and with figures which are of the grotesque kind.

Scaliger would not allow him to be a good poet: but it appears not that Erasmus ever thought himself to be one, or hoped to excell that way. —

PERRON.

“*Erasmus* commits great faults in the judgment which he passeth upon Authors. — He is a great enemy to the Trinity; a great enemy of Traditions.” *Perroniana*.

As Cardinal Perron hath spoken contemptuously of Erasmus, others have spoken as contemptuously of the Cardinal. The Reader, I hope, will not be displeased with the following collection, containing an account, favourable and unfavourable, of a man who made a figure, and no small noise in the world; and who disputed against the Protestants, in all probability, with more vehemence than sincerity; as with more effrontery than erudition.

“The first Catholic who wrote in French upon matters of religion, was Cardinal Perron. Before him it was so appropriated to Hugonots, that it was esteemed a characteristic of heresy. Du Perron had made himself a sort of Colonel general of Literature; and when any one wanted to pass for a Scholar, he got himself presented to the Cardinal, who, on such occasions, never failed to ask the Candidate, Have you read *the Author*, or *the French Author*? and this *Author* by way of eminence, was *Rabelais*.

Du Perron, in point of virtue and religion, was esteemed neither amongst the Hugonots, nor amongst the Catholics. His French Poems are execrable. He had a cheap victory over poor Du Pleffis Mornay, who had not read the authors that he had cited, and had trusted to collections which others made and put into his hands. — He was condemned too hastily on some points, as for instance, on Duran-

¹ Hottinger Epist. Dedic. Thesaur. Philol.

dus, who, as well as the author of the Epistle to Cæsarius, was certainly against Transubstantiation. &c.

Du Perron was much in the wrong to collect together and present to view all the passages which the Protestants have extracted from the ten Volumes of St. Augustin; for as he sometimes gives poor answers, it hath a bad effect. Guy Patin says that he died of a foul disease. That is not true; he died of the stone, for which he would not be cut. He was known at Court even in the time of Henry III. but made no figure there. The fair^k *Gabrielle* brought him into the King's favour. He was a man determined to make his fortune at any rate, and had nothing else in view and at heart. He was a Thrafo, who had more shew than learning, and a better Courtier than a Divine." *Longueruana*, i. 14. 122. ii. 140.

[He is not the only Ecclesiastic, who hath made his fortune by that polite method. It is said, in a French *Relation of Muscovy*, that in the last century, a man was created Patriarch of that nation, because he had the finest beard of any of his country-men. *Patriarchal beards*, like comets, have only blazed now and then; whilst the *Gabrielles* have had a much greater share in furnishing the Church with Luminaries.]

"I am able to judge of styles, because I have spent twenty five whole years in turning over good authors, Latin, Greek, and Italian. For fifteen years together I always carried in my pocket the *Orator* of Cicero."

This is the judgment, which the Cardinal modestly passeth upon himself, in the *Perroniana*. And how able he was to judge of styles appears from his deciding that *Quintus Curtius* is one of the most excellent Latin writers, and that the next to him is *Florus*.

:"Cardinal Perron was an everlasting talker. When he was fallen upon the subject of I know not what Council, he never knew when to give over. As soon as his Valet-de-chambre found him entering into that topic, he used to take his cloak, and say to his comrades, *Andiamo al bordello*, intimating that they would have time enough, and to spare." *Menagian*, ii. 197.

"Perron was a man of wit, but of no learning." *Menag.* ii. 385.

^k Mistress to Henry IV.

"Perron was well answered by Casaubon. He told the King that Father Coton was a prater. I know not which was the more learned of the two. — He is very ambitious, and no scholar; a mere babbler, who pleases the Ladies. When I was at Paris, he was my shadow, and followed me every where. When he was young, he read his Thomas Aquinas; but that is soon forgotten, when a man hath no other foundation." *Scaligerana*, p. 307.

"Perron was a very learned Prelate: he understood the languages, the Belles Lettres, History both Profane and Ecclesiastic, Theology, and particularly that of the ancient Fathers, whom he had read with great care and application, as it appears from his books of controversy, and from his treatise on the Eucharist, which is still looked upon as one of the best on that subject. Pellisson used to say; *I recommend the works of Cardinal Perron to all those who would thoroughly understand our controversies.*

When Perron passed through Venice, the Republic deputed to him two learned men, to entertain him, Fra-Paolo, and Luigi Lollino; and they both equally admired his knowledge and his abilities. It is true that speaking to them of his disputes with the Protestants, he told them, that having observed the French Hugonots to be ignorant and passionate, he always contrived to provoke them, and set them together by the ears, and thereby easily got the victory over them. But the Author of the Life of Fra-Paolo, who relates this circumstance, observes that Perron talked thus only out of modesty. *Per termine di modestia*, &c. Thence perhaps Menage, who had been more conversant with Italian writers than with the works of Perron, was led to conjecture, very much amiss, that this Cardinal had more wit than erudition: for as to the things which Patin hath said of him, in his Letters, they are tales which he had learned from the Hugonots. Bentivoglio, in a letter written from Rome to Paris, gives an illustrious testimony to the memory of Perron, then lately deceased: We have a great loss, says he, in the death of this Cardinal, who was the St. Augustin of France, and one of the brightest ornaments of his age. He was ignorant of nothing, and when he spake concerning any science, it was so much to the purpose, that one might have imagined that he had studied no other." *Vigneul Marville*, i. 71.

"Perron

" *Perron* was son of a Norman Minister and physician, and born at Geneva, and took his name from that of the street in which he was born. It is said of him, that one day, as he stood by the table of Henry III. at dinner, he made an excellent discourse upon the existence of God, which so pleased the King, that he commended him for it. Perron replied; Sire, to day I have proved that there is a God; if your Majesty will favour me to morrow with a second hearing, I will prove to you, by reasons full as good, that there is no God. The King, offended at these words, called Perron a raskal, bad him go out, and never appear again in his presence. He acted the zealous Catholic all the days of his life; but it is said that at the time of his death, his conscience compelled him to make a sort of reparation to Du Pleffis, and at the same time to Truth, which he had insulted in the person of that Protestant. He charged his brother, say they, who succeeded him in the Archbishopric of Sens, to present his adieu to that worthy man, and to declare to him that he never honoured any person more than him, and that his last words were employed in his praises. To this he added other and still stronger expressions. The Princess of Conti was then present, together with several considerable Ecclesiastics, and amongst others, the Bishop of Châlons, a Prelate of reputation; and some of the company cried out, This is a great confession indeed!

Certain it is that although this Cardinal made no small figure, and was much talked of during his life, yet after his decease he was not honoured with any funeral oration, and hardly with an epitaph; which induced several to imagine that his latter end had not edified the Romanists. Thuanus says, that he talked infinitely better than he composed, and that his principal talent consisted in a large share of effrontery. But this passage hath been struck out from later editions, together with several other things of far more importance.

In the time of Henry IV. there was a project for re-uniting the two religions. It was undertaken by Rotan and Morlas, Protestants, and to them were joined the Minister Serres, and Cahier, who soon afterwards was deposed from his ministry, for the crime of sorcery, and for two infamous treatises which he had written. These four persons and two more, whose names are not known, were in hopes that the
Protes-

Protestants would chuse them as deputies, to wait upon the King, and intended to betray the party which employed them. Accordingly Rotan was chosen to dispute with Cardinal Perron, and had promised to suffer himself to be confuted. But whether it were vanity, or whether it were fear, he changed his mind, pretended to be sick, and drew himself out of the toils." *Recueil, &c. in the Bibl. Univ.* xxiv. 361.

"In the year 1615. after a hot debate in a general assembly of the three Estates at Paris, the Pope's power of deposing Princes was assented to by all the Nobility and Clergy of that kingdom. Some particular persons amongst them may and do oppose it of late; but they are excommunicated at Rome for doing it; and thereby declared, as much as they can be, not to be members of their Church, for daring to oppose so orthodox and catholic a doctrine as the Pope's power of deposing Princes. Nay Cardinal Perron saith, in his eloquent Oration to the third Estate at Paris, who opposed this doctrine, *that unless it were approved, it followed that the Church of Rome for many ages hath been the Kingdom of Antichrist, and Synagogue of Satan.* And King James tells us that *the Pope in his Letter of thanks to the Nobility (of France) for complying with this blessed doctrine, called the Commons, or Deputies of the third Estate, Nebulones ex fæce plebis, a pack of knaves of the dregs of the people.* Very obliging language from the Head of the Church! — Cardinal Perron calls that doctrine, which makes Princes indeposable by the Pope, *A breeder of Schisms, a gate that makes way for all heresy to enter; and a doctrine to be held in such detestation, that, rather than he and his fellow Bishops will yield to the signing thereof, they will be contented, like Martyrs, to burn at a stake.* Blessed Martyrs, and fit to be put in the same Calendar with the *Gunpowder Traitors*, who suffered on the same principle! — But surely it must be an article of faith, and a main point of their religion, which makes men *Martyrs*, who suffer for it. And such, no doubt, it is accounted amongst them; when the same Cardinal saith, *That it leads men not only to unavoidable Schism, but manifest heresy to deny it; and that it obliges men to confess that the Catholic Church hath for many ages perished from the earth: for he confidently avows it, that all parties in the Catholic Church have held it, and the whole French Church, till the time of Calvin; that if this doctrine be not true, the Pope is so far from*
 VOL. II. G being

being *Head of the Church, and Vicar of Christ, that he is a Heretic and Antichrist, and all the parts of the Church are the Limbs of Antichrist.* And if they be so, we cannot help it, &c." *Stillingfleet*, Vol. II. Sermon. 2. p. 99.

Cardinal Perron said of Gretzer, that he had a great deal of wit, for a German; *Il a bien de l'esprit pour un Allemand.* Bouhours adopted this wise remark, and proposed it as a question, whether a German could possibly be a *Bel esprit*; that is, a *Bouhours*. Bayle GRET-SERUS.

Longa disputatio de Jac. Davio du Perron, auctorne cum aliis fuerit cædis Monini: tum, an, habita oratione, qua probarat esse Deum, promiserit in diem proximum contrariam, quæ res ita irritarit Henricum III. ut conspectu illi suo interdixerit. *Remarques sur Bayle*, in the *Relat. Gotting.* vol. iii. Fasc. I. p. 117. See also Bayle MONIN, and BELLARMIN Not. L.

Perron hath been accused of not believing Transubstantiation. *Wake on the Eucharist*, in *Bibl. Univ.* vi. 287.

"In the Republic of Letters, many have more reputation than learning, and many have more learning than reputation. The reputation of men of letters depends upon art, upon fortuitous occasions of making a figure, and upon the opinion of the ignorant and injudicious vulgar. I shall produce, as examples of the former, Perron, and Du Pleffis Mornay; and of the latter, Bernard, and Gale, two English Scholars.

Perron had studied *Scholastic* Theology; there lay his strength: he had also some kind of skill in *Positive* Theology, but not extensive and profound, a few points excepted, which he had more carefully examined on account of the religious controversies which at that time were warmly carried on. Of humanities he had a superficial tincture, and of the Latin and Greek languages; for as to Hebrew he could hardly read it. But all this, wrought up with great art, animated with a fine genius, a lively and ready wit, a flowing eloquence, a good person, and a genteel behaviour, this, I say, imposed first upon the Court, which only judgeth by appearances, and then upon the Public, and the Age in which he flourished." &c. *Huetiana*, p. 5.

Concerning Perron see also Pope Blount, p. 624. and Thuanus, lib. ci. p. 154.

DU PIN.

D U P I N.

“ *Erasmus* was rather short of stature, his eyes were blue, and in his youth his hair was of a pale yellow. His countenance, gait, and appearance, were grave and genteel. He had a very tender constitution, and towards the latter part of his life was much afflicted with the gout, and gravel. He had a prodigious memory, and a wonderful facility of composing, and wrote with purity and elegance. He had formed a style to himself, which yields in no respect to that of the best writers, although he affected not, like some Learned men of his days, to use only Ciceronian expressions. He was, without question, the finest genius and the most learned person of his age. To him we principally owe the re-establishment of literature, the editions of the Fathers, Critical knowledge, and a taste for antiquity. He is one of the first who treated Theological subjects with dignity, and rescued them from little Sophistry and Scholastic terms. His works of devotion have an elegance not to be found in the books of the Mystics. He censured with a bold freedom the vices of his times, those particularly of Ecclesiastics, and the superstition, the hatred of learning, the ignorance and barbarity which then reigned in the Schools. Sometimes he could not refrain from speaking too satyrically against the Monks, the Scholastic Divines, and some bigotries; but he repented that he had taken such liberties in his younger days, and declared that he would never have done it, if he had foreseen the Lutheran tempest. The Lutherans and the Sacramentarians found in him a great adversary; and he protested that he would wage everlasting war with them, that he never would favour in any manner their sect or their doctrines, that he would adhere constantly to the communion of the Church of Rome, teach no errors, and encourage no tumults. He hath been praised and admired by Popes, by Princes, and by all the Learned of his time. Yet he had many enemies amongst the Divines, the Monks, and the Half-scholars, who accused him of error, of heresy, and of impiety. The liberty with which he had re-proved them, a general prejudice against every thing that had the air of novelty, an abhorrence of polite literature, and an attachment to vulgar sentiments and common practices, were the causes of the opposition and ill treatment which he experienced.

As for his manners, he was hasty and passionate, yet easily appeased. Never man was less ambitious. Far from courting and pursuing honours, he refused the most eminent dignities. His constant and predominant passion was the love of study, which he preferred to all other occupations. He was a hater of luxury, sober, free in his sentiments, sincere, no flatterer, constant in his friendships, easily reconciled to those who had offended him, never envying the reputation of others, nor inclined to offend any person. Yet he had much sensibility at libels and insults; he was given to bantering, and impatient at being reprov'd, and treated his adversaries with haughtiness, refuted them with much vivacity, and sometimes with some acrimony. In his youth he was very greatly afraid of dying; but this fear was much diminished towards the end of his life, and he prepared himself for a dissolution in a most Christian manner."

RICHARD.

From the Bibliotheque Universelle.

The sentiments of Erasmus conformable to those of the Catholic Church upon all controverted points. 12°. A Cologne.

This Volume is only the first part of a work, which is to be followed by a¹ second; and the design of this is to shew the excellences of Erasmus, as the next is to shew the conformity of his sentiments with those of the Church of Rome. It appears by the Preface of the Author, ^m Mr. Richard, Prior of Beaulieu S. Avoine, that his project is to draw over to the Church of Rome those who have an esteem for Erasmus, by shewing that he was always an opposer of the Reformers. Such is the Author's view; but other uses may be made of the manner in which he hath executed his undertaking, as it will appear from the following extract.

What he proposeth in this Volume is reduced to seven articles, which he calls seven truths, upon which he makes divers reflections, accompanied sometimes with digressions, to illustrate his subject. But first, to say a word concerning the method of the Author in general, we may observe that the Book whence he fetches his materials to

¹ Which never came out.

^m It is pretended that this is a fictitious name, and that M. de Saint-Amour, a Doctor of the Sorbonne, was the Author. *Burigni*, T. ii. p. 546.

compose a panegyric of Erasmus, is a book written by Erasmus himself, who is produced as a witness in his own cause. It is the Volume of his own Epistles, of those particularly in which he inveighs against the Monks, and against the Reformers, and defends himself against his enemies. He attacks the latter with much warmth, and to answer their calumnies, he is pretty often obliged to commend himself. All his expressions upon these occasions are here taken for incontestable truths, as though they were geometrical axioms, and as if he had always said all that he thought, without reserve or suppression, in apologies, wherein it behoved him to speak with much circumspection. It is true that this method of writing history is not new, and that the least hints dropped by ancient Fathers of the Church have passed for demonstrations with a certain sort of people, though many of those Fathers have been honoured with the title of Saints, who deserved it not so well as honest Erasmus.

I. The first truth is, that Erasmus passeth amongst the learned for the most learned man of his time. This is true enough; and the Popes, Emperors, and Princes had just reason to esteem him, and to offer him honours and riches in abundance, as this Author shews at large. He thinks that Erasmus rejected all these offers by humility, by a contempt of wealth, and for fear lest his Protestant adversaries should have thought that he continued attached to the Roman communion for worldly interest. It would certainly be a rashness to judge unfavourably of the heart of this great man: but yet, without doing the least wrong to his virtue, one might imagine that his generous refusal of Ecclesiastical dignities may in some measure be imputed to that LOVE OF LIBERTY, which was always his darling passion. Every one knows that if he had accepted great preferment, or the dignity of a Bishop or of a Cardinal, he would have entered into a splendid servitude, and could only have written such things as the Censors of books would approve; and that if he had done otherwise, he would have plunged himself into grievous distresses and difficulties. If his books had been printed at Rome, we should not have found in them so many free sentiments upon so many subjects, which the Authors of the *Index Expurgatorius* have condemned.

II. The second truth is that Erasmus drew upon himself the censures and the calumnies of some Doctors and of many Mendicant Monks, because

because he re-established the study of literature, because he attacked the vain and useless subtilties, taught in the Theological schools, and founded upon the reasonings of Aristotle, and because he opposed the false doctrines of the Mendicants, and the insupportable tyranny which they exercised over the conscience, the faith, and the manners of pious and worthy persons. The Author shews at large, that learning in those days rendered a man suspected of heresy, that scholastic divinity passed unjustly for true Christianity, and that the Monks had introduced innumerable superstitions, and maintained them with inconceivable violence. All this the Protestants will most readily allow to M. Richard; but they think that they see the same defects even now in the Church of Rome, and some that are still more pernicious, as the loose morality of the Casuists, an evil which did not arise to its height till after the Reformation. Therefore they will not feel themselves much inclined to return to the bosom of a Church, which, instead of making a proper use of the lessons of Erasmus, hath rather grown worse from that time forward, as they imagine. They will be apt to say that the Catholic Doctors, who desire a re-union, should try to get those abuses cured which caused the division, before they think of inviting the Protestants over. These will never believe that the Church of Rome hath any intention to reform what is amiss, since a schism which hath now continued so long, and the repeated complaints upon that account, have as yet produced nothing. The cruelty of the Inquisition, and Ecclesiastical tyranny have increased, and a man in that communion would be treated with the utmost rigor, who should dare to say publicly that Images do more harm than good to religion, although this be a palpable truth; and yet the loose sentiments of Casuistical Divines are publicly tolerated. How can Protestants bring themselves to think that the Directors of the Church of Rome are under the influence of the Holy Spirit, whilst all those who are well inclined to reformation (as our author himself owns) are brow-beaten, and kept under, and removed from all employments, and the most bigotted superstition is so far from hurting a man, that it helps to make his fortune?

Our Writer on this subject hath collected many things worthy to be read and considered, particularly by the Divines of his own Church, who stand more in need of instruction in these points than the Protestants.

testants. Erasmus indeed hath drawn so odious a portrait of his own times, that one would judge that piety had almost perished from the earth, and that nothing remained, as he says, but to write the epitaph of deceased Christianity, *Nil superest, nisi ut scribam epitaphium Christo nunquam revicturo*. The grief which he felt from considering this deplorable corruption, made him express himself in a more tragical manner, than he hath done on other occasions. However he sometimes defends himself against his calumniators by banter and ridicule; as when he says; They think that St. Francis is very angry with me for having censured the Monks, who promise heaven to those who are buried in the doublet of a Franciscan. But not long ago, this Saint appeared to me in a dream, ^a *after midnight*, and with a smiling countenance thanked me for what I had said upon that subject. M. Richard indeed supposeth, that the fact was true, and that Erasmus related in sober sadness a real vision: but they who are acquainted with Erasmus, will be apt to think that to the visions and revelations of the Monks he opposed one of his own, and had as much right to deal in fictions as they.

He gives a large detail of the complaints which Erasmus made to the Emperors and Popes, of the tyranny of the Mendicant Friars, who were Inquisitors, and who excited the Princes to acts of violence, of which, as our Author says very well, Jesus Christ hath given us neither precept nor example. He suspects that the same sort of persons, who instigated Charles V. to burn the Lutherans, were they who also caused seventeen millions of the inhabitants of the West-Indies, or of Peru, to be massacred, for the sake of possessing their lands, their gold, and their jewels. D. Bartholomew de las Casas, adds M. Richard, Bishop of Chappa in New Spain, published a history of these transactions, at Seville, in 1542. which gave such horror to all Christians, that Philip II. caused it to be suppressed. But it hath been

^a The Author of the *Critique de l'Apologie d'Erasme*, very justly laughs at Richard for imagining that Erasmus spake seriously; and is also very angry with Erasmus, for thus diverting himself and his readers at the expence of charity and religion. p. 6. Every Scholar will see, not only that Erasmus was in jest, but that he borrowed his joke from Horace, *Serm. i. x. 32.*

*Vetuit tali me voce Quirinus
Post mediam noctem visus, cum somnia vera.*

since

since translated into French, and printed at Paris in 1635. and since at Lions in 1642.

With Erasmus, he exclaims against the cruel Inquisitors of the sixteenth century. But then, lest we should misapprehend him, he pretends not to blame the wise conduct of those Princes, who punish their heretical subjects, as men who are disturbers of the public peace, and disobedient to the Regal ordinances; who require fortified places to be put into their hands, as pledges of the promises made to them by their Sovereign; who call in foreign Princes to their assistance, when they stand in need of it; and who carry on secret cabals, to revolt upon the first fair occasion. It is not hard to discover whom he hath in view; and if this were a proper place to recriminate, we might say the same of those Ecclesiastics, who raised and fomented the wars of the *League*, and who are still most formidable to Kings, because they acknowledge a power superior to that of the Civil Magistrate. We might say that Princes would not deserve to be blamed who should use the same precautions against these men, which have been practised against pretended heretics. But neither these nor those can justly be oppressed and punished for the faults committed by their predecessors.

Our Author appears very zealous against those, who exalt beyond measure the authority of Popes, and depress that of Kings and Bishops, as the Monks did in the days of Erasmus, and as a modern author hath lately done in a book called, *Traëtatus de Libertatibus Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ*.

After this, follows a long digression, entituled, *Articles of the conspiracy of the enemies of Erasmus*. Here are displayed, in an ample manner, the vile ways employed by the Monks to defame Erasmus, and to ruin him; and many moral reflections are intermixed; and by the persecutions to which poor Erasmus was exposed, the Author seems to allude to the sufferings which a certain illustrious ° Person and all his friends have undergone, and still undergo, in the Church of Rome. They have been defamed, and misrepresented, false extracts have been made from their books, the reading of their works hath been prohibited, they have been accused of favouring heresy and heretics, in a word, they have been served exactly as Erasmus was,

° Arnauld, I suppose, and the Jansenists.

with this exception however, that no offers have been made to them of Bishoprics and of Cardinals Hats. And here the Author describes at large the nature of false devotion, the principal character of which is to lay too great a stress upon external and ceremonial acts of religion, which contribute not in the least to purifying the heart.

III. The third Truth is, that if Erasmus had favoured Luther, all Germany would have revolted from the Church of Rome. If this be not strictly true, yet at least it seems probable enough that Erasmus would have drawn after him no small part of Germany, and have made the Reformation more extensive, on account of his great erudition, and of the great esteem wherein he was held in those regions.

The Author, who industriously sets forth the disinterestedness of Erasmus, takes occasion to address himself in a very singular manner to some learned men, who died in the Protestant communion: Here, says he, I call upon the Scaligers, the Casaubons, the Blondels, and the Grotiuses, who because they found a better fortune amongst the Heretics, than in the Catholic Church, opposed the orthodox faith. He had done well, to have told us what ample fortunes these Scholars made amongst the Protestants. Scaliger was honorary Professor at Leyden, Casaubon was Librarian to the King of England, and Blondel was a Professor at Amsterdam, and none of them obtained more than two thousand crowns a year. Is there no better preferment than this to be got in the Church of Rome? As to Grotius, he was cruelly treated by his own nation, before the chief of his Theological works were composed; he was as ill used afterwards, and never could obtain even a permission to spend the evening of life in his own country. On the contrary, in France he had a pension, and might have hoped for much greater rewards, if he would have embraced the Romish religion, of which indeed he hath spoken with as much mildness and moderation as any reasonable Catholic could desire. He hath even maintained some doctrines of their Church, against Protestant Divines. If then Richard knew so little of the condition of these illustrious men here upon earth, how could he get better and surer information concerning their state in the other world? Yet he thus speaks of them; *Erasmus is in heaven, and they are in HELL, because they died out of the bosom of the Catholic Church.*

IV. The fourth of our Author's Truths is, that Erasmus was the greatest enemy to Luther and to the Lutherans. He observes that

although Erasmus gave civil answers to Luther, before he knew him, yet he never had any share in his projects, but on the contrary, always disapproved his boisterous proceedings. The most remarkable things contained under this article, are the observations of our Author upon the faults committed by those who combated the Lutheran heresy, which may be reduced to these heads.

1. They suffered a quarrel amongst the Mendicant Friars, about the privilege of going a ^p begging, to blaze out before the public, which should have been instantly smothered. Luther at the first, only attacked those superstitions, which all wise men disapproved, as Erasmus assures us: but this stirred up against Luther all the little fellows, who under a Christian name had a Jewish spirit, and who could not bear to see that false devotion set at naught, which is usually the whole of their religion. The Learned therefore passed for Lutherans, because they also censured these abuses; and then such contentions ensued, that the evil became incurable, which might have been healed, if only wise and learned men had been employed in the affair.

2. To Luther they only opposed ignorant declaimers, and seditious Monks. Here many reflections are laid down concerning the proper methods of dealing with heretics, which may perhaps be of some service to the Missionaries, who are sent forth into the northern regions.

3. They did not impose silence upon the preachers of both sides, as they ought to have done, and employ in their stead wise, learned, moderate, and peaceable men.

4. Neither party would give up any thing; the Monks above all were the least disposed to such compliances. When Adrian VI. died, who had some designs of reforming the Court of Rome, his project died with him; and Erasmus in vain urged it to the Pope, to the Emperor, and to several Princes.

5. Great cruelties were exercised upon the Lutherans, by the advice of some Mendicants.

6. The German Bishops were shamefully negligent in the exercise of their Pastoral function.

7. None endeavoured seriously to appease the wrath of God, by leading a better life.

To sell Indulgences,

3. All

8. All Europe was in arms; and the Pope, who, as the Monks said, had a power to command Angels and Devils, when it was to their benefit and advantage, had not authority over his own children, to restrain them from waging these cruel wars. In the mean time the heretics multiplied, and Oecolampadius wrote upon the Eucharist, with so much learning, acuteness, and eloquence, that, as Erasmus says, he had done enough to seduce even the Elect, if God did not interpose. We are here told that Erasmus was preparing to answer him. But Erasmus never did answer him; and doubtless this induced many persons to suspect that he secretly inclined to the sentiments of this Reformer. For it is amusing us with an idle tale, to say that Erasmus by mere modesty and humility chose to wait till more able men than himself should undertake that task. The world will always believe that if he had felt himself as able to manage this and other controverted points, as that upon *Free-will*, he would not have scrupled to trespass a little upon his own humility. He was perpetually representing the difficulty of answering the Reformers, and the ignorance and incapacity of their antagonists, without attempting to do something better. This made many persons think that, although Erasmus disliked some notions of the Protestants, yet what most displeased him in the Reformation, was the manner in which it was conducted; and that it was this that retained him in the Church of Rome. And indeed, he exclaims not so much against their sentiments, as against their behaviour, which in his opinion was too hasty and impetuous.

The Author, having pointed out these faults, makes some reflections upon the conduct of the Elector of Saxony, the most generous Prince of that age, who undertook the protection of Luther. He says also that this Prince trembled, like a Cain, three days together before his death, God by this judgment reminding him of his heresy: and that Henry VIII. expired with these words in his mouth, *All is lost*. This last stroke he took from Sanders, a writer convicted of so many lies, that it is not safe to trust him in any thing.

V. The fifth Truth is proposed with some diffidence, namely, that Erasmus said of Calvin, *Video magnam pestem oriri in Ecclesia, contra Ecclesiam*; Calvin will be a very pestilent fellow in the Church: for Erasmus died in 1536. and Calvin was not at Basil before 1535. being at that time twenty six years of age. But besides, the story comes from Florimond de Raimond, a wretched Romancer, who hath put

into the mouth of Erasmus ^a words without a meaning: for all the heretics in the world have arisen in the Church, and there is nothing in this remark which characterizes John Calvin. Be that as it will, our Author pretends that Erasmus in his works condemned and confuted beforehand all the maxims upon which Calvin founded his reformation.

VI. The next Truth is, that Erasmus repented of having in ^r the days of his youth written in too free and jocular a manner against the superstitions and the corruptions which Ignorance and Self-interest had introduced into the Divine Service.

But all that Erasmus says upon this head, is that he could not foresee the contests and the tumults which afterwards arose in the Church, and which gave occasion to his enemies to exclaim against him on account of a little innocent raillery, which he had employed with a view to cure the minds of men from the superstitions with which he saw them sadly infected.

VII. The last Truth is, that Erasmus was no enemy to the Monks, but rather their true friend. This he proves by observing that Erasmus had a great esteem for the virtuous part of them, that he advised some of them not to quit their Monasteries, and that he only censured the ignorant and vicious Monks, who indeed at that time were very numerous. Remarks are here subjoined upon the manner in which Erasmus departed from his Monastery, and upon the abuses which had crept into it: an account is given of the complaints which Erasmus made of the Monks in his days; and this article concludes with pious reflections extracted from the works of Erasmus. The whole is closed with just commendations bestowed upon the labours of this illustrious man, particularly upon his *Instruction of a Christian Prince*; with complaints that his wholesome advice hath not been followed, although Germany owes it to him that she hath not entirely abandoned the Romish religion; with reflections on the piety of Erasmus, and the purity of his faith, which is to be more amply set forth in the next volume; lastly with a *Prosopopæia*, wherein Erasmus is intro-

^a If he had made Erasmus say of this young man, *I see many Luthers in Calvin*, it had been more to the purpose, and more in the manner of Erasmus. But the Booby could not make a tolerable story of it.

^r Erasmus was no such chick, when he published his *Colloquies*. He was more than fifty years old.

duced in heaven, praying to God that he would give a blessing and good success to this book of Mr. Richard. ^s — BIBL. UNIV. VII. 122.

BIZARDIERE.

Histoire d'Erasme, sa vie, ses mœurs, sa mort, et sa religion. Par M. De la Bizardiere. Paris. 1721.

This is a short, slight, and superficial history of Erasmus, by one who favours and defends him. It may be read over in an hour. He hath given a wrong account of the quarrel between Erasmus and Eppendorf; and to shew himself a good Catholic, he abuses and calumniates Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, and Oecolampadius; and selects some spiteful things, which Erasmus, in his wrath, had let fly against the Reformers.

He concludes with the judgment of the Cardinal De Retz, who, it seems, had said, that if Erasmus had not come too late into the world, he would have been reckoned amongst the Fathers of the Church. *Il ne manque à Erasme que l'antiquité, pour être compté parmi les Peres de l'Eglise.*

MARSOLLIER, &c.

An account of a dispute lately started in France concerning this question, Whether Erasmus was a good Catholic?

“The Abbot Marsollier published last year an Apology for Erasmus, wherein he undertakes to prove that Erasmus was an Orthodox Catholic.

Apologie, ou Justification d'Erasme, par Mr. l'Abbé Marsollier, Chanoine et ancien Prevôt de l'Eglise d'Uzès. Paris, 1713. in 12°.

This Author does not pretend to maintain that Erasmus never departed from the opinions commonly received; but every error, says he, is not an heresy. Besides, his constant submission to the judgment of the Church is sufficient to clear him from that imputation.

In order to make a more particular apology for Erasmus, the Abbot has inserted in his Book several extracts of letters written to that

^s Here follows the story of the *Pear-tree*, which we have inserted in the Life of Erasm. p. 62.

learned man by the Emperor Charles V. Ferdinand King of Hungary, Sigismund King of Poland, Henry VIII. King of England, and by the Popes Leo X. Adrian VI. and Paul III. wherein they highly commend Erasmus for opposing Luther, and putting a stop to the progress of his heresy. The Popes desire him to write against the heretics: Adrian VI. asks his advice about the method of suppressing the errors that disturb the Church. Could these Princes and Popes be ignorant of Erasmus's doctrine? Were they so afraid of him as to dissemble and flatter him?

If Erasmus complained of several abuses in the Church, they were such as the Council of Trent thought fit to reform. In short, the Abbot Marfollier sets off the merit of Erasmus to the greatest advantage: he takes notice of all the valuable qualities of that illustrious writer, and of the great services he hath done to the Church of Rome.

That Apology has been ^t confuted by an anonymous ^u Author in the *Memoirs of Trevoux*. The interest of the Church, says he, requires that the Faithful may see the poison concealed under the flowers; that the flock of Jesus Christ be turned away from infected pastures; and that the mask be thrown off from wolves appearing in the disguise of sheep. In what a danger would the Faithful be, if, after the reading of Mr. Marfollier's book, they should reckon Erasmus amongst the Doctors of the Church? — Shall I suffer the Faithful to fall into the snare laid for them innocently by well-meaning men? No: I must discover the true character of Erasmus.

The Author having commended Erasmus for many excellent qualifications, adds, that he is one of those dangerous writers, who cannot be read without running the hazard of losing or weakening one's faith. Erasmus boasted of keeping a medium between Luther and the Catholic Church. Let no one therefore represent him as an orthodox Doctor. Let us leave him in that medium which he pitched upon.

In the next place the Author observes that Erasmus appeared in the world through apostasy; for he left the Monastery of the Canons of St. Austin. Thus, says the Author, a rambling Monk, a deserter,

^t *Refutation de l'Apologie d'Erasme.* A. 1714.

^u He is, I suppose, Father Tournemine, a Jesuit. See *Burigni*, Tom. ii. p. 392. an excom-

an excommunicated person, is represented as a Doctor of the Church, and a teacher of the spiritual life. He dies in an heretical town, amongst heretics, his best friends and disciples. He dies in their arms, without calling for a Catholic priest, without receiving or desiring the Sacraments of the Church, without asking for a Catholic burial, without giving any proof of his faith in his last will. Is this to die the death of the Righteous? Is this to die the death of the Faithful? I repeat it again: Here is a Doctor of the Church very singular: there are none like him.

Erasmus, says the Author, being a man of a sweet temper, and a enemy to all manner of constraint, did always look upon liberty and a quiet life as the greatest of all blessings. Besides, being timorous and mistrustful, he was afraid of the very shadow of a danger: fond of his reputation, he was willing to preserve it, without exposing either his life or his liberty: he loved novelties out of taste and vanity; but he was afraid of being brought into trouble upon that account: he was over-ruled by those passions; and they occasioned his several writings by turns. The love of novelties moved him to oppose the common opinions, when he thought he might do it with impunity: timourousness made him put on the outside of a Catholic: lastly those two passions joining together prevented him from siding with any party. He was neither a Lutheran, nor a Catholic: he avoided making a sect; but he gave birth to a very numerous one, I mean that of the ^w Latitudinarians. To prove all those assertions, the author quotes in the first place, Erasmus's Preface to his *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*. Erasmus, says he, concludes a violent Satire against Theology, wherein Thomas Aquinas is not spared, with these words: *There is no end of examining in what manner we ought to speak of Christ, as if we had to do with a fantastical Dæmon, who could not be raised up without some danger, if any words of the set form were omitted; whereas we have to do with a most gracious Saviour, who requires nothing from us, but a pure and upright heart.* These last words, says our Author, discover the great principle of the Latitudinarians.

Erasmus unfolds that principle in a letter to John Slechts. *The right way of reuniting people to the Church of Rome*, says our Latitudi-

^w *La Secte des Tolerans.*

narian Doctor, *would be to make no other articles of faith, but such as contain truths plainly expressed in the Scripture. Few would be sufficient. The Christian Theology, continues he, may be reduced to this.* 1. *That we ought to repose our confidence in God, who freely gives us everything through his Son Jesus Christ.* 2. *That his Son has redeemed us by his death.* 3. *That baptism unites us to him, that we may follow his example, hurt no man, but do good to every body.* 4. *That if we happen to be in adversity, we ought to bear it in hopes of a future reward, which all pious men shall receive when Christ comes.* Erasmus adds, *That if some men have a mind to make more abstruse inquiries about the divine nature, the person of Christ, or the Sacraments, they may do it.* Here is, says our Author, a confession of faith, which might indeed reunite all Christians: the Socinians would not refuse to subscribe to it: but how shall we call the man, who proposes such an expedient?

Erasmus exclaims against Luther and the Lutherans, when he writes to the Catholics; and at the same time he writes in confidence to one of his friends, speaking of the Bull published by Leo X. *I am sorry the Evangelical doctrine should be thus oppressed; that we should be tyrannized instead of being instructed; and that we should be taught nothing but what is contrary to the holy Scripture and common sense.* I desire Mr. Marfollier, says our Author, to tell me whether this be the language of a man who submits to the Church. Erasmus plainly says in another letter, *That he will not determine whether Luther, already condemned, is out of the Church. If the Church comes to waver on both sides, says he, I shall keep close to the solid stone, till the storm be over, and we may know where the Church is: Erasmus will always be where the Evangelical peace is to be found.*

Let others, says he, affect the glory of martyrdom: as for me, I don't think myself worthy of that honour. In another letter he says; *The Germans had a mind to engage me in Luther's quarrel. — What good could I have done him? Two men would have perished instead of one. Suppose he had writ nothing, but what is agreeable to piety, it was never my design to maintain truth at the danger of my life. I follow the Emperor's and the Pope's decrees, when they judge right; which is piously done: I bear with them, when they judge wrong; wherein I consult my own safety. I think good men may be allowed to do so, when they cannot do otherwise.*

Again

Again, in another letter of Erasmus these words are to be found : *Some say slanderously that I keep a medium : I confess it is a very impious thing to keep a medium between Christ and Belial ; but I think it prudent to keep a medium between Scylla and Charybdis.* From these passages the Author infers that Erasmus was a very great Latitudinarian.

If it be asked, continues the Author, whether those kings and princes, who commended him, were afraid of him ? I answer, They were afraid of him so far as to think it necessary to have a regard for him. But how could Charles V. be afraid of a Doctor ? Had he not good reason to fear that Erasmus would occasion as many disturbances as Luther ? The reputation of the former was as great as that of the latter ; and if Luther shook the empire, Erasmus siding with him would have overthrown it. As for the Popes, it can be no wonder that they should have endeavoured to keep in by their praises a man, who might have done a great deal of mischief.

Erasmus would never trust the Popes : he always promises to go to Rome, but he never goes : he is no less careful about the latter end of his life to avoid all the places wherein the Catholic religion prevails : he refuses a benefice in his own Country, whither the queen of Hungary, Governess of the Low Countries, invited him in the most pressing manner : he was sensible he had so ill acted the part of a Catholic, that no body could be mistaken about it.

The Author adds, that the Popes did at last condemn most of his books ; that they are full of errors ; that he affects every where to weaken the proofs of Christ's divinity ; that he never converted any heretic ; that his disciples and servants forsook the Church of Rome ; that he does not express in his letters any great zeal for the conversion of his friends ; that he exhorts them only to moderation and toleration ; that his continual declamations and sharp satires against the abuses of the Church were not very proper to convert any heretic ; that he hath poisoned the works of the Fathers with his bold remarks, and satirical prefaces against those holy men ; that St Austin and St. Hilary have been horribly used by him ; that he has perverted the sense of Scripture by his rash explications, weakened tradition by his extravagant criticisms, betrayed the faith by his cautious and prudent behaviour ; and that he had not a true sense of piety. Can an apostate, an excommunicated person, a slanderer, who spared no body, a buffoon,

the author of the Colloquies, that impious Satire, which in the judgment of the gravest defenders of the faith has done more harm to the Church than the passionate writings of Luther; can such a man have a true sense of piety? The Author adds that there is no unctiō in the devotional books of Erasmus; and that he talks rather like a philosopher than like a Christian, or a man of God.

This is the substance of the late dispute concerning the illustrious Erasmus. I leave it to the Readers to make their observations upon it." *La Roche*, *Memoirs of Literature*, vol. viii. Art. xxiv. p. 207.

This anonymous Author concludes his dissertation against Erasmus and Marfollier in the following manner:

"It is to be hoped that M. Marfollier will be ashamed to tread in the steps of a *Jansenist*: for the first Apologist of Erasmus was one of these Innovators. I know not why they should be so fond of Erasmus, whose best performance is his treatise on *Free-will*, a book which surely cannot please them."

By this *Jansenist*, he means, I suppose, Mr. Richard.

ANONYMOUS:

Reponse à la Refutation de l'Apologie d'Erasme. In the *Memoires Littéraires*, T. i. p. 355. A. 1716.

This *Answerer* makes free with the *Refuter*, and treats him as he deserves, and defends Erasmus against his censurers. Burigni says that this Author is Doctor Courayer. T. ii. p. 472.

ANONYMOUS.

Critique de l'Apologie d'Erasme de Mr. l'Abbé Marfollier. Par **** Paris, 1719.

This anonymous Critic, who writes with liveliness and elegance enough, is exactly in the same sentiments with the *Journalists* of *Tre-voux*. He censures Richard and Marfollier, and all those who judged favourably of Erasmus.

He undertakes to shew that Erasmus stands condemned by the most learned and skilful Divines, that he apostatized from Monkery, that he was a corrupter of Christians by his licentious writings, that he

was

was the introducer of the Lutheran heresy, and that he favoured Arianism.

Amongst the *learned* adversaries of Erasmus he enumerates Lee, Standish, Dorpius, Latomus, Titelman, the Sorbonne, Clichtovæus, The Spanish Divines, Stunica, Albertus Pius, The Doctors of Louvain, The Council of Trent, Hosius, Soto, Medina, Catharinus, Salmero, Andrada, Canisius, Bellarmin, Stapleton, Ignatius Loyola, Gretzer, Spondanus, Raynaldus, the Benedictins, &c. But of these *great* men, some were *little* men, some were mere Scholastic Divines, who understood nothing of Classical and Critical Erudition, of Ecclesiastical Antiquities, and of the holy Scriptures; and some were violent party men, and attached to the Court of Rome, either by injudicious zeal, or from political principles.

However, certain it is that no man, who thinks the Church of Rome to be in a state of perfection, and to want no reformation, can love the writings or the memory of Erasmus; and so far our Anonymous is in the right.

The charge of apostasy, which he fixes upon Erasmus, is founded upon a supposition that it is unlawful for a Monk to quit the frock. But Erasmus would have told him this was begging the question.

Erasmus, says he, in his early youth became a Monk. At first he was well pleased with his condition, for he wrote a Book *De Contemptu Mundi*, which is a panegyric of the Monastic life, and is addressed to one Jodocus, whom he wanted to invite to his Monastery.

But Erasmus informs us, that this work was a very trifle, written by him when he was under age, and a mere boy; and written to humour some people who set him about it.

In those days, says our Author, he applied himself to painting, for amusement; and in the cabinet of Cornelius Musius of Delft there is a Crucifix with an inscription which shews it to have been the work of Erasmus.

He indeed obtained leave from Leo X. to quit his Order; but, says our Censor, it was by a false representation of facts, and so the guilt lies on his own head. Being thus set free, he began his rambles, and no deserter from the Monks ever wrote so much, or travelled so much as he.

This Author undertakes to shew against Marfollier, that the Protestants never claimed Erasmus: and indeed the Protestants have generally accounted him a man, who saw the truths which he had not the courage to maintain, and who endeavouring to steer^x between two violent and contending parties, was thoroughly liked by neither.

He hath also sufficiently proved that Erasmus was the forerunner of Luther.

He charges him with standing neuter in the affair of the Divorce of Henry VIII. whilst the pious and intrepid Monks declared themselves for the good cause, and suffered unexampled torments for it, so that their blood was shed like water throughout the King's dominions. For the truth of this he is not ashamed to cite Sanders, of all historians the greatest *Liar*; and he forgets, or will not remember, what a multitude of Catholic Divines gave their opinion in favour of that divorce.

His charge upon Erasmus, of Arianism, is grounded principally upon some passages of Scripture which had been very injudiciously urged against the Arians, and which Erasmus had too much sense and candor to misinterpret.

He observes that the works of Erasmus are without *Undtion*, and not at all proper to instill piety in young people, and that he hath spoken ludicrously and profanely of several things which are revered by good Catholics.

He says that an air of pride and vanity appears in all his writings; and that he had the arrogance to take for his *Device*, the God *Terminus*, with the Legend, *Nulli cedo*.

He is very sure that the Court of Rome never intended to make him a Cardinal.

Upon the whole, he allows him no good moral quality, and represents him as an ingenious, an industrious, and a bad man.

“THE Author of this *Critique de l'Apologie*, &c. was one of the bare-footed Austin Friars, called Father Gabriel of Toulon. His book is methodically written; but partiality, and a desire of shewing

^x In the *Pasquilli* this Motto is given to Erasmus, from Virgil:

Terras inter cælumque volabat.

that Erasmus deserved condemnation, predominate too openly in this work.

There appeared in the *Journal Littéraire*, a refutation of the attack made, in the *Memoirs of Trevoux*, upon the Apology of Erasmus. The Author, who produceth nothing new, calls himself *Cleral*. Two years before the book of Father Gabriel of Toulon made its appearance, a very judicious Thesis had been maintained at Hamburgh, under the celebrated Professor, Joan. Albertus Fabricius. It is a book divided into four chapters. In the first are set forth the services which Erasmus did to religion: in the second are mentioned the transactions between him and Luther: in the third and fourth are examined the censures which the enemies of Erasmus have passed upon his doctrine and his works. The Author, though a Lutheran, concludes that Erasmus, notwithstanding his disputes with the Monks and the Divines, was a settled Catholic. It is easy to discover in this little Dissertation the style and the moderation of the illustrious Author, who presided at the Thesis. *Exercitatio Critica de religione Erasmi, quam in auditorio Gymnasii Hamb. ad D. XVIII. Martii, Anni 1717. Jubileo secundo Ecclesiae divinis auspiciis reformari coeptae memorabilis, praeside Joani. Alberto Fabricio, S. S. Theologiae D. et Prof. public. defendet publice Joannes Kleteker Hamburgensis.* Burigni T. ii. p. 550.

K N I G H T.

^y About twenty years ago, a learned French-man, Claude ^z Joly, Canon and Official of Paris, did take the pains to reduce into Annals what he had met with relating to the actions, writings, &c. of Erasmus: but it proved at last an abortive piece. — However had the aforementioned work been extant, it being writ in French, and having had no particular relation to England, or the friends Erasmus had here, it needed not to have prevented me in this History; the professed design of which is not only to do justice to Erasmus, but also to very many famous English-men his contemporaries; most of whom have been long buried in obscurity, and have hardly a name in our histories, though this is very much to our shame and scandal. Hav-

^y Knight's Introduction to the Life of Erasmus.

^z See Colomesius *Bibl. Choif.* p. 464. Malinchrot promised to write the Life of Erasmus. *Colomes.* B. Ch. p. 457.

ing then particularly considered all those passages in his writings that refer to England, the state of learning and religion at the time he lived there, and many other incidental matters, which naturally fell in with them both; I doubt not of the Reader's finding an agreeable entertainment in the following work. I am not ashamed to own that many or most of my materials are gathered out of Erasmus's own works; yet till I had ranged them under proper heads, and reduced them to some order, they were of little service to my present undertaking.

Many things in this essay will be also found relating to our Universities, which having escaped the notice of our Antiquaries, must needs be agreeable to the taste of the present age; wherein there is a commendable emulation to excell in this sort of knowledge, and to cultivate the study of our British antiquities, and particularly what relates to those learned Bodies. As each of these in their turns, by their being too fond of assuming the honour of having Erasmus among them, have fallen into some mistakes about the time he sojourned at each University, so I have impartially endeavoured to rectify them, and to fix the exact time of his coming to, abode with, and leaving them; plainly proving that the University of Cambridge had much the advantage in this particular, and that as she had more of his company, so also greater helps from his learning, which was more considerable in his last visits to England than could possibly have been expected in his first. One reason why I could not digest his life into Annals, which was my first design, was, because I found it necessary lightly to pass over those years he spent abroad in his own country, France, Italy, Swisserland, &c. for though we doubt not, that every portion of his time was spent very accountably to himself, as well as usefully to the world, yet as he lived to the age of seventy years, should every passage thereof be minutely considered, and the characters of his friends and enemies enlarged upon, the volume would have swoln to an unreasonable bulk. —

But however lest the chasm should be too great, and instead of being prolix, I should have been deficient in the series of the history, I have just touched upon the first thirty years of his life, which were spent before he saw England, and the last twenty after he left it, beginning with his birth in 1467. and ending with his death which
was

was in 1536. leaving the enlargement upon those fifty years to learned Foreigners. —

But who knows not the difficulty of speaking truth in a Popish country? If the *Index Expurgatorius* has affixed in the front of Erasmus's works, *Autor damnatus*, and this harsh note upon the whole, *Opera omnia Erasmi caute legenda, tam multa enim insunt correctione digna ut vix omnia expurgari possint*: what quarter can be expected by any of the Romish Communion, if they venture to speak favourably of Erasmus, or his opinions? So that whosoever does this in a Popish country, must have the spirit of a Martyr to bear him out, or he will make no thorough work of it. But as this is not our unhappy case, I have very largely considered his Theological conflicts with several of our bigotted country-men, and it must afford a pleasing spectacle to see how he triumphs over them, and foils them at their own weapons. There is, as Dean Colet calls it, *Erasmicum quiddam*, something inimitable in all that he says, and he appears amongst his adversaries, *ut luna inter minores ignes*. And I cannot but observe, that though he appears so superior to his adversaries, and triumphs over them in good sense and argument, yet he entered the lists unwillingly, and not till he was forced to it by their impetuosity, as he says, *non nisi impetitus*; and this after he was fifty years old, till which time he went on sedately in his studies, leaving, wherever he came, choice specimens of his laborious learning; but when once he drew blood in controversy, he had hardly a quiet day afterwards, his enemies charged so thick upon him and persecuted him from city to city. It is indeed to be lamented that so much of his precious time was lost in cleansing the Augean stable of such barbarous and wretched stuff, with which their disputations abounded. No doubt we might have had some other choice lubrications in philology, besides those which are now extant, had he not been employed in those Theological scuffles: but whatever was lost to learning was gained to religion, and we may justly attribute a great share of the Reformation to him. Bishop Stillingfleet in his second Conference of the Idolatry of the Church of Rome, says, *It was not Luther or Zuinglius that contributed so much to the Reformation as Erasmus, especially amongst us in England. For Erasmus was the Man who awakened mens understandings, and brought them from the Friers Divinity to a relish of general learning. He by his wit laughed down the imperious insolence of the Monks, and made them the scorn of Christendom:*
and

and by his learning he brought most of the Latin Fathers to light, and published them with excellent editions and useful notes, by which means men of parts set themselves to consider the ancient Church from the writings of the Fathers themselves, and not from the Canonists and School-men. So that the most learned and impartial men were prepared for the doctrines of the Reformation before it broke forth.

And in another place he says, *there was not above one Greek Testament to be found in all Germany, till Erasmus printed it with notes, which infinitely took with all pious and learned men, and as much enraged the Monks and Friars, and all the fast friends to their dulness and superstition: and therefore Erasmus is in far greater esteem among the Divines of our Church, than either Luther or Calvin.* He adds also, *that to prevent the extravagancies of the people in the interpreting the Scripture, his most excellent Paraphrase was set up in Churches.*

I could run, says he, through all the errors of the Church of Rome which stand confuted by Erasmus, but it shall suffice to mention one or two of them. Erasmus expressly says that the gift of miracles, which was necessary to the first ages of the Church, for the conversion of Infidels, as speaking with strange tongues, miraculous cures, prophesying, &c. is now ceased.

Erasmus declared fully that, when Luther began to write, there was occasion and just cause of Reformation.

In many places he gives honourable testimony to Luther, and would, no doubt, have been his second in all that noble conflict, had he been endued with the same courage and resolution; but it is plain that he did not love suffering; his delight was in a studious ease and safety. Some have objected against Luther, that he was an enterprising man, of a forward, bold, and, what they called, a turbulent temper. It is happy he was so; for without a warmth of zeal, a presence of mind and an intrepid courage, pursuing truth, with invincible attachment to it, he could never have persisted in that immense difficulty of beginning the Reformation in Germany. We have had the same objection made in England, that Henry VIII. was a blustering prince, haughty and resolute, and affecting his own will and pleasure. It is enough to say that a milder prince could not have done much in so rugged a work. —

It

It required infinite courage, and a body and mind prepared for martyrdom, to oppose the Roman Church and Clergy. When once a man was suspected for an heretic, he could write or speak nothing but what was immediately turned to an heretical meaning. Erasmus plainly enough confessed, that though in many opinions he was a friend to Luther, yet he did not care to be a martyr for him.

I am sorry I am forced to go a little out of my way, and make a short break in the series of the history, in order to vindicate Erasmus from the aspersions cast upon him by a late ^a writer, in his Life of Cardinal Wolsey, wherein he would insinuate that Erasmus was of so mercenary a temper, that after he had served his ends of the Cardinal, and had nothing either to hope or fear from him, he gave his pen a loose against him. I am willing to hope that what I have to advance upon this head may abundantly convince any one who considers it, that such a reflection bears too hard upon the memory of this great man, and that the Cardinal did not only by his general character, but also by his harsh usage of particular persons, especially some who were very dear to Erasmus (to say nothing of the treatment he had from him himself, and neglect, as well as oppression, will sometimes make a wise man mad) force him to turn his pen very differently; nor can we, if we consider the circumstances, wonder at his launching out somewhat too smartly: but as the author of the book I hint at is lately dead, I shall forbear saying so much as I designed upon this head, and the known motives which engaged him to advance so many paradoxes as abound in his work. I shall only remark here, that not only Erasmus, who had by his writings much favoured the Reformation, and probably was upon that very account struck at by this writer, but even the Reformation itself escapes not without a good deal of censure and reflection from him; and to give it the more home strokes, he goes to the very root of it, and does all he can to evince the unjustifiable grounds it proceeded upon, ridicules the instruments of it, and would insinuate that there was a change made for the worse; and therefore palliates some of the most absurd doctrines of the Church of Rome, which were happily thrown off at the Reformation.

^a Dr. Fiddes.

It must be owned indeed that Erasmus has said as keen things against the Romanists as ever any writer before or since; and the observation is true that he hurt as much, *ridendo*, as Luther *stomachando*; yet his courage failed him, and he went not through with what he was most fit for, the Reformation of the Church; but, as is before hinted, paved the way to it, and though he had not so much courage, he had abundantly more learning than Luther. —

In his Epistles now extant (which though very numerous, yet are vastly short of what he wrote) as well as in his other writings, there is easily discoverable not only a hearty zeal towards the advancement of learning, and restoring it from that deplorable state into which it had been long sunk; but also very great efforts towards giving the world a true taste of the rational and genuine use of religion, which was then, and had been long before, sunk into the very dregs of error, superstition, and bigotry. In them he warns Christians against an implicit obedience, as well as a formal religion; presses them by the most cogent reasons to the exercise of those duties, which the Gospel requires, and distinguishes between these and the corrupt usages and doctrines of the Church, which had too much eaten into the very vitals of religion, and would, if continued longer, have destroyed all morality, as well as the improvement of it by Christianity. Hence he speaks in great contempt of resting in a bead-roll of prayers in an unknown tongue, and of tedious and ridiculous pilgrimages. —

It is true indeed, he continued within the pale of the Romish Church, yet at the same time he sapped the very foundation of it by the bold advances he made towards a Reformation. But, such is the weakness of human nature, he could not overcome his fears of the alteration and confusion of affairs that might ensue, which, as he apprehended, would render impracticable what he earnestly wished for, a thorough Reformation. And he did the more dread this from the frantic scene which about this time was opened by the Anabaptists in Germany, which had like to have given him almost a fatal prejudice to the Reformation then ensuing. But yet Erasmus proved wise enough to distinguish between zeal and madness, though others of weaker capacities and stronger prejudices could not. —

No one insists more clearly on the true genius of Christianity, than himself, or launches out with more warmth against that which is the very bane of religion; I mean the *Opus operatum*, as the Schools speak,

speaking, or resting in the outward forms of religion, which may be of ill consequence to the Reformed, as it has been to the Church of Rome. —

His *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* is of all his books more especially levelled against this Form of godliness, when without the power and practice of it. Therefore the Dominican Friars being stung by his plain dealing, especially in the preface to that book, made such a noise and clamour against it, that Erasmus never regained their favour; taking what he wrote so much the more heinously, since he was one of them, and consequently had disgraced his own ^b Order. We are told by a credible Author, Montfaucon, *Diar. Ital.* that in the Library of the Dominicans of St. John and St. Paul at Venice, there are two rows of wooden statues, one of the Catholic, and the other of heretical Doctors. Among the latter stands Erasmus loaded with chains, with Labels full of reproaches against him, as also against Luther and Calvin: but those who were more moderate, were content to picture him as hanging between heaven and hell.

His *Moriae Encomium*, to say nothing of his Colloquies, has also very sharp invectives against the *Religious* of that age, as they called themselves, when nothing was more notorious than their irreligion and ignorance; and yet they were taught to rail against Erasmus, though few of them had Latin enough to read his books; but this they were sure of, that he was an heretic, though his style, it seems, was so deep, that they were not able to conquer it. And indeed they made this very plain, when they were all in an uproar for his confining Theology to *Germany*, (than which they thought no place was more heretical) because he had a passage in his *Enchiridion*, in which he praised *germanam Apostolorum Theologiam*, which they took in this absurd sense. And no less crime was it to alter in the Lord's Prayer *debita* into *peccata*. —

A noble vein of freedom runs through all his volumes, unless some few passages may be thought otherwise, which were written on a surprise, or for fear of the indignation of his superiors, having always enemies ready to take advantage against him. But however it will appear all along very plain, that though he unwillingly entered

^b Erasmus was not a Dominican, but an Augustinian. See Life of Erasmi. p. 60.

the lists with Luther, yet in his ^c after writings he made him ample amends, and more especially in his Epistles, which are wrote in a free and easy way to his most familiar friends, in which we find very bold strokes in behalf of the Reformation; which as they must afford an agreeable entertainment to every reader, so much more to ourselves, since chiefly to our country-men, More, Warham, Fisher, Colet, &c. he opened his very soul, and speaks without the least reserve. ^d England was his admired place, and had he not had some potent enemies here, as well as many hearty friends, we had enjoyed him as many years as we did months. But the time he stayed was spent so much to the advantage both of religion and learning, that we should be ungrateful not to own even at this distance of time what we gained by him. And although we lost him too soon from England, yet did he not forget our country-men, after he was removed into foreign parts, but sent over many of his books, and inscribed them to his learned friends here, as a testimony of his love and affection for them.

Since then the labours of this eminent man, by the many Dedications that he made to our country-men, seem to be calculated to the taste, as well as the improvement of this our climate, where he found the greatest number of patrons; I hope it will not be unacceptable to the curious reader to present them in one view, and in a proper order. This will make it evident that he met with the greatest encouragement from England, and that most of his first and best productions were in a great measure owing to the suggestion and advice of some of the most considerable persons in this kingdom, &c. — These were his Patrons, and how they became such the History will inform us, and give a short account of them, and several others of our own country-men, who were also equally valued by him.

Having thus run over what was most material towards preparing the way to his life, I shall only add now a character of him

^c In this, Knight is mistaken.

^d “ The first Dreyden, who settled in Northamptonshire, was a School-master; and being learned and well acquainted with Erasmus, that person was god-father to one of his sons: which is the reason that that Christian-name descends among the family of the Dreydens in that county; some of whom have gloried in it in my hearing.” *Wood Fast. Ox. vol. i. c. 115.*

and

and his writings; and, that I may not appear partial, in the words of another person.

“*He* was the most facetious man of his age, and the most judicious critic; which are two talents that as seldom meet together in the same person, as pedantry and good manners. He carried on a reformation in learning at the same time as he advanced that of religion; and promoted a purity and simplicity of style, as well as of worship.

This drew upon him the hatred of the Ecclesiastics, who were no less bigoted to their barbarisms in language and philosophy, than they were to their unjust innovations in the Church. They murdered him over and over in their dull treatises, libelled him in their wretched sermons, and what was the last and highest effort of their malice, practised a piece of Mezentius’s cruelty upon him, and joined some of their own dead execrable stuff to his compositions. Of which barbarous usage he himself complains in an epistle addressed to the Divines of Louvain. He exposed with great freedom the vices and corruptions of his own Church, yet, for all that, could never be induced to leave the communion in which he was bred; which may be imputed to his great candour and moderation, or else to the ill management and furious proceedings of the first Reformers in Germany, which cannot be defended. Thus, by the common fate of all peace-makers, while he honestly and charitably intended to do all good offices to both parties, he was most undeservedly worried and persecuted by both. Perhaps no man hath obliged the public with a greater number of useful volumes than our Author: every thing that comes from him instructs and pleases, and may as easily be known by the masterly strokes, as his friend Hans Holbein’s pieces by the boldness of the paint, and the freshness of the colours. However he was supposed to be the author of several books he never wrote, which hath been the case of an hundred writers, both before and after him, as the *Captivitas Babylonica*, *Eubulus*, *Lamentationes Petri*, a Satire of Huttenus called *Nemo*, *Febris*, *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*.”

This last book, from one circumstance mentioned by Mons. Bayle, could not be his, since upon his reading of it, he was put into so violent a fit of laughter, that it broke an impostume in his face.

Erasmus took as much care as was possible to leave his works in such hands, as he thought could not fail of keeping them entire, and
not

not suffer him to be abused after he was dead. This he conjures his friends to do with the greatest earnestness imaginable. *Non onerabo (vos) psalteriis et anniversariis; sed obnixè rogo, ut inter vos partiti operas, omnes lucubrationes meas evolvatis, et in ordinem digestas et emendatas committatis Frobenio excudendas.* —

* THERE have been some few wrecks of this great man, which are past recovery, viz. Two books of *Antibarbari* lost by Pace: many of his elaborate Declamations were also stolen from him at Rome. Two books *De Eucharistia*, which he finished, but suppressed. He left imperfect at his death a Commentary upon St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, probably the same he prepared at the desire of Dean Colet for his Church of St. Paul's. He wrote several other treatises, which as the learned Bishop Bedel of Kilmore remarks, are since crept into other mens works, who have plumed themselves with his feathers. By his Lordship's way of speaking, one might imagine that he had discovered some of these plagiaries; which sure could be no hard matter to do, if they had not too much disguised his inimitable writings, with mixtures of their own wretched stuff. It is certainly much more easy to challenge an Author by his books than by his speech: and yet we find that ^f *a country-man of ours, falling into discourse with Erasmus at his coming to England, though he had never seen him before, after a few repartees passed between them, and who little thought then to embrace him, called him by his name, and discovered him by his way and manner of speaking to be Erasmus.*

Dr. Thomas Fuller, in his *Abel Redivivus*, p. 80. says (but I think without any grounds) that besides his works already published, there are these several Tracts following in the University Library at Oxford;

De novo Evangelio; novisque Evangelistis judicium.

Auris Batava.

Vita Coleti.

Duo diplomata Papæ Adriani, cum responsionibus.

Detestatio Belli.

* Knight's Life of Erasms. p 353, &c.

^f Bishop Patrick's *Witnesses to Christianity*, p. 1. p. 52.

Patrick, I suppose, had in view the story of the first conversation between More and Erasmus. See Life of Erasms. p. 175.

Precatio

Precatio ad Jesum, cum aliis Ejaculationibus.

De Hollandis. —

In the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. one Edmund Beck, who had been ordained Deacon by Bishop Ridley, published two Dialogues in English from the Latin of Erasmus, one called *Cyclops*, or the *Gospeller*; the other of *Disposing of Things and Names*, printed at Canterbury by John Michell. His *Bellum* was translated into English, and printed by Berthelet, 1534. —

Amongst those who wrote funeral Elegies on his Death, was John Helyar, an English-man, an intimate friend of his, who, as Wood says, was held in admiration by all the Virtuosi --- and N. Clenard of Portugal. —

THUS have we finished the life of this most famous and extraordinary person, who was, as one styles him, the envy of his own, and the wonder of all succeeding ages. His natural endowments were very uncommon, which being joined to an amazing industry and application, carried him through untrodden paths, and caused him to surmount all the difficulties that lay in his way, not only from the want of books, but of a Preceptor also to instruct him: it being certain that, bating a little knowledge that he got at School, he owed almost all his learning to himself in both the Latin and Greek languages. He went indeed into Italy, the then grand mart of polite learning; yet his journey thither was more out of a curiosity than for any other reason, being before that tour well versed in the study of the Greek tongue, having made a considerable progress in it, first at Oxford, and then at Paris: in which last place though he lived at several times, yet it appears he had no great love for it, nor indeed for any part of France, where he did not meet with the encouragement he deserved. Which however shews he had a most surprising genius, which did surmount all the difficulties which lay in his way to learning, and made him despise all the discouragements which he met with from almost every one about him, there being nothing to spur him on either of honour or profit, yet following the strong *impetus* that he had towards letters, he did, maugre all that opposed his progress, arrive to be the most con-

* Beat. Rhenanus Epist. præfix. Origenis operibus. 2

considerable man in Europe; and I may be bold to say, considering the difference of times and advantages, he has not been equalled since.

His memory was so very good, that he remembered all that he read, and could readily turn to any book or passage which he had occasion for. This he chose rather to do than to burden his memory with the rubbish of many of the books of his time; which yet as a writer, especially as a confuter of them, he had occasion for. His having so very happy a memory, might occasion his censure of the way of the English preachers, even in his time, of reading their notes, hinting as if practised no where else. I have already observed that he had both Horace and Terence by heart. I may now farther add, that though it is a common thing for those who have been great writers, so to spin out their materials, that the reader rather loses his time, than gains knowledge, the farther he proceeds in their books; Erasmus, on the contrary, dispatches his argument with conciseness as well as clearness, and mixes the *utile dulci* so admirably together, that he captivates the mind, and informs the understanding at the same time. We do not find that he ever so forgets himself, as to insert in one book what he had before writ in another, a fault some voluminous writers are subject to; but he that remembered all the writings of others, could not forget his own.

But yet so modest was he, and had so indifferent an opinion of his own deserts, that he hoped future times would make allowance for any imperfection that might be found in his writings, and consider how little his encouragement, or rather how great his discouragements were: but this at least he would have them know, that it was the chief pleasure of his life to see the flourishing state of learning before he died.

It must be owned he brought about the great change that was made in the state of learning; ^h one of his contemporaries speaking of him, says, the world had by him recovered the devastations that were made by the Goths and Vandals at their irruption into Italy, when they had destroyed all the famous libraries there. To which great character we

^h Andr. Barlandus.

may add, that he went through with every thing he undertook, leaving nothing imperfect at the time of his death, but his Comment on the Epistle to the Romans. And what must increase our wonder is, that all these mighty things were done under great infirmities of body, as well as in an unsettled way of life, being continually moving from place to place, which as it occasioned loss of time, so, no doubt, subjected him to many other inconveniences, to say nothing of the continual avocations he met with from his beloved studies, by the answering of those many dull and worthless invectives of his opposers, who were daily pelting him with their most frivolous answers to what was really unanswerable, especially in what related to Luther and the Reformation; for as he could not go all the lengths that either side would have him, he could please neither, but armed both the one and the other against him; and yet there appears no chasm in his life, nor could he be discouraged from proceeding in his noble designs of promoting the public good, and the interest of both sound learning and true religion: and if in any thing he failed, allowance ought to be made for the difficulty of the time he lived in.

He owns that he was not pleased with his own compositions, and that writing a great pace and in an extemporary way, many things might escape him which would offend a more curious eye; but he could not away with too long poring upon his own writings, of which though he himself had a very mean, yet the world has always had a great opinion.

I have, through the whole foregoing history, shewed how much we in England were beholden to him for his laying the foundation of polite learning amongst us: yet it must not be dissembled that, although he had very great friends and patrons while he sojourned here, he did not meet with all that encouragement he deserved, or indeed was promised him upon his foregoing other places, where he had greater and more encouraging offers.

His frequent visits however shewed his strong inclination to settle in England; but the death of some, and the falseness of other friends, made him at last weary of us, and he complains of this his treatment, though in very soft¹ terms. But however sparing of their favours some

¹ Jam apud Britannos tametsi fortuna contigit non usquequaque poenitenda, certe meis aliquanto major meritis: tamen, ut verum fateor, non omnino respondet nec votis nostris, nec amicorum pollicitis.

of his patrons were, we find he was not so of his pains when here, but also in every place where he resided; always opening his treasures of learning, and communicating every thing he knew to the inquisitive, being as ready to impart that knowledge he had acquired with the greatest labour, as they to receive it: being quite of a different temper from some otherwise great men, who think much to part with what they know to others; and grudge to divulge their mysteries, as they call them, to the Vulgar.

We may see by the Epistle Dedicatory of B. Rhenanus, how much this narrow and stingy spirit had prevailed in the world; and that in Italy especially great pains were taken to bar up the knowledge of the tongues, which they had imported from Greece, from the rest of Europe, that so they might find their advantage in the continually flocking thither of strangers from all parts. But Erasmus soon spoilt their trade; for in a very few years polite learning had made its way into every corner of Europe; so that what a learned man, his contemporary, says relating to the great service he did in Germany, is equally true as to other places which he favoured any time with his company. He found means to polish the Barbarians (for so the Italians called all but themselves) and raised a spirit of industry amongst them, that they had soon no pretence of travelling abroad in quest of learning, since he brought it home to their own doors. He was willing for the public good to descend from the pompous part of learning, and took as much delight and satisfaction in publishing his little *Cato*, as in any of his more learned works. Hence from the same principle he was pleased to hear of any rising Genius, though possibly his own fame might in time be obscured by them, it being his most passionate wish, that the world might grow and increase in the knowledge of polite learning, hating nothing more than the monopolizing that which ought to be common; or the thought of Wisdom's dying with him; and to be accounted in this sense, the Phoenix of the age he lived in.

When the unhappy difference began between Erasmus and Budæus, which was justly looked upon as a struggle between them for a primacy in learning, when the contention was most sharp and fierce, in the judgment of all impartial persons, Erasmus (to say nothing how much he excelled him as to learning) got much the better of him by his good

good temper and pacific moderation. This is plainly seen in the kind return he made him to a very angry and waspish letter of Budæus, which only served to shew his pride and ill-nature. —

He was a very candid judge of other men's learning; no person did more towards the propagating of knowledge, in all places where he came; and none ever suffered more than he by the enemies of it.

He was a despiser of the wealth and honours of the world — one of great sincerity and openness, which probably made him not much in love with Princes Courts. Yet once we find that he was much pleased with our English Court. —

It cannot be much wondered at that he should never rise to any considerable dignity. He himself acquaints us that his passionate love for liberty, and avoidance of every thing that brought any care or trouble with it, was the real occasion that he never was or would be advanced by his great friends.

— In one place he seems to repent his obstinate refusal of preferments and dignities, since they would have prevented some inconveniencies he found did afterwards attend the want of them. —

LE CLERC.

“ *There* are, I know, certain persons, who speak with a sort of contempt of Erasmus, and yet are infinitely inferior to him in all respects. He did not spend his days in grammatical trifles, like these censurers; and he sometimes fell into some grammatical and critical mistakes, either because it is next to impossible to avoid them, or because he wanted proper assistances. On this account, minute Grammarians, whose labours equal not the hundredth part of his, and who have done nothing in the philological way that can stand in competition with his *Adages*, rail at him, and say that there was no occasion to reprint his works. If they were to be consulted, no books deserve that honour, except those of their own trade, consisting of very tiresome and not very useful criticisms. Others of a higher order, approve not his Theological sentiments, and could wish that they were buried in oblivion, and that in their stead those writings should rather be republished, which contain the disputes of certain Divines of quarrelsome memory.

If I be asked, whether I approve all that Erasmus hath published, I say, no: and yet this I say, that he was not only one of the best Grammarians and Critics of his time, but that no one contributed more than he to the revival of the *Belles Lettres*, or hath better shewed their true and proper use: for he employed them, not only to explain a few profane authors, but Christian Antiquities, the New Testament, and the works of the Fathers, which at that time were not understood, and of which there were no good editions, before those which he gave to the public. I will add, that he was one of the first, who perceived that many errors and disorders had entered into Christianity, and who endeavoured to apply a remedy to these evils, by opening the way to an acquaintance with originals, and by sometimes ridiculing and sometimes seriously opposing the propagators and defenders of these false opinions and pernicious practices. Doubtless he greatly contributed to dispell the darkness of that age, and to prepare the world for the reception of a brighter light, of which he only saw the dawning. This change was not introduced without furious commotions, which seemed to threaten no less than universal confusion and ruin: and he was so terrifyed at it, that towards the latter part of his life, he equally condemned all the contending parties. He had flattered himself with pleasing hopes that the rulers in Church and State, being modestly and mildly admonished of the errors and disorders which by degrees had over-run Christianity, would of their own accord apply suitable remedies, and that there would be no occasion for tumultuous proceedings, and an open rupture. In this he was quite mistaken, as the event shewed. These men were not at all disposed to listen to such civil remonstrances, and Erasmus judged too favourably of them, because he knew that they were obliged to listen to them by all the sacred ties of duty to God and man. But if they who should have reformed these abuses, and had the power to do it, had not the will to act accordingly, then Erasmus thought that Christians must bear it with patience, and wait for better days and more favourable opportunities. Others, on the other hand, were fully persuaded that these better days would never present themselves, days when the Ecclesiastical Powers would make a voluntary sacrifice of their temporal interests to Truth and Piety: that therefore at all adventures the yoke was to be shaken off, which they had laid upon the necks of Christians, by mere
trick

trick and surprise, in times of gross ignorance and barbarity, that they themselves might enjoy the pomp and pleasures of this life, without paying the least regard to Christianity. The sentiment of these Reformers was the more reasonable and courageous, but it was also infinitely more perilous; and all men cannot look Danger in the face with the same intrepidity.

The disposition of Erasmus, with relation to this grand affair will best be seen in our account of his Life, extracted from his letters, which in the Edition of Leyden are ranged, as nearly as possible, in the order of time. It was a singular pleasure to me, whilst I perused them in this manner, to observe the conduct and the sentiments of this great man in different times and places. I plainly discerned that the desire of advancing the progress of literature, and that of disengaging the minds of men from innumerable superstitions which possessed them, were his two predominant passions all the days of his life; and doubtless he contributed greatly to the one and to the other. Whether he reasons with earnest seriousness, or whether he employs irony and raillery, he is equally entertaining, and he pursues his favourite schemes by different ways. On this account, the age in which he flourished was infinitely obliged to him, and he well deserves to have his failings candidly treated and forgiven. But it is better to enter into a detail of these things, and as much as we can, to introduce Erasmus speaking for himself, than to deal in these general reflections."

Bibl. Chois. v. 145.

"The works of Erasmus had been so scarce for a considerable time, as to be found only in the best libraries, when the Bookseller who hath undertaken to publish them, came to me, to consult me upon the occasion. I did not fail to commend and to encourage his project, and I promised him to add some remarks, and to do all that should lie in my power to make his edition acceptable to the public. Some years passed before I could accomplish what I intended, either because I was occupied in other works, or because we waited for some assistances which had been promised to the Bookseller. But at last we have given three Volumes of this great work, which will be soon followed by the rest, some of which are in the press.

It seems not necessary that I should here make a panegyric of Erasmus and of his writings. I have done it in a general Preface prefixed to the first Tome. If he had in his days innumerable adversa-

ries,

ries, Catholics and Protestants, either on account of the envy which inseparably accompanies virtue and erudition, or of the religious controversies, together with the terrible commotions, persecutions and bloody wars which raged almost all over Europe, we may say, that, since his death, all reasonable and judicious men, of both communions, have equally commended him, and esteem him still at present more than ever. His erudition, which excited the envy and the hatred of all the enemies of the sciences, his moderation in controversy, his liberty in reproofing whatsoever he thought should be reformed, his agreeable and facetious manner of proposing his thoughts, are at this day the admiration of all Europe; and there is no nation which doth not envy Holland the honour of having produced him, and applaud Rotterdam for erecting a statue to his memory. The reader will see in the Preface, which is not a long one, what may be said to his advantage, without offending the delicacy of either of the two parties into which Christianity is split. Instead of making any extracts from it, I shall say something of the three first Tomes, to inform those who have not seen them, and to shew them that they cannot lay out their money upon a better purchase.

Care hath been taken, then, to revise a copy of Froben's Edition in 1540. to correct several faults of the press, and of the spelling, and to put those passages in *Italics* which required it; for, according to the custom of those times, all was printed in *Roman*.

Short notes are added, not to explain Erasmus, who is so perspicuous as not to need it; but to point out some passages which were not cited exactly enough, to confirm some of his sentiments, or to point out his mistakes.

A beautiful print of this illustrious man, taken from an original of Holbein, is also inserted, nor is the Statue of Rotterdam omitted. Under the picture of Erasmus is an elegant epigram of Francius. The Bookseller hath caused to be added a collection of Eloges of Erasmus made not only by Princes, and by eminent men, who were his contemporaries, but by several others, whose names are little known, and upon whose compliments Erasmus perhaps would not have set much value. But however, being short, they will not exercise the patience of the reader.

Then follows the dedication of Beatus Rhenanus to Charles V. which is in the Edition of Basil, and which contains the Life of Erasmus.

But

But this account of him not being complete enough, some pieces are added of Paul Merula, and of Petrus Scriverius on the same subject, as also the History of his works, which he published himself, and which he addressed to John Botzem of Constance, and to Hector Bœotius, or Boëthius, of Scotland. Here are also some more Epitaphs and Eloges, which had been separately printed, and never before adjoined to his works. They therefore who like to read the praises bestowed upon this great man, will find an ample collection of them, in prose and verse.

WHEN we have passed through this *Porch*, as we may call it, adorned with monuments and inscriptions in honour to the Author, we come to Erasmus himself, that is to the first Tome of his works, containing

1. His book *De Copia Verborum et Rerum*, or the manner of diversifying the same subject.
2. The Greek Grammar of Theodorus Gaza, translated into Latin.
3. The book of Lily, master of St. Paul's School, on the construction of the Parts of Speech, corrected by Erasmus, at the request of Colet, Dean of St. Paul's.
4. Several dialogues and tracts of Lucian translated from the Greek.
5. The treatise of Erasmus concerning the manner of writing letters upon all subjects.
6. A discourse on the education of children, from their birth.
7. A book on the method of studying.
8. A declamation in praise of Physic.
9. Three short declamations of Libanius translated into Latin, to which a few notes are added, in this edition, whence it will appear that Erasmus hath mistranslated several passages, although he published this work in 1503. when he was thirty six years of age.
10. A collection of Similes on various subjects.
11. His Colloquies, to which are added notes selected from those which were in an edition of Leyden (most of which indeed are here omitted, as childish and useless) with a few remarks where it seemed necessary.
12. A dialogue entitled the Combat of Thalia and Barbarity, which had been omitted in most editions, even in that of Basil, 1540. but which Erasmus acknowledged as his own work. After this come the Apologies which he drew up for his Colloquies.
13. A dialogue concerning the true pronounciation of the Latin and Greek languages; with a remarkable passage from J. G. Vossius.
14. The dialogue called *Ciceronianus*, where Erasmus ridicules those, who dared not to employ a word or a phrase, which was not to be found in Cicero.
15. A small tract of civility of manners in children.
16. A version of three books of Galen

Galen, which are an exhortation to the study of literature. 17. An abridgment of the Elegances of Laurentius Valla. 18. A translation in verse of the Hecuba and the Iphigenia of Euripides. 19. Ovid's poem, entituled *The Nut-tree*, with a large Comment of Erasmus. 20. some poems and epigrams of Erasmus.

Although all these tracts are not equally laboured and useful, yet the spirit of the Author appears in them all, who often entertains his reader with lively strokes of wit, where one would not expect them.

In his treatise on the manner of writing epistles, after having observed that sciences began to flourish in every place, he adds that he saw the time approaching, when youth would no longer stand in need of his advise and instructions. *Nisi me fallit animi præsagium, brevi veniet ætas, quum nec his monitis erit opus, nec meis præceptionibus juventus egebit.* He hath been a Prophet: but if we have in these days better methods and assistances, and if men have arisen, who surpassed him in the knowledge of languages and of antiquities, yet very few have equalled his indefatigable industry, his wit, and his sincere and elegant manner of setting forth the truth. If his translations from the Greek are not so accurate as those which have been since made, that is owing to the age in which he lived, when there were no good dictionaries, and no good editions of Greek authors, which will now enable men, inferior to him in all respects, to avoid the faults which he committed. It is surprising, how a man of his genius could submit to the servile drudgery of translating; but he had received from heaven as much patience and perseverance, as wit and fancy and penetration. If in his immense labours some things are found which may be censured, there is much more which commands our admiration, when we call to mind the times wherein he performed all this, and consider also that he was born and bred in poverty, and never had any public employment, any lucrative benefice, which might have defrayed his necessary expences. He lived, properly speaking, upon the presents which were made to him, and these not being a stated income, he was often reduced to straits. He was also a frequent traveller, and consequently obliged to borrow most of the books which he wanted; except perhaps in the latter part of his life, when he resided in Alsace, or Switzerland, where he kept his library. Notwithstanding all these discouragements and disadvantages, there is no Dignitary or bene-

ficed man in his days to be named, who laboured as much as he, and became as serviceable to the Public. Thus it is, that they, who abound with the conveniences of life, and might employ their mind and their leisure to useful purposes, do little or nothing; and they who are deprived of such helps, perform those works, which might justly be expected from the former. This is an evil, which hath always been complained of, and which is not about to cease. But they in whose hands is the distribution of preferments, will not easily justify their care and caution to bestow them upon Drones." *Bibl. Chois.* i. 380.

"The second Tome of Erasmus contains his Adages or proverbs, which have been printed so many times, and which shew that the Author was a man of prodigious reading: for he who could make such a collection must have perused almost all books of literature. It is true that Erasmus did not publish this work all at once, but augmented it at divers times. To this edition is added a Dedication of the Author's, which had been prefixed to the edition of Strasburg in 1517. but had been omitted, we know not why, in the subsequent editions. This dedication is dated from Paris, and was probably in the ^k first edition of 1500. which came forth in that city. It is addressed to William Montjoy, whose preceptor Erasmus had been; and there is also another Preface to him, and two to his son Charles:

As we give here only the work of Erasmus, we have not joined to it other collections of Proverbs which have been since made, and mixed with his in the German editions, without observing the order in which Erasmus had placed them. But at the bottom of the pages we have put the remarks of Henricus Stephanus, which were printed at the end of his edition of the Adages, and of the editions above mentioned. Stephanus had by no means the genius and the penetration of Erasmus, nor indeed the same extent of reading and of erudition: but then he was a greater master of the Greek language, having applied himself more particularly to it, and being furnished with more assistances. He hath therefore pointed out several faults, which Erasmus, howsoever superior to him in other respects, had committed in translating and explaining Greek Authors. We have also selected

^k Concerning this Edition see Burigni, Tom. ii. p. 357:

some corrections of Paulus Leopardus, a very learned¹ Critic of the sixteenth Century, and we have added a few notes, which have not appeared before, wherein we sometimes cite more exactly, and from better editions, passages of ancient writers produced by Erasmus, and either explain some of his proverbs in a different manner, or make references to writers who have so interpreted them.

In the first page, for example, we do not agree with Erasmus, in his definition of a proverb. *Paræmia, est celebre dictum, scita quapiam novitate insigne.* For a proverb is properly, a short moral sentence, which means something else than what the words seem at first sight to imply: that is to say, it must be expressed in a figurative manner. Herein is a proverb distinguished from a sentence, in general, which may be expressed in simple terms. Such are a multitude of sentences, which are to be found in Poets, Philosophers, and Orators, and which cannot properly be called proverbs, any more than all the sentences of Publius Syrus; these for example:

Malum consilium est, quod mutari non potest. Or,

Ad pœnitendum properat, cito qui judicat.

Nor can the the Maxims of Rochefoucault be called proverbs. But these are proverbs,

Turdus sibi malum cacat;

of a man who furnishes means to destroy himself.

Manus manum fricat;

of two persons who mutually assist each other.

These are figurative expressions, which, by being figurative, are proverbs; for if they were taken in a proper sense, they would cease to be proverbs.

Besides proverbs, there are proverbial ways of speaking, when a whole sentence is not expressed, but a proverb is obliquely alluded to;

¹ See Baillet ii. 308. Perhaps there never was a Critic more generally admired than Leopardus.

Amongst the works of Hadrianus Junius, are, *Adagiorum ab Erasmo omissorum Centuriæ octo cum dimidia.* See Bayle JUNIUS, Not. H.

Irritare crabrones, or, *To wake a sleeping cat*. These are proverbial expressions, which contain not a moral sentence, unless you say, *Non sunt irritandi crabrones*; *You must not wake a sleeping cat*.

Erasmus hath mixed all these things together, and collected many simple and direct moral sentences, as though they were proverbs. I confess that the Ancients have often confounded them together, because of their affinity and resemblance; but these are improprieties, which must not be admitted as principles, when we come to a strict definition of a proverb." *Bibl. Choix*. i. 389.

"The third Tome (in two volumes) of the works of Erasmus, contains his letters. To it are added two Appendixes, and a large Index. The first Appendix contains such letters of Erasmus and of his correspondents, as we could range according to the order of time, and could not insert amongst the preceeding ones, because we had them not soon enough; or because of some fault in the date, so that we could not quite reconcile them with the others. The second Appendix contains letters without a date, ranged according to the alphabetical order of the names of those who wrote them, or of those to whom they were written, excepting the name of Erasmus. Many of these were never published before, and have been extracted from manuscript transcripts, or from the originals of these letters, as we shew in the Preface. Mr. de la Faye, who had the care of correcting this Tome, hath disposed these Appendixes in the order above mentioned, after having extracted the additional letters from the manuscripts. He hath also collated the printed letters with such manuscripts as could be found, and with other editions besides that of London: and thereby hath discovered a prodigious number of faults, many of which totally destroyed the sense, and of considerable omissions. As a great part of this Tome was already printed, when some manuscript copies of letters came to hand, there was a necessity to throw into the *Addenda* some things which might have been put into the text, or under it, if they had been found sooner. There are in all, more than 325 letters, which had never appeared in any preceding edition of the Epistles of Erasmus. They are marked with a star, and most of them are in the first or in the second Appendix.

The fifth Tome of Erasmus contains principally his treatises of Theology and Devotion, some Prayers, some Poems, and a Commen-
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tary on two Hymns of Prudentius. It will not be amiss to give a short account of these tracts, because few persons examine such large volumes, and even some of the Learned content themselves with buying them, without knowing exactly the use which may be made of them.

The first piece is the Christian Soldier's Manual; in which there is more piety and good sense than had appeared for many centuries in any treatise of Devotion. And it was this very thing that shocked the Monks, who knew of no other piety than that which consisted in the observation of some trifling external practices, or at the most in a kind of extatic fanaticism, which differs very little from frenzy, and which doth no good, or rather, doth much harm to civil society. The same may be said of his Short Method to acquire true Theology, which doth not in the least resemble the Theological Systems of those days. For example, the first thing which he lays down is, that he who will be a true Divine, must bring with him to that study a mind free from irregular passions. And indeed a man may be a good Lawyer, a good Physician, a good Mathematician, without being a good man; but without being or becoming such, never will any one perceive the true end of Christian Theology, and that divine light which hath no fellowship with the darkness of disorderly affections. Erasmus here teacheth the method of studying, and the books which ought to be read, and upon these heads gives advice and directions entirely different from those of the Scholastics. All that is here wanting is a little more method and precision; for his ideas are somewhat confused and general, and not ranged in proper order.

Indeed the arbitrary divisions and subdivisions of the Scholastics are good for nothing, and in their method there is some thing odd and fantastical, which only serves to obscure the subject. But when the divisions are such as arise from the nature of the thing, and the work, beginning with generals, proceeds gradually to particulars, this method is more advantageous than all the confused rhetoric of Antiquity, which Erasmus valued and praised so much.

However he had great reason to say, in his subsequent exhortation to the study of divinity, that a true Divine is not one who proves by syllogisms artfully ranged, but who shews by the disposition of his heart, by his eyes, by his countenance, and by his life, that riches
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ought to be despised; that a Christian must not place his trust in worldly succours, but depend upon the assistance of God; that he must not return injury for injury; that he must wish good to those who wish him evil, and serve those who wrong him; equally love and protect all good men, as members of the same body; bear with the wicked, if he cannot reclaim them; that they are not to be lamented, but rather accounted blessed, who are stripped of their goods and fortunes (*i. e.* if they suffer unjustly, and make a right use of their afflictions) that death is a desirable thing for the good, being to them a safe passage to immortality. If a man, penetrated with the spirit of Jesus Christ, teacheth these doctrines, inculcates them, incites and persuades others to observe them, this is a true Divine, be he a weaver or a day-labourer; and if he practiseth what he teacheth, he is a great Doctor indeed.

Nothing is more true; but yet when art and science accompany piety, and are subservient to it, piety shines forth to still greater advantage.

As Erasmus was accused of teaching that confession ought not to be made to the Priest, he wrote his book of Confession, in which he points out many abuses that had crept into that ordinance, and gives excellent advice both to Confessors, and to those who make their Confession.

After this are several discourses on the Psalms, some of which are called *Conciones*, and are a sort of pious declamations, containing many excellent thoughts, though not ranged in the best order. Yet Preachers may reap much profit from them; and I cannot conceive why they should chuse to read the sermons of Chrysostom or of Augustin, rather than those of Erasmus. The latter seem to be the more useful, as they censure the vices of our own days, and as they are easier to be understood. But there are many who had rather cite great names, than say good things.

I know of no treatises of the ancient Christians concerning Marriage and Widowhood, which equal the *Institutio Matrimonii Christiani*, and the *Vidua Christiana* of Erasmus. Scrupulous persons, and the directors of consciences will find great assistance from them.

His *Ecclesiastes*, or the art of Preaching, is a mixture of Theological and Rhetorical lessons, in which many incidental questions are discussed.

cuffed. Although this Treatise will not form exactly such a Preacher, as we require in our days, yet it contains a multitude of excellent precepts, which belong to all times and places. In reading his first Book, where he treats of the qualities natural or acquired, which ought to be found in a Preacher, there are many who might read their own condemnation; they especially, who exercise this religious function, as they would the meanest mechanic trade, with a view to get money, and who have acquired their preferment by dishonourable solicitations and intrigues, and yet have the assurance to talk of the sanctity of their character, and of the respect due to their persons. These men want a new Erasmus, to set their faults before them, and to awaken their consciences, since they will not read Erasmus of Rotterdam.

For the rest, although the matter be solemn and serious, yet the genius of Erasmus, naturally inclined to the Ludicrous, often breaks out; as in the following tale, which he hath related concerning the Theological Comedians, and which is both humourous and instructive.

“ THERE was in Italy a Preacher, called Robertus Liciensis, of whose life I chuse to say nothing; I shall only say that, if common report was true, he had excellent talents for the pulpit. At first he had been one of those, who call themselves *Observantins*, an honourable title, by which they are distinguished from the other orders of St. Francis. As this Order did not suit his humour, he went to one of those, called *Conventuals*, whose way of life is not so rigid. Being one day at a repast, where there was an Observantin Vicar, a man of capacity, piety, and gravity, he made his boast that he could draw tears from his auditors, whenever he had a mind. By this speech he pretended to refute what the other had said to him, by way of reproof and reproach, that his sermons produced no good effects, because they came not from his heart, and because his life did not correspond with his doctrine. From whom do you draw tears, said he, except from children and silly women? You then, said Liciensis, who are so great a man, come to-morrow where I am to preach, and be at such a place in the Church, where I can observe you, and have a full sight of you; and if I do not make you weep, I will give you a supper; if I do, you shall give one to me and to this company. He did not mention the word *pay*, because those people never touch *money*: but there was in the company a friend to the Franciscans, who offered to be security
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for the Observantin. On the following day, he went and took the place which was appointed; and then the preacher, after having represented the loving-kindness and the mercy of God, and the ingratitude and stubbornness of those whom nothing can call to repentance, and to mutual love, began, as in the person of God, to address himself to the human heart. O heart! said he, harder than iron, harder than diamonds! for even iron will melt in the fire, and the blood of a goat will dissolve a diamond: but I, do what I can, am not able to draw from thee one single tear. He carried on his apostrophe with such pathetic vehemence, that at last the Vicar began to weep. As soon as the Preacher saw it, stretching forth his hand towards him, he cried out, I have conquered. The audience supposed that he still spake in the person of God, applauding himself, as it were, for his victory over those who could not refrain from shedding tears. After this, at supper, as the Conventual Monk boasted of his success, the Observantin replied smartly enough: It was not your eloquence that drew those tears, but the compassion which I then felt for you, and a concern that one of such happy talents should chuse rather to serve the world than Jesus Christ."

It was no bad way of coming off. There are Actors of this kind, who seem to be so much affected themselves, that they affect their auditors also: but as soon as they are come down from the pulpit, they have done with religion, and think no more of it.

Let me here add a good saying of a friend of mine, occasioned by this book of Erasmus. He had recommended the perusal of it to a certain preacher, who complained to him afterwards that the reading of it had quite tired him. Ah! said the other, there was something the other day that tired me much more. What? said the Preacher. The sermon of a Divine, said my friend, who had not observed any one of the precepts of Erasmus.

Many Preachers, who have no talent for extemporary prayers, and yet will make very long ones, which they have neither gotten by heart, nor even set down upon paper, would do well to read the following treatise of the manner of praying. If Erasmus there censures some abuses more peculiar to his own times, he gives also directions, proper for all times and for all persons.

The Commentary on the Creed, and on the Ten Commandments, is a kind of Confession of Faith, which Erasmus, by the advice of some friends,

friends, drew up to oppose the calumnies of those, who accused him of a thousand heresies, from which he was absolutely clear, particularly of Arianism.

We will pass over the following small treatises, some prayers to God, and to the Saints, which he composed in his youth, and which stand in need of indulgence and favourable allowances.

His Commentary on two Hymns of Prudentius, is rather a religious than a critical Comment; and Erasmus made it in favour of Margaret Roper, eldest daughter of Sir T. More.

The sixth Tome is the New Testament, with the version and the notes of Erasmus, which are here disposed in a better manner than in any of the preceding editions; for the notes are under the text, with proper marks of reference, and the numbers of the verses are set down in the margin, both for the Greek and for the Latin, which is far more convenient for the reader. To this Volume are prefixed not only the Prefaces, which were in Froben's edition, 1540. but critical Remarks of Erasmus upon the Vulgate, upon the solœcisms, obscurities, false readings, additions, and omissions which he had discovered in it. Some of the censured passages are rather faults of the transcribers than of the translator, and are rectified in revisions of the Vulgate, which have been since made: others relate not so much to the Vulgate, as to those Commentators who had misunderstood it. However, this Critique of Erasmus gave such offence, that it was omitted in all the editions made since 1522. I have one of this very year, in which it is not to be found. As the reasons which might induce Erasmus to drop it, are no longer of any force, it is here restored to its old place. There is also added a Summary of the holy Scriptures, and an Index to the New Testament, which were found in an old Edition.

As to the version, and the notes, we have followed the Edition of 1540. as the most correct; for it would have been unfair to impute to Erasmus those passages which he himself had corrected. Indeed he made considerable alterations, even after the third edition of 1522. of which some remarkable instances may be seen in the Index to the second edition of the *Ars Critica*, under the word *Erasmus*, where it appears that he corrected in subsequent editions some Geographical errors, which were in the third. On account of these several alterations, the earlier editions of his New Testament are now hardly to be found,

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Yet it would be sometimes useful to have those former editions, to consult, and to verify the citations which have been made from them. For example : Alfonsus Salmero, a famous Jesuit, in the ninth Tome of his works, and the sixteenth Tract, *Of the truth of the body of Jesus Christ*, to prove that Erasmus did not believe Transubstantiation, hath cited these words : *In Synaxi Transubstantiationem sero definivit Ecclesia, et re et nomine Veteribus ignotam.* In the margin of the edition of Cologne in 1613. p. 81. there is, *Erasmus in cap. ii. prioris ad Cor.* But Erasmus saith nothing at all about Transubstantiation, upon that chapter ; and the six first words of the cited passage are to be found on the seventh chapter of the above mentioned Epistle. Possibly in the marginal reference there may be a fault of the Press : but these words : *et re et nomine Veteribus ignotam*, are not to be found in the edition of 1522. nor in any subsequent edition. I could not find an older edition to consult : but I greatly suspect that Salmero was deceived by some person ; if he did not himself forge the citation, with a view to make Erasmus odious to those of his communion, and to deter good Catholics from reading him. What confirms me in this opinion is, that they, who censured the New Testament of Erasmus, and upbraided him with the faults in his first edition, as Lee, Stunica, Caranza, and others, whom he hath confuted in his ninth Tome, never censured him for this passage. But besides, even supposing that Erasmus had thus spoken in his first or second edition, Salmero, in common justice, ought to have examined whether Erasmus had not altered the place in some of his later editions, before he accused him of rejecting a doctrine which he had professed to believe.

I have made this remark, because an English Divine having cited Erasmus, upon the credit of Salmero, imagining that Salmero had dealt faithfully, could not find the passage in Erasmus, and consulted me, to know whether I had ever seen an Edition of Erasmus, in which it was said that *Transubstantiation was unknown to the Ancients, both the name and the thing.* I have seen no such edition, and I believe that Erasmus never said so.

[I consulted my friend Mr. de Missy, who hath all the Editions which Erasmus published of the New Testament, besides many other scarce and valuable books, which could not come into more deserving hands : he gave me the following account.

VOL. II.

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“ Erasmus,

“ *Erasmus*, on 1 Cor. vii. 39. on the words : *Liberata est a lege : cui autem vult nubat*, says ;

In Synaxi Transubstantionem sero definiuit Ecclesia : diu satis erat credere, sive sub pane consecrato, sive quocunque modo adesse verum corpus Christi. Ubi rem propius contemplata est, ubi exactius expendit, certius præscripsit.

So the fifth edition, so the fourth, so the third ; so also the second, A. 1519. The first hath no annotation to the 39th verse.”

Hence it appears that Erasmus is much wronged by Salmero.

Erasmus says, in another place ;

Olim non erat impium credere Spiritum Sanctum a solo Patre procedere ; nunc secus est definitum. Olim satis erat credere corpus Domini adesse per consecrationem Sacerdotis ; post inventa est Transubstantiatio. T. ix. c. 961. Words, which, by the way, are not favourable to Transubstantiation.]

The seventh Tome contains his paraphrases upon all the books of the New Testament, the Apocalypse excepted. In this Edition care hath been taken, not only to mark all the verses in the margin, but to insert the whole Latin text (of which there were only a few words cited in Froben's edition) for the convenience of the reader. This work hath been ever highly esteemed ; and Erasmus, who not only had carefully studied the New Testament in the original, but had translated it, and had perused all the ancient Interpreters, who were known at that time, hath exerted all his learning, skill, and penetration, to explain the discourses of Jesus Christ and of his Apostles, and to unfold their reasonings. His Paraphrase indeed is pretty diffuse, and sometimes he inserts a few notions, which are not in the text ; but however we find here none of the Scholastic quibbles and subtilties ; all is simple, unaffected and natural, and clear from the chicaneries of later ages. Erasmus usually goes upon such notions as were commonly received in the more ancient ages of Christianity.

Although, since his days, great improvements have been made in the Critical knowledge of the Scriptures, yet it is certain that, taking all together, and in the main, there are few Commentators preferable to him. For the rest, this work of the Paraphrases should be considered as a Supplement to his Annotations on the New Testament, and should never be separated from them. In his Notes, he doth not always explain every thing that requires illustration, he is more attentive

to words than to things, he produceth various readings, and the interpretation of the ancients, often without deciding upon them, or delivering his own opinion, and he rarely toucheth upon the connection of the discourse and the train of reasoning. But in his Paraphrases we find, as it were, the result of his Scriptural inquiries, wherein he explains every thing in clear and precise terms, and chuseth that sense which appears best to him, and shews the scope and connection of all the parts. It is not, as some have affirmed, a work of his younger days: the dedications shew the contrary, by the dates, of which the oldest is 1517.

Joining then these two Works together, we have an Interpretation of the New Testament as judicious and exact as could be made in his time, and to which very few deserve be preferred of those which have been since published. As many and many religious controversies have been started and discussed since his time, his interpretations may be of no small use, to shew us the most natural and obvious sense of such litigated passages of scripture, and how they were understood by a learned man, who was not influenced by prejudice, and the spirit of party. It may be added, in praise of him and his work, that he payed very little regard to the disputes of his own times, because his was not a work of controversy, and his main point was to explain the New Testament by the New Testament, and in such a manner as to edify all the Christian world. So the Romanists and the Protestants may both of them read him and profit by him, unless they be quite sowed and bigotted, and want to find their own particular notions in every page, by wresting passages of Scripture which contain nothing to the purpose. Accordingly in the reign of Edward VI. when the Reformation was begun in England, they could not pitch upon a better book to be perused by the common people, than the Paraphrases of Erasmus, translated into English; which, as Burnet says, being esteemed the best Comment to unfold the sense of the New Testament, a copy of it was appointed to be put in every parish-church. It is true that this was not done, without opposition made by Gardiner; but, as the same Author observes, it was proved against him, that if there were some defects in this book, yet upon the whole it was the most impartial book, and fittest to be recommended to the Public.

And yet impetuous and passionate men of both parties have violently exclaimed against his New Testament and his Paraphrases. In the

ninth Tome of the Works of Erasmus may be seen the Censures of the Romish Doctors; and if Bedda decried his Paraphrases, Beza hath very roughly handled his Annotations on the New Testament. But in those days the Protestants could as little bear the smallest dissent from their opinions, as the Romanists, from whom they seem to have learned their uncharitable sentiments; and besides they hated Erasmus, because he would not join himself to them, and had even opposed and decried them in his later compositions. But posterity, more candid and more equitable, hath forgiven Erasmus what it accounts to be blameable in his conduct, for the sake of his learned merits, and of the good which he hath done to Christianity; and moderate men of both Communions have not refused him his due praises.

I know that Beza, on Tit. ii. 13. and on other places, hath reproached him not only for giving up the most celebrated texts, which are commonly urged to prove the Divinity of Jesus Christ, but for exerting all his strength to invalidate them. Others have joined in the same accusation, although they cannot deny that he condemns the Arians most frequently and explicitly, and explains many passages of Scripture in a way contrary to their system. The very same reproaches have been cast upon a celebrated Dutch-man, who hath deserved a statue, perhaps more than Erasmus, from his nation. Every one will see that I mean Grotius. The honour which this illustrious man did to his own country was as great, as the wrongs and injuries with which she repaid him.

I am astonished how men of sense can persevere in such accusations. For in short, Erasmus and Grotius alledge either good or bad reasons, to shew that such passages are inconclusive. If their reasons be good for nothing, surely it is an easy matter to refute them, and to shew that the mere authority of a writer, supported by no evidence, proves nothing. If the bare name of Erasmus and Grotius were of such weight, it might serve to establish this very doctrine of our Saviour's Divinity, which they both acknowledged to be true, although they did not think that this or that particular text would prove it. Therefore I cannot conceive why we should be so very angry with them. If we reject general Councils, and the consent of many ages, and set aside their authority with relation to doctrines, or to their method of proving them, because we can shew that they were much mistaken, why do we not behave in like manner towards these two Interpreters of the Scriptures?

Scriptures? But if these Interpreters establish their opinion by good reasons, why do we urge those passages of Scripture, which, as they have plainly shewed, are not to the purpose, are obscure, or ambiguous? The perspicuity or the darkness of an expression in an ancient writer depends not upon the will and pleasure of Posterity, which can find no more in it, than there is in it. No assembly, no society can alter its nature, or hath any right to compell and necessitate men to see in it what they do not and cannot discern. These two learned men explained some texts in a way different from that which was generally current, only because they were convinced, that they had been generally misapplied, and that to rest a truth upon a precarious argument and an unsolid foundation, was to expose it to the successful attacks of those who are in an error. If they were mistaken, they mistook at least with upright intentions, and with a view to hinder men from taking weak surmises for solid arguments. Therefore we should rather hold ourselves obliged to them for their honest design, even supposing them to be mistaken, and confute their error in a candid and mild manner. On the contrary, we fly into an indecent passion, and rail at them without answering them, and ridiculously imagine that, if we can but defame them, we shall overset their authority. If this be a lawful procedure, there is not one Interpreter of established reputation, whom we might not treat in the same manner, when we find his sentiments on some passages to be contrary to common opinions. Calvin and Beza, as I have observed elsewhere, would not then escape uncensured.

If men were influenced on these occasions by good principles, they would never endeavour to support Truth by any other method than that of fair inquiry and examination. But, on the contrary, we often defend it, as men who do not even believe their own affirmations, and who only endeavour to blacken their adversaries, without paying any regard to their reasons. We calumniate them, and when they have fully refuted those calumnies, we repeat them over and over again, as if they had never been answered. When we have inconsiderately engaged ourselves on the wrong side, and defamed the innocent, we think ourselves obliged in honour to persevere, and to employ every artifice that can serve our purpose. We importune the Civil Magistrate, we impose upon him by false representations, we induce him to prohibit those books, which we can neither refute by arguments, nor
render

render useless and insignificant by writing better ourselves upon the same subject. Whence proceeds all this? Even from mere worldly passions, from envy, jealousy, pride, and hatred of those who differ from us in opinion. There is also at the bottom a secret consciousness of our own impotence, which puts us upon vain efforts to suppress what we cannot confute, and to be offended at those whom we cannot equal; for if we were fully satisfied of our own superiority, we should rather laugh at them, and their works, and their notions. We also judge that if certain books are held in repute, the credit of those who entertain different sentiments is exposed to some peril. It was this which stirred up formerly so many enemies of Erasmus, from amongst the Divines even of that party, in which he himself chose to persevere. It is this which hath since raised as many adversaries, to persecute all those who have endeavoured to serve the public in a way not agreeable to certain Druids. It concerns those who are guilty of so base a conduct, to look to their conscience and to beg pardon of God and man for their rage and violence, and to take up a new course, unless they would bring down upon themselves the punishments, with which the divine Justice threatens those who make use of religion, as of a trick and a trade, to advance themselves in this world, and ruin their neighbours.

To return to Erasmus, his eighth Tome contains for the most part translations of Greek Fathers, of Chrysostom, Athanasius, Origen, and Basil. Although we have now much better editions of these Authors, than Erasmus had, and versions, more correct than his, have been since made; yet his translations may still be useful, in such contests as may arise concerning the sense of particular passages in those Fathers; and his authority may serve not a little towards clearing up the truth. Besides; we find in this volume a Life of Origen, and Critical remarks on several of his works, and of their old Latin versions. Origen doth not appear to Erasmus so much of an heretic, as to many other Divines. But they who would be thoroughly informed of his person, his doctrines, and his writings, may consult the *Origeniana* of Huetius.

Whilst this volume was in the press, the Bookseller found some pieces, in prose and verse, composed by Erasmus in his early youth, which had not as yet appeared; and therefore thought it not amiss to put them at the end of the volume. They are, a Declamation in praise of peace, against the lovers of discord; a funeral Oration on a widow

widow lady of Gouda; small poems in different kinds of metre. By these essays we see what might be expected from Erasmus, as he advanced in years; and there is some pleasure in reading the first efforts of a fine genius, though they carry with them the marks of puerility. It is indeed surprising how in barbarous times, and with such slender assistance, he could acquire all the erudition which appears in them.

To this is added a Critique of Franciscus Robortellus upon some of the Apophthegms, which Erasmus had translated from the Greek of Diogenes Laërtius, and which are contained in the fourth Tome. This censure is violent and unfair, and hath been well refuted by two very able men, by Paulus Leopardus in his *Corrections*, and by Petrus Nannius in his *Miscellanies*. We have also added an Oration of Joannes Heroldus, spoken in 1541. in the University of Basil, in defence of Erasmus against somebody who had attacked him after his decease. —

The Edition of Basil is in no respect comparable to this of Leyden, either for the beauty of the impression, or the correctness of the work, or the Indexes, or the additional remarks, or any thing that can recommend an Edition to the Public. Even the Volume of his Epistles, augmented and corrected as they are, should induce any one to buy the whole, who values himself upon collecting a good Library." *Bibl. Choix*. VIII. 229.

"We will now make a review of all the Tomes of Erasmus, and dwell most upon those of which we have hitherto said little, to give a completer idea of his works, works so useful and so well deserving to be purchased by the collectors of Libraries, that no one can blame us for offering this information to those who have never examined them, and who lay out their money upon books far less necessary.

The first Volume contains a part of the treatises composed by him for the instruction of young students; but the principal pieces are,

1. His celebrated Colloquies; which procured him great reputation, but were attacked by peevish men, who could not bear to see him endeavour to cure the human mind of a thousand minute superstitions which reigned in those days, and to bend it to solid virtue and true religion.

2. The *Ciceronianus*, a most spritely and entertaining Dialogue against some fantastical Scholars, who pretended that he who would write

write politely in Latin must not use a single word or phrase, which was not to be found in Cicero.

3. A treatise concerning the true pronunciation of Greek and Latin; a work full of erudition, and which could only be the product of a strict attention and a most diffusive reading.

These three works will last for ever, and be for ever perused with pleasure by the most skilful and learned; as long as any portion of literature and of good sense shall remain in the world.

As to the rest, they are translations, treatises of Rhetoric and of Ethics, which may prove very useful to young persons, who will take the pains to read them, but which are not entirely in the modern taste, the methods of studying having been much altered since the days of Erasmus. In perusing them, we shall often find, where we least expected it, some strokes of that facetious raillery which was so natural to him, that he could not refrain from following his bent, when any occasion presented itself, or any pretty conceit came into his mind.

The second Volume contains the *Adages* or Proverbs, with the notes of Henry Stephen, and of others, under the text. Amongst all the works of Erasmus, there is none which shews more the extensiveness of his reading, and his great erudition. If he hath made some mistakes on a few passages, in times when he had not a tenth part of the assistances, which we now enjoy, for the illustration of ancient Authors, his errors bear no proportion to his learned and dextrous explanation of such a variety of proverbs. Sometimes also he makes digressions, under some of them, which are extremely ingenious and elegant, as on *Dulce bellum inexpertis*; where he censures that rage and lust of fighting, which was as prevalent in his days, as it is in ours. He gave excellent precepts, on this point, to the Christian princes who were at war, particularly to Charles V. and to Francis I. whose restless ambition more than once set all Europe in a flame. — It were much to be wished that the Confessors of those Kings, who bring so many dreadful calamities upon so many innocent families, so many provinces and realms, would oblige them by way of penance, to have this beautiful Digression of Erasmus read over to them once a year. Perhaps at last, they might profit by it, and love peace as much as they now delight in war. But these Directors of Royal consciences have it much less at heart to save the souls of Princes, and to promote the happiness

happiness of subjects, than to serve their own private ends by the favour of their Masters, upon whom, for the greatest sins, they impose, by way of penance, some trifling acts of devotion, neither acceptable to God, nor serviceable to men; not to say that too often they direct them to atone for lesser offences by committing far greater crimes [that is, by persecuting to death poor people, who are called heretics.]

There is another Digression, under the proverb, *Sileni Alcibiadis*, which well deserves to be perused, where our Author shews that appearances are deceitful, both as to good, and as to evil. Under a mean and homely outside, rich treasures of wisdom and virtue have been concealed; as under an air which promised every thing noble and amiable, nothing besides baseness and wickedness hath been found. This Erasmus verifies by examples of the most exalted persons, without sparing those who think themselves above all censure and reproof. We call, says he, Priests, Bishops, and Popes, *the Church*, although they be only Ministers of the Church: for the Church is the whole Christian people. — And of the Church we say that she appears in honour and splendor, not when piety is increased, and vice is diminished, when good morals are prevalent, and true doctrine flourisheth, but when the altars are embellished with gold and jewels; or rather, when, religion being totally neglected, the Prelates rival temporal Lords in lands, in domestics, in luxury, in mules, in horses, in houses, or rather in palaces, in every thing that makes a show and a noise. This is thought to be so just a manner of judging and speaking, that even in Papal Bulls these encomiums may be found; *Forasmuch as Cardinal A. by his sumptuous equipage, and numerous train of horses and domestics, doth singular honour to the Church of Christ, we think it proper to add to his preferments another Bishopric.* — If a man speaks with little reverence of a St. Christopher, or a St. George, and doth not equal such fabulous Legends to the Gospel, he is immediately branded as a Blasphemer.

But by reading over this whole Digression, it will appear still more evidently that Erasmus never missed an occasion to make useful remarks, not only for the explication of ancient literature, but for the reformation of men and manners.

I shall observe, by the way, that Werdenhagen, in a book, the title of which I have forgotten, hath published this dissertation of Erasmus as a curious anecdote, though the Author had published it

above an hundred years before, and though it had been reprinted in every subsequent edition of his Adages.

The Bookseller had at first printed off this Tome, without an Index, thinking that it would be sufficient to insert it in a general Index to all the Works of Erasmus; but he was advised to give a particular one to this Volume.

I need not say much concerning the third Volume, which contains the Epistles, having spoken largely of it in other places. More than 425 letters are inserted here, which were not in the Edition of London. There is also a Chronological Index of them; and an Index at the end of the Volume, which perhaps will be thought too copious. It might indeed have been abridged; but it is better that it should contain too much than too little.

In the fourth Volume are divers Treatises of morality, either translated from Plutarch or composed by Erasmus. Although all the works of Plutarch are instructive and entertaining, those of Erasmus are not less so; and being originals, they are read with more pleasure, than translations, which are always somewhat stiff and forced. The principal pieces of Erasmus, contained in this Tome, are the Praise of Folly; and a Treatise on the Tongue, which all evil-speakers and slanderers should read day and night. Even they who are free from this vice, will do well to peruse it, to learn how to be upon their guard against the assaults and artifices of calumny. And all they who offend in their speech, as immoderate talkers, liars, swearers, will find many good lessons, delivered in a lively and agreeable manner.

The fifth Volume contains Discourses of Piety, and some Christian Poems. The first treatise is the Enchiridion, of which we have spoken elsewhere. It is a good book, and very proper to be perused frequently by men of quality, and by military men, and though it be one of the earlier productions of Erasmus, it abounds with piety and good sense.

The book called, a Short method of acquiring the knowledge of true Divinity, is also very useful. By true Divinity Erasmus means an accurate knowledge of the duties which the Gospel requires of Christians. Here he gives some directions to those who intend to study the holy Scriptures; and although he hath some remarks adapted more properly to that age, and to the places wherein he lived, and we have now
greater

greater aids than he enjoyed, to obtain a skill in Theology, we shall find that he gives in the former part of this small treatise a lively representation of the disposition of mind, which renders a man capable of acquiring a saving knowledge of Christianity, a knowledge that influences the manners, and, whilst it enlightens the understanding, regulates the affections of the heart.

The books concerning Christian Marriage, Christian Widowhood, the Art of Preaching, the Creed, and other tracts of the like kind, are no less valuable. All that Protestants can object to them, is, that in the works which Erasmus composed, as he grew more advanced in years, he grew more cautious not to offend the Ecclesiastics, and affected to speak more respectfully of popular devotions than he had been accustomed to do. But the Romanists on this very account should be the more disposed to read them, and to profit by them, and to be induced to pay a higher regard to the essentials of Christianity than to mere human institutions, which ought never to be put upon the level with the precepts of Jesus Christ and of his Apostles.

As to his Poems, they are not equal to his compositions in prose; and indeed Erasmus never gave himself for an excellent poet: but if there be in them a want of enthusiasm, and of poetical style and numbers, there is much life and good sense; as there is in all his works of every kind.

The sixth Volume is the New Testament, the Greek and the Latin in two columns; and under the text the Notes, which in preceding editions had been placed at the end. Some Indexes are added also from the Edition of Basil, and all the Prefaces and Apologies which he had inserted in former Editions.

They who understand the proper manner of explaining the holy Scriptures, have always highly esteemed this work, in which Erasmus hath acquitted himself of all the offices of a good Interpreter, as far as the time and the circumstances in which he was situated could possibly permit. First, he took care to give the Greek text, not very common in those days, as correct as possible; and to this end he consulted all the manuscripts which he could procure, and carefully perused the Fathers, and the Greek Commentators, setting down most accurately all the various readings.

Of this there is a remarkable instance on 1 Joh. v. 7. *For there are three that bear record* [in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the holy

Ghost : and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in earth] *the spirit, and the water, and the blood: and these three agree in one.*

Here he observes, 1. That in the Greek, only these words are found : *for there are three that bear record, the spirit, and the water, and the blood: and these three agree in one.*

2. That this passage is so cited by Cyril in the 14th book of his *Thesaurus*, and that an orthodox Father, as he was, would infallibly have cited the whole passage against the Arians, if he had found it in any copies in his time.

3. That the same may be said of Augustin, who also cites it thus against Maximinus, the Arian, although he omits nothing to establish the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son, and although he pretends that the spirit, the water, and the blood, signify the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost.

4. That Beda cites the passage in the same manner as Augustin.

5. That the controverted words are not in a manuscript of the Minor Friars of Antwerp, which he had examined.

6. That indeed the authority of Jerom is urged on this occasion ; but that this Father seems to complain, in a Preface which is prefixed to the Catholic Epistles, not of the Greek manuscripts, but of those who translated the Greek Testament into Latin ; and that at present the words, which, as he complains, were omitted, are not to be found in the Greek manuscripts, but only in some of the Latin ones.

“ *But* (says Erasmus) Whence could Jerom discover this error of the Translators ? It must have been by the help of the Greek copies. But these Greek copies either were or were not conformable to our version. If they varied, as well as the Latin versions, by what indications can he shew which is the best reading, and how the Apostle wrote ? especially since the reading which he censures was publicly used in the Church. If this were not the case, I know not what can be made of the following words : *Sed tu, virgo Christi, Eustochium, dum a me impensius Scripturæ veritatem inquiris, meam quodammodo senectutem invidorum dentibus corroendam exponis, qui me falsarium corruptoremque sacrarum pronunciant Scripturarum.* For who would have called him a forger and a falsifier, unless he changed the common reading of the place ? If Cyril amongst the Greeks did read what we now read in our
Greek

Greek manuscripts, if Augustin and Beda did read so, or if they found both the one and the other reading, I see not what reason Jerom could give to prove that his way of reading was the true one. Some will say, this text furnisheth us with a strong argument against the Arians. But first, since it is certain that the manner of reading this passage hath varied amongst the Greeks and Latins, we cannot object it to them, because they will have the same right to claim that reading which favours them. But let it be supposed that the passage is incontestable, since what is said of the testimony of the water, the blood, and the spirit, that they are one (*unum sunt*, or rather, that they amount to one, εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσι) relates not to an unity of nature, but to an uniformity of testimony, could the Arians, think we, be so stupid as not to interpret in the same manner what is said of the Father, the Word, and the Spirit? Especially since the Orthodox explain in the same way a passage in the Gospel of St. John; since Augustin rejects not this interpretation, when he disputes with Maximinus the Arian; and since the interlineary Gloss explains it thus: *Unum sunt, id est, de eadem re testantur*. This is not the way to establish the faith, but to make it suspected, by trusting to such weak surmises. Perhaps it would be better to use our pious endeavours to become one with God and with Christ, than to discuss, with an over curious zeal, how the Son differeth from the Father, and how the holy Ghost from the one and the other. In truth I see not how we can prove what the Arians denied, except by satisfactory arguments. In a word this whole passage being obscure, can be of small service for the confutation of heretics, &c.

But, not to dissemble any thing, one single Greek manuscript hath been discovered in England, wherein what is wanting in other manuscripts is found thus: Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, Πατὴρ, Λόγος, καὶ Πνεῦμα, καὶ ἔτι οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσιν. Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ, πνεῦμα, ὕδωρ, καὶ αἷμα ^m εἰς τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, &c. yet I know not by what accident, what is in our Greek copies is not repeated here, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν, and these three agree in one. From this English manuscript we have supplied what is said to be deficient in our copies, that no one might take occasion to calumniate us: although I suspect that this manuscript hath been corrected and accommodated

^m In this MS. it is εἰ.

to some of our [Latin] Copies. I have consulted two Latin manuscripts of very great antiquity in the Library of St. Donatian at Bruges. Neither of them have the testimony of the Father, the Word, and the Spirit; and in one of them were not the words *in earth*: there was only, *There are three who bear record, the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood*. In two manuscripts of Constance, after the testimony of the Water, the Blood, and the Spirit, were added these words; *as in heaven there are three, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and three are one*. There was neither *testimonium dant*, nor the pronoun *hi*. In a manuscript, which I had from the public Library of the University of Basil, there was not the testimony of the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood. Paulus Bombasius, at my request, copied out this passage from a very old manuscript in the Vatican Library, which had not the testimony of the Father, the Word, and the Spirit; and with this manuscript agrees the edition of Aldus."

Erasmus proceeds to shew that there are Spanish editions, wherein variations are found, and that in reality nothing can be here meant besides an unity of consent. I shall add no more: this sufficeth to shew how careful he was to settle the true reading of the text of the New Testament, without paying any regard to Theological prejudices, which make men seek in the holy Scriptures only what seems proper in their opinion to establish the sentiments which they have adopted. If *Erasmus* lived in these days, he would see with pleasure that *Jerom's* pretended Preface to the Catholic Epistles, upon which so much stress was once laid, is the work of an Impostor, as Father *Martianai*, although no extraordinary critic, hath fully proved in his edition of *Jerom's* version. He would see that on this particular occasion there was no reason to blame *Jerom*, though the judgment which he passed upon the fictitious *Jerom* be reasonable and just. At present this passage and all that relates to it, hath been so fully discussed, that none, except stubborn and perverse people, pretend to deny that the *heavenly witnesses* are an interpolation. But there is the more reason to admire the sagacity and the judiciousness of *Erasmus*, who discovered the false reading.

This critical remark of *Erasmus* was most violently attacked by *Edward Lee*, and by some Spanish Monks; but he defended himself in the excellent Apologies, which are in the last Volume of his Works. Some Protestants have renewed the attack, but have not been able

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to hinder men of abilities and discernment from taking his side; especially since later discoveries have set the thing in a clear light.

Secondly, We cannot too much commend Erasmus for his laborious endeavours to remove an obstinate prejudice of those times in favour of the Vulgate, which was preferred to the Greek Original. Therefore, upon every opportunity, he shews in his notes that this version was barbarous, obscure, and inaccurate. He did more; he was the first who undertook to give a better; and it must be owned that he hath succeeded well in the main, though, since his days, critical knowledge, being more cultivated, hath given occasion to greater improvements that way.

Thirdly, it must be acknowledged that his notes, besides critical censures of the Vulgate, contain many excellent Philological and Theological remarks, founded upon a knowledge of the Greek language, of the style of the Scriptures, of the doctrine of the Fathers, and upon a natural good sense and discernment. Others have gone beyond him in many things, because they had more assistances than fell to his share: but it was he who opened the way, and pointed out the path that was to be pursued; and by building upon the foundations which he had laid, they proceeded to make improvements. Theodorus Beza attacked this work with abundance of small cavils and chicaneries, which for a time prejudiced many of the Protestants against Erasmus; but Posterity, in spite of all his attempts, hath done justice to the memory of this great man.

Father Simon, in his remarks upon the Versions and the Commentators of the New Testament, hath collected all that may be said for and against Erasmus; but this Critic also hath produced nothing that should induce us to part with our favourable opinion of Erasmus, whom Simon hath censured only about trifles, which might as well be urged against Jerom, and rather better than against Erasmus, as it would be easy enough to shew. After all, it must be owned that Erasmus hath made some mistakes: and what Author is there, of whom the same may not be said?

In the seventh Tome are the Paraphrases of Erasmus on all the New Testament, the Apocalypse excepted. It may be affirmed in general, that nothing is contained in these Paraphrases, which is not conformable to the spirit and scope of the Gospel, and which may not edify all sorts of Christians. Erasmus having in his eye only the text
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of the New Testament, and a few of the more ancient Interpreters, as Origen, Chrysostom, and Jerom, and being likewise an enemy to Scholastic subtilties, hath always adhered to opinions anciently and generally approved, without mixing controversy in his Paraphrases. They abound with piety and good sense: they also shew the mild and complying spirit of the Author, who observing that offence had been taken at some of his notes on the New Testament, hath chosen in his Paraphrases to give rather the more common opinions, than his private and particular sentiments; as it appears on 1 John v. 7. where he paraphrases the *three who bear witness in heaven*ⁿ according to the common notions.

As he had studied the Fathers, with as much application, at the least, as any of his contemporaries, he hath in his Paraphrases delivered the sense of Christian Antiquity with great art and perspicuity.

There are two ways of paraphrasing the holy Scriptures. The first is close and concise, admitting no idea which is not expressed in the text, or most evidently deducible from it, and necessary to shew the connection of the discourse. In such expositions, the Paraphrast doth not speak in his own person, and as representing in his own style what the sacred writers have said, but he speaks just as he thinks that they themselves would have spoken if they had used the language in which he writes. Such paraphrases serve much to express the force of the reasonings used by the sacred writers, and the connection of their discourse, as well as the sense of their words. And this method I have endeavoured to follow in my Paraphrase of the Harmony of the Gospels. But there is another sort of paraphrase, which is more diffuse, and wherein the doctrine contained in each verse, or section, is in some manner discussed, unfolded, and laid before the reader, without very scrupulously regarding whether the Sacred Author intended to excite just the same number of ideas in our minds. More liberty is taken here in connecting and ranging the thoughts than in the other way of paraphrasing, because there is not so close an adherence to the words of the text: and this is the character of the Paraphrases of Erasmus.

They gave such satisfaction in England, at the time of the Reformation, that they were translated into English, and put, along with the Bible, in all the Churches for public use. It is true that Gardiner,

ⁿ Not altogether.

Bishop of Winchester, opposed it, and asserted that the Paraphrase of Erasmus, bad enough in itself, was made still worse by the English Translation. Whether his censure of that Version was just or unjust, I know not: but Gardiner, who understood the Divinity of the Schools better than that of the Scriptures, was not capable of relishing such a work as this: and Cranmer replied very well to him, that this Paraphrase, like all other Theological books (except the holy Scriptures) was not infallible, and absolutely without faults; but that it was the very best of the kind; that it was therefore more expedient to adopt the interpretations of so learned a man, than to make new ones, which would be still more exposed to censure; and that Erasmus, all things considered, was the most impartial of all Expositors. Nothing could be truer than this, and in the whole Christian world the most impartial and unprejudiced Divine of that age was undoubtedly Erasmus. Moreover, if an Interpreter was to be chosen, who was well acquainted with Ecclesiastical Antiquities, and who declined all Scholastic novelties, and such an one was very necessary on this occasion, Erasmus was not only the best, but the only one who could be found, none being in any degree comparable to him in this respect. Accordingly these Paraphrases were highly esteemed in Cranmer's days, and have been so ever since: and if it be true, that a very mean edition of them printed at Hanover, sold very well in England, our Bookseller may reasonably hope that this edition will be not less acceptable, since it is infinitely superior both in beauty and correctness. But the Reader must not attribute to Erasmus the summaries of each chapter, put into verse. He who revised and corrected this edition, inserted them; and Erasmus was very far from being as mean a poet as this versificator.

The eighth Volume hath scarcely any thing besides translations of treatises composed by Greek Fathers, by Chrysostom, Athanasius, and Basil. There is also here a small tract of Erasmus, containing the Life of Origen, and a critical account of his works. Then follows the translation of a Fragment of Origen's Commentary on St. Matthew, which had fallen into the hands of Erasmus. We have it now in Greek and Latin, and in much better condition, by the care of Huetius, whose *Origeniana* are, in their kind, an accomplished work. But although we now have the writings of the above-mentioned Fathers far more complete and exact than Erasmus had them, yet it is useful

to preserve his versions and his remarks, because disputes may arise concerning the sense of those authors, or concerning the genuineness of those tracts, or concerning the esteem in which they ought to be held; and in these cases the authority of Erasmus may be of weight, for the decision of such controversies.

For example: He passeth this censure on a ° letter of Athanasius to Serapion, an Ægyptian Bishop:

“ *With submission to the judgment of the Learned, I am of opinion that this is the work of an idle stupid fellow, who had a mind to imitate the Books of Athanasius to Serapion. Here is a strange jumble of passages, a confused and perplexed way of reasoning, and a tiresome repetition of the same things.*”

Yet Father Montfaucon affirms that they who have studied the works of Athanasius, will find in this letter both the style and the method of this Father, and that therefore there is no reason to call in question the authority of the Manuscripts, which constantly ascribe it to Athanasius. I am of the same opinion with Montfaucon; but after having carefully perused this Epistle, I think also that Erasmus hath not judged amiss concerning the performance, though he be mistaken as to the author. It is no uncommon error to imagine that the abilities of an ancient Father must be proportionable to the figure which he made in the world, and to the praises which the Ecclesiastics of his own times bestowed upon him. When we come to read the books which go under his name, we are often amazed to find them very middling compositions, and beneath the idea which we had formed of them. Hence some are tempted to conclude that such books must be falsely ascribed to him; and this happened to Erasmus in the present case. Others who judge of things by persons, impose upon themselves, and fancy beauties in a work, which they would have slighted, if it had been ascribed to some obscure or anonymous author. Whilst we pardon them this frailty, which they have in common with multitudes, we should endeavour ourselves to judge of authors by their compositions, and of those compositions by their intrinsic value, paying no regard to mere names, and to the flattering testimonies of past ages. He who would satisfy his own mind, and avoid error and prejudice, must fol-

° It is the first piece of the second part of the 1st Tome of the Benedict. Edit. of Athanasius.

low this method : but I must confess that he who chuseth rather to please the majority and to secure their good opinion, must pursue a method directly opposite.

To return to Erasmus : This Volume of his works being slender, the Bookseller, having recovered some unpublished tracts of Erasmus, and some pieces written for and against him, which were grown scarce, hath joined them to this Volume, though the subjects be of a different kind. It is better to have them here than not to have them at all.

The 1st is a speech concerning peace and discord, composed by Erasmus when he was only twenty years of age. It is an ingenious declamation, for a boy, and far beyond the common performances of those times ; and we see with pleasure the first attempts of a great Genius, which having produced such pretty blossoms, could not fail in due time to yield excellent fruits.

The same may be said of the 2^d piece, which is a funeral oration on a widow lady of Gouda, named Berta de Heyen. It is addressed to her daughters, who were Nuns.

The 3^d is a Collection of poems, of which the first is an Eclogue composed by Erasmus, at the age of fourteen, when he was at school at Deventer, under Alexander Hegius. Then follow other poems, most of them upon Christian subjects. From these little exercises it may be collected, that, if he had continued to employ his talents that way, he might have become a good poet.

To these are subjoined 4. Critical remarks of Franciscus Robortellus upon the apophthegms or sayings of Diogenes the Cynic, taken from Diogenes Laërtius, and translated by Erasmus, whom Robortellus rudely censures for faults, most of which are imaginary, and the rest mere trifles. Paulus Leopardus and Petrus Nannius undertook the defence of Erasmus ; and it is well known that this Robortellus was a quarrelsome Critic, who thought to acquire reputation by attacking his betters.

The last piece is a Speech of Joannes Heroldus in favour of Erasmus, against some person who had libelled him after his death. It was spoken by order of the Magistrate, and in the University of Basil. It is beneath the compositions of Erasmus, but as it was drawn up in his defence, a place hath been granted to it in this Volume.

Tome the ninth. As Erasmus did the most service to the Public of any person in his age ; so was he the most spitefully and injuriously treated by those, who ought to have honoured him, and returned him thanks. He was therefore obliged to compose a great variety of Apologies, against various kinds of adversaries ; and these constitute the ninth Tome of Froben's Edition. We have made two parts of it, that the volume might not be too bulky, as there are here large additions. Many of the Epistles of Erasmus may be also considered as so many Apologies, and if they were added to this Tome, they would make a third part, as large as either of the two, and relating to the same purpose. But no reasonable man will think the worse of Erasmus upon this account, since he only defends himself, at least for the most part, against very unjust and outrageous assaults. If he himself is too violent and acrimonious in some of his replies, I lay all the blame upon the Divines of that age. They were the men, who compelled one of the sweetest and most peaceable temper, to depart from his mild nature, and to be far more peevish and passionate than he would else have been.

To give the Reader some notion of the Apologies of Erasmus, we may range them under two sorts, according to the Adversaries with whom he had to do. The one were zealous for the Church of Rome, as it then stood, and undertook to defend it in all respects against him. The others had separated themselves from that Church, and expected that Erasmus should do the same. The first accused him of favouring the sentiments of Luther, and of Luther's followers : the second complained that he did not openly declare himself for the Reformers. When he writes against the Romish Doctors, he cannot forbear, even whilst he disclaims the Lutheran sentiments, from declaring that he saw several things in the Church which stood in need of reformation, and even from commending Luther and his disciples. On the other hand, when he disputes with the Protestants (as they were afterwards called) he commends the Church of Rome, and reproaches them with many things which he accounted blameable in their conduct. Thus instead of pacifying his adversaries, he provoked them more and more ; and he provoked them undesignedly and unawares ; for he was not a man of artifice, who knew how to conceal, and how to discover himself, as his interests should require. He followed the warm suggestions

tions of his mind, and spake as he thought, without considering the disposition of those whom he wanted to win over, and without concerning himself much about consequences. This appears in general from his Epistles, as we have shewed in his Life, and it appears from his Apologies, which we will examine in few words, taking them in the order wherein they are ranged.

1. His letter to Martin Dorpius is a defence of his *Encomium Morice*, which had shocked the Divines, whom Erasmus in a bantering way had inserted amongst the number of *Fools*, as well as all other orders and degrees of men. It is only too true, that a great number of these who took the title of Theologers, honestly deserved a place amongst those whose brains were not in right order; and Erasmus proves it sufficiently, shewing at the same time that honest and worthy men had no reason at all to think themselves the objects of his raillery.

2. Erasmus, on Hebr. ii. 7. had explained these words of the second Psalm, *Thou hast made him a little lower than the Angels* (which the Author of this Epistle applies to Jesus Christ) in this manner, *Thou hast made him for a little time lower than the Angels*. For this interpretation he assigned reasons, which may be seen in his notes on the Epistle to the Hebrews. Jacobus Faber Stapulensis pretended that it ought to be translated, according to the Hebrew, *Thou hast made him a little lower than God*; and applied it to the incarnation. Having read the remarks of Erasmus, he wrote against them; and Erasmus replied in this Apology. As they were friends, the controversy was carried on with some civility, and Faber replied not again. In this debate they seem both of them to have been mistaken.

3. As Erasmus often insisted upon the necessity of studying Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and now and then derided the ignorant Scholastics, Jacobus Latomus, a Divine of Louvain, composed a Dialogue, in which he maintained the contrary opinion, but without naming Erasmus. Yet as it was commonly supposed that Latomus had him in view, Erasmus judged it proper to defend his own sentiments, which he did with great facility, and with much moderation, in this treatise. And so Latomus and he continued to be friends.

4. In his youth, he had made a Declamation in praise of matrimony, and had preferred it to celibacy: and this had set the Ecclesiastics of Louvain

Louvain against him. His Apology for this Discourse is short, and turns mostly upon matters of fact.

5. Some Divines, less attached to things than to words, were angry that Erasmus had translated the first verse of St. John's Gospel; In the beginning was *Sermo*, *Speech*, instead of *Verbum*, *the Word*. Erasmus shewed them that the Latin Translator, whose version was used in the Church of Rome, had frequently so translated the Greek word *Λογος*, and that many Latin Fathers had done the same. Beza and Castalio have followed Erasmus here, in their Latin versions of the New Testament. || 2^u. Yet the place might be translated; In the beginning was *Reason*: and this is perhaps the true meaning of St. John.

6. Edward Lee, to acquire reputation at the expence of Erasmus, attacked his first edition of the New Testament, though the second was published, wherein the Author had corrected several things. This was very unfair; and indeed Lee understood neither Greek nor Divinity; so that Erasmus found it no difficult matter to refute him. His objections are paltry chicaneries, built upon his own ignorance and incapacity, and not upon any real foundation. Yet Lee returned to the assault, with new animadversions, to which Erasmus also replied, because his adversary was supported by the Monks, who applauded every thing that came out against this learned man.

7. Jacobus Lopes Stunica, a Spanish Divine, and a far more able man than Lee, attacked Erasmus also, who answered him. As Stunica acted with more artifice and malice, our Author answered him with more vehemence and scornful raillery. Stunica made his remarks upon the version and the notes of Erasmus; and though he be sometimes in the right, yet for the most part his censures are mere cavils upon trifles, and upon passages which he spitefully endeavoured to set in the most odious light.

On Matth. xxii. 10. where mention is made of the Herodians, Erasmus, following Jerom, had said that the Evangelist gives this name to the soldiers of Herod, the proselyte, whom Augustus had set over the Jews, to collect the tribute in the name of the Roman Emperor. Stunica derided this note, and not without reason, because,
1. St. Matthew could not speak of the soldiers of Herod the Great, who had been dead more than thirty years; and therefore these Herodians, supposing them to be Herod's soldiers, could only have had their denomination from Herod Antipas, his son, who was then alive.
2. because

2. because this Herod Antipas was not king of Judæa, but only Tetrarch of Galilee. 3. because Herod the Great had been made king of Judæa by the Senate, at the recommendation of Antony and Augustus, and not by Augustus alone, and was not appointed king to collect the taxes in the name of the Roman Emperor.

All this is true, as it is well known to those who are acquainted with Josephus; and it is pretty plain that Erasmus, when he wrote this note, did not consult Josephus, or had quite forgotten what Josephus relates concerning Herod and his posterity. Stunica might have added that it was improper to call Herod the Great a Proselyte, since he doubtless had been circumcised in his infancy, and the Idumæan nation, to which Antipater, his father belonged, had received the rite of circumcision long before the birth of Herod, under Hyrcanus, as Josephus informs us.

To all this Erasmus replies, 1. That he had not affirmed that this was the first of the Herods: but Erasmus had sufficiently intimated it by calling him a Proselyte, since Herod's children, born and bred in the Jewish Church, could in no sense be called proselytes. Besides, Erasmus in the following editions of his notes, calls him son of Antipater, which can only denote Herod the Great. He answers 2. That it might be properly said that Augustus established Herod over the Jews, to gather the tribute, because he was made king for that purpose. This is a mistake. Herod was neither gatherer of the taxes, nor a tributary prince, nor did the Roman Senate, nor Antony, nor Augustus make him king for that purpose. 3. Erasmus shelters himself under the authority of Jerom, from whom he had taken what he said about Herod, and who plainly affirms that this Herod was son of Antipater. This was a proper answer to stop the mouth of a man, who would not dare to say that Jerom was mistaken: but in itself it was good for nothing.

Here are the words of Jerom, which shew that he is no sure guide in matters of ancient history:

"Not long after the time, when, under Augustus Cæsar, Judæa subjected to the Romans had been made tributary, a decree was published that all the world should be taxed (or enrolled). Hereupon there was a great dissension amongst the Jews, some of them saying that, for the public repose and safety, tribute ought to be paid to the Romans, since the Romans waged war in defence of all: but the Pharisees,

Pharisees, who applauded themselves for their own righteousness, maintained that the people of God, who paid tithes and first fruits, and observed all that the law required, ought not to be subject to human ordinances."

Thus far nothing is censurable, if it be applied to the tax, or enrollment, which was made in Judæa, when after the deposition of Archelaus, son of Herod the Great, it was reduced to a Roman Province. We must not confound with this taxing (as Jerom seems to have done) that which was made under Herod the Great, at the time of our Saviour's birth. His words *in toto orbe, in all the world*, seem to refer to the words of Luke ii. 1. concerning the enrolment at the time of Christ's birth. If so, Jerom had a confused idea of the history of those times. He adds ;

" *Cæsar* Augustus had made Herod king of the Jews, who was an alien and a proselyte, to preside over the tribute, and to be subject to the Roman empire. The Pharisees therefore sent their disciples with the Herodians, that is to say, with the soldiers of Herod."

But Herod, son of Antipater was dead, as we said before, above thirty years, in the last year of Christ's ministry, and what Jerom saith of this Prince is contrary to history. It is strange that Erasmus should chuse rather implicitly to follow this Father, than to get better information from Josephus.

Hence it appears that Stunica was in the wrong to quarrel with Erasmus upon Matth. xxvi. 31. because Erasmus had reprov'd Jerom there for a fault, though he did it with great caution, and after having highly commended him: for if Erasmus deserved to be so vehemently censured for having committed the same mistake with Jerom, he could not deserve to be insulted for having rectified a fault in Jerom.

Erasmus defends himself in like manner, on Acts xvi. 11. for having said, on the authority of Jerom, that Neapolis there mentioned was a city of Caria in Asia Minor. It was a city of Macedonia, as Stunica said, not by mere conjecture, as Erasmus tells him, but with good reason, and upon the clearest evidence. Erasmus however corrected this error in subsequent editions.

There was still more violence and virulence in the reply of Stunica, entitled, *The blasphemies and impieties of Erasmus*, and some other pieces, which Erasmus also answered.

8. He defended himself likewise against a Spanish Monk, called Sanctius Caranza, who had taken Stunica's part. He treats them both as they deserved, for they kept no common decency towards him.

9. Nicolas d'Egmond, a Carmelite of Louvain, had censured a passage in the version of Erasmus on 1 Cor. xv. 51. *We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed*, which the Vulgate translates, *We shall all sleep, but we shall not all be changed*. Erasmus shews that both the manuscripts and the ancient commentators vary on this place.

10. Erasmus sometimes, by way of banter, calls this Carmelite, a *Camelite*, because he had no more sense than a camel: but Natalis Bedda, a Divine of Paris, was not a more reasonable creature than the *Camelite*. He exerted his malice in collecting various and detached passages from Erasmus, which seemed to favour the Lutherans, and in wresting and misrepresenting every thing that could be put in an odious light. Erasmus 1. answers the remarks which this Divine had made upon his Paraphrases. 2. He gives a short refutation of his erroneous censures. 3. He defends about two hundred propositions extracted from his Paraphrases, which Bedda had accused of heterodoxy and heresy; and enumerates the errors of his adversary. According to the calculation of Erasmus, Bedda, upon a very moderate computation, and favourable examination, had been guilty of a hundred and eighty one lies, three hundred and ten calumnies, and forty seven blasphemies. 4. He also confutes the censures which this man had passed upon some other works of Erasmus.

To enter into a detail of all this would tire the Reader, and make these observations too bulky. I shall therefore only extract a passage from the conclusion of the defence of Erasmus:

"If the Church, says he, is not supported by a better Atlas, it is high time to write its epitaph. I undertake not to defend those, who, under pretence of the Gospel, pursue the things of the flesh; I have nothing in common with the sentiments of Luther: but it cannot be denied that the doctrine of Luther approacheth much nearer to the true spirit of Christianity, than the Theology of Bedda. I speak of the books which he hath written against me; as to his other books, I have not perused them, and I know not by whose advice they were published. For what is it that Bedda hath in view? It is this, to make men set a great esteem upon Scholastic quibbles, vain subtilties, human ordinances,

the worshipping of images, the difference of meats, and of garbs; upon a reliance in their own works, and in a holy week spent in acts of penance. I condemn none of these actions, unless they be done without discretion and measure, and in the spirit of superstition. As to true Evangelical piety, Bedda says nothing at all, or he talks so coldly, that any one may discern that it proceeds not from the heart. *We ought*, says he, *to place our confidence in God, and also in other necessary means, and principally in our own good works.* With what coldness and reluctance doth this man confess that we ought to place our trust in God, he who is so vehement on other occasions?

Nothing can be so well expressed which this man will not wrest and distort, to squeeze out of it some calumniating consequence; and yet he enumerates his pretended heresies. I will engage to extract in a few days five thousand such heresies from the most approved Doctors of the Church, and even from the sacred books. What is more venerable and holy than the Lord's Prayer? If you will give me leave, I will play the Bedda upon it. *Our Father, &c. Father.* This smells of Arianism, as if the Father alone were to be invoked, as the only true God; for here is no mention made of the Son and of the holy Spirit. *Our Father.* Dangerous words, since Christians may hence imagine that they are the children of God by nature, even as Jesus Christ. It should have been, *Our Father by adoption, and not by nature. Who art in heaven:* This approacheth to blasphemy; as if God could be in any place *definitive* and *circumscriptive*, he who is not more in one place than in another, &c."

Certain it is that Bedda criticised exactly in this manner the works of Erasmus. But it is certain likewise that Erasmus disapproved many Scholastic doctrines, which the Universities approved, and held many opinions which they rejected. And accordingly we find only one single treatise of Bedda on *Confession*, which is simply and barely called *a prohibited book*, in the *Index*; but all the works of Erasmus are mangled and curtailed in that *Index*, his reply to Bedda not excepted. Honest Erasmus wanted to lead the Divines insensibly into better notions, by persuading them that they did in reality hold those reasonable sentiments which they ought to have held, and that such senti-
ments

ments had been constantly reputed orthodox, because they were to be found in the earlier and purer ages of Christianity. But these men were not to be thus imposed upon for their spiritual good; and it would have been an easier matter to have made them worse, than to have made them better.

11. Our Author afterwards defended himself against Petrus Sutor, a Carthusian and a Doctor of the Sorbonne, who had cavilled at many things in his New Testament, and particularly at his design of making a new version, as if the Vulgate had not been good enough. He had also criticised divers of the notes of Erasmus.

12. At last Erasmus had upon his hands the whole Faculty of Divinity of Paris, which reduced the censurable passages in his works to thirty two Articles of impeachment. This attack vexed him much, and although he had already answered every one of these Articles, which had been objected to him by other people, he had the whole work to go over again. The cause of all this outcry was, in his opinion, that he had formed a plan of Divinity upon the holy Scriptures and the Fathers of the first ages, and that he expressed his notions in better Latin and in clearer terms than had been employed in other Theological treatises. He ought to have begun at the wrong end, have studied modern Scholastics, have learned to write and reason like them, and then have perused antiquity to pick up authorities to justify the School-men, and have railed at all those who dared to depart from these teachers. Then he would have received the loudest applauses of all the Universities.

From these animadversions of the French Divines, it appears plainly enough that they favoured and adopted many opinions and many practices which Erasmus disliked.

13. Then follows a refutation of I know not what person, who called himself *Phimostomus*, the *Mouth-stopper*. This writer had undertaken to confute the sentiments of Erasmus concerning Divorce, on 1 Cor. VII.

14. He also answers an anonymous adversary, who had published against him *Collationes Juvenis Γερωνοδιδασκαίας*, *Conferences of a young man who instructs an old man*, and which are a defence of the Vulgate. He found it an easy task to refute this young babbler, who, it seems, read private lectures of divinity at Louvain.

But I confess that I was surpris'd to find in Erasmus, ⁹ on Rom. xvi. 5. where St. Paul salutes Epænetus, who was the first-fruits of *Achaia*, or according to the Vulgate, of *Asia*, that if by *Asia* we understand all the country which is commonly called *Asia Minor*, *Achaia* is a part of *Asia*; but if we take it for *Asia* properly so called, *Achaia* doth not belong to it. Children know at present that Achaia was a part of Greece, within the Peloponnesus, and at its entrance. But in the time of Erasmus there were fewer helps for the understanding of Geography; and this made him commit no small ^p faults in the former editions of his New Testament.

15. He also found it no difficult matter to defend himself against some Spanish Monks, in an Apology dedicated to the Archbishop of Seville, the Inquisitor General: but reasonable as his defence was, it satisfied none of the Divines of that country, where his works were put into the *Index*. Erasmus pleads his cause here, just as though he had to do with equitable judges: but to seek equity in a land of Inquisition, is like seeking erudition in Turkey.

16. Albertus Pius, Prince of Carpi, drew up a malicious exhortation to Erasmus, to dissuade him from Lutheranism, and composed a work of twenty four books against him. Erasmus answered him in two Apologies, in which he boldly utters many truths which must have highly provoked those, whose favour he was endeavouring to obtain, and who, though they had none of his erudition and penetration, yet were infinitely more crafty than he, where their interests were concerned, interests not at all compatible with the truths advanced by Erasmus.

17. In his Colloquies and in other writings he had often declared against imposing the Lent-fast upon all persons indifferently. He himself could not observe it, and had obtained a dispensation from the Pope. However, he thought himself obliged, on account of evil rumours spread against him, to draw up an Apology.

If the Bishop of Basil, to whom it is addressed, was a man of probity and good sense, it could not be unacceptable to him: but if he was a superstitious or a political Prelate, it must have hurt Erasmus much in the opinion of such a person.

^p Vide Artem Criticam, P. I. C. I. 3. et Indicem ad vocem *Erasmus*. ⁹ See Erasmus Tom. IX. c. 10¹³.

18. The last treatise in this Volume, is his first book against Luther on the question concerning Free-will. We have said enough about this controversy in the Life of Erasmus.

The tenth Volume, or, as you may call it, the second part of the ninth Volume, contains the remainder of his Apologies, some additional pieces, and a general Index.

1. Here is, first, a defence of his Dissertation on Free-will, against Luther, and a refutation of a letter written by Luther. Erasmus in this Treatise is very warm and sower, whether it was that Luther had vexed him, or whether he wanted to convince the world that he was not of the party. Although he had taken the right side of the question concerning human liberty of action, yet the question was too subtle and metaphysical for a man who had not studied philosophy; and indeed he is not here always consistent with himself. If he had out-lived Luther, he would have had the consolation to see the most eminent and skilful Lutherans enter into his opinion; and he would have found by experience that these honest Germans were infinitely more capable of laying aside old prejudices, and of proceeding from good to better, than some Nations, which proudly imagine themselves to have far more penetration and brighter abilities.

2. Some person published a book entitled, *Doctissimi Erasmi Roterodami, ac Martini Lutheri opinio de Cæna, &c.* wherein he pretended to shew that Erasmus was in the sentiments of Carolostadius, who rejected the Real Presence. Erasmus replies with great vehemence. In this, and in some following controversial pieces, he writes like a man in a passion, who defends himself in a way that could please nobody.

3. Such is also his Epistle to Gerard of Nimmegen, against those who falsely called themselves Evangelics; and such is his Reply to the Letter of the Divines of Strasburg.

4. In the Life of Erasmus, we have spoken of Ulric Hutten, and of the book called *Spongia*, which Erasmus wrote against this man. Better had he held his peace, than have published the detail of an uninteresting frivolous quarrel, which doth no honour to so great a man as he was.

5. We

5. We have an answer to an anonymous Monk, who accused him of despising the Religious Orders.

6. The next piece contains his quarrels with Eppendorf, of which we have already spoken.

7. The tract entitled *Antibarbari* is only the beginning of a larger work, which should have contained four books, and of which only one remains. In the Preface we are told how the work was lost in Italy. Erasmus had not leisure and inclination to retrieve the loss and resume the subject. This first book is an answer to the objections which the Monks in the days of Erasmus usually made to Literature. He began this performance at the age of twenty, and would afterwards have suppressed it, if he had not feared that others would seize upon the strayed copy, and publish it. Therefore he revised it as well as he could, though he would not attempt to complete it. It is an ingenious and sensible work. It may still have its use in the regions where Literature is little regarded, and it cannot fail to entertain men of letters, especially his own country-men, who have shewed an affection for sciences, since his decease, equal to the contempt which they bestowed upon them in the days of his life.

8. Then follows a short letter to some Minorites, who defamed Erasmus, and whom he treats, according to their merits, with infinite scorn.

9. The next is a Defence against Petrus Cursius, who had attacked Erasmus for a Letter falsely imputed to him. We have already spoken of it.

10. Erasmus had for his Seal the figure of the God *Terminus*, with this legend, *Cedo nulli*. This, as his enemies pretended, was a most insupportable vanity; and the poor man was obliged to draw up an Apology about it, addressed to the Emperor's Secretary. Thus, instead of putting favourable constructions upon his conduct, they criticised every thing that he did and said, with the utmost malignity. It is no wonder that such usage made him somewhat peevish in his old age.

The tracts hitherto mentioned were in Froben's Edition. The following pieces are added in the Edition of Leyden:

1. An Apology for Erasmus by Martin Lydius, containing extracts from his works, which shew his notions concerning Arianism, of which
he

he was unjustly suspected, because he did not revile the Arians sufficiently. This Apologist hath also collected his sentiments concerning the principal controversial points, on which Christians are still divided. These citations shew that Erasmus did not talk in a way suitable to the prejudices of the times in which he lived, though he was not willing to make any schism upon that account. In pleading his cause he often defended himself, as we have observed, in a way to make those, whose favour he seemed to court, think worse of him than they did before.

2. The passages in his works, which are censured by the *Index* of Madrid, and which confirm the fore-mentioned observation.

3. A funeral Oration (well drawn up and far better than that of Heroldus at the end of the eighth Tome) by Gulielmus Insulanus (de l'Ile) Provost of St. Aldabert at Aix-la-chapelle. It is an encomium and an Apology for our Author, by a Canon of the Church, which is much to the honour of the composer.

4. A Letter of Erasmus to Prince Henry, afterwards Henry VIII. It came too late to hand, to be inserted amongst the Epistles of Erasmus.

Lastly, Here is a new General Index to all the works (excepting the third Volume of the Epistles which hath an Index of its own) and an Index of the passages of Scripture explained in them.

They who shall compare this Edition with that of Froben, will find it far better on many accounts. The additions, those especially which are made to the Volume of the Epistles, are so considerable that the Edition of London is not to be compared to it.

They who love the genius of Erasmus, and who are of opinion, as all judicious men are, that much is to be learned from his works, both for the subjects of which they treat, and for the history of that age, and they who are collectors of Libraries, cannot be without this Edition. If the war, in which Europe is at present involved, be once put to an end, the small number of Copies which have been printed, will not suffice to satisfy the demands of the Curious, and the works of Erasmus will again become as scarce as ever. If each of the Public Libraries of Europe is furnished with a copy (and if it is not, it must be by the fault of the Librarian) private persons will soon be unable to get

get one. But there will be always some separate treatises of Erasmus, which have gone through many editions, which every one may procure, and peruse to his own advantage, if he hath any capacity. The reading of these Tracts will excite in us a great indignation against those, who instead of receiving instruction from this excellent Teacher, compelled him to spend so much of his time in writing Defences. It is a disgrace to the human understanding, and above all to the men, who are called Doctors of the most eminent of sciences, that Truth should want as many Apologies as Falshood, and that the former is become a dangerous thing to profess in this world. *Bibl. Chois.*

XII. I.



Desiderii

DESIDERIERASMI

ROTTERODAMI

OPERA OMNIA,

IN DECEM TOMOS DISTINCTA.

Lugduni Batavorum, MDCCIII.

TOMUS PRIMUS.

PRÆFATIO JOANNIS CLERICI.

CUM novam summi viri Desid. Erasmi operum editionem moliretur Petrus Vander Aa, Lugdunensis Bibliopola, Antiquitatibus Græcis et Romanis, aliisque Veterum et Recentiorum monumentis editis non incelebris, consiliumque suum mecum communicaret; serio gavissus sum aliquando tandem rariores et in paucis bibliothecis delitescentes maximi illius ingenii fœtus in publicam lucem revocari. Sæpe audiveram viros eruditos graviter querentes præstantissimorum hominum, qui proxime præteritis sæculis floruerunt, eximia opera ex manibus studiosorum Literarum excuti, vel sola raritate, cum non nisi ægre et ingenti pretio comparari possent; dum jejuna Recentiorum volumina, magnâ copiâ, in lucem quotidie protruduntur, et sola emenda prostant. Nec poteram eorum querelas prorsus improbare; quamquam in illorum numero non sum, quibus omnia nova sordent, nec quidquam probatur, nisi quod, ut ille ait, *Libitina sacravit*. Noram scilicet, ex lectione operum summi illius Hollandiæ suæ ornamentis, eorumque collatione cum scriptis Recentiorum, quæ in manus meas incidere, quæcumque tandem sint, ea in illis inveniri, quibus potiora in aliis nulla occurrunt; sive eruditionem philologicam, sive sublimio-

rem rerum divinarum cognitionem, five vitiorum sæculi, quo vixit, descriptionem neque fucatam, neque scribentis vitio exaggeratam, five denique singularem amœnitatem ac libertatem ingenii, cum insigni probitate morum conjunctam, spectes. Passim videre licet^r Philologos, qui quamvis cæteros homines, more ludimagistrorum sollemni, despiciant, nihil præter verba et consuetudines prisca Græcorum et Romanorum norunt, atque in cæteris fere desipiunt; nec unquam Grammaticorum claustris egredi conantur, quin cordatioribus omnibus ludibrium debeant. Nec desunt Theologi, qui, Scholæ tricis innutriti, suis distinctiunculis et syntagmatibus omnia metiuntur, nec sacrarum Literarum volumina, aut antiquiorum Christianorum lucubrationes ex ipsis archetypis linguis, ut par est, interpretari possunt. Paucissimi humaniorum et sanctiorum Literarum felicissimum illud ac fecundissimum elegantissimorum partuum conjugium intra pectus suum celebrarunt. At plures profecto non sunt, inter eos qui nomen suum literarum studiis dederunt, qui ausint sæculi sui vitiis manum medicam afferre, nisi quatenus prodest; laudare ceteroquin, aut certe dissimulare turpissima quæque parati, si modo ex adulatione ac dissimulatione sua lucellum aliquod ad se redire posse sperent. Nihil in eorum scriptis invenias, quod quidem ad ipsorum tempora pertineat, quod aut parasitica ingenia, potius quam faceta, aut malignam quamdam tetricitatem, carpendique meliores, sed minus potentes, insanam libidinem non redoleat. Ibi demum suam *παρρησίαν* ostentant, cum atram bilem in infirmiores effundunt, aut invidiose viros bonos traducunt; et pro ingenuo risu Sardoniæ rictûs diductionem, ac male dissimulatam invidentiam produnt. Quibus omnibus vitiis contrarias virtutes in Erasmi nostri scriptis elucere, si paucis ostendero, nemo erit, qui ea multo digniora esse, quæ iterum recuderentur, quam innumerabilia alia, quibus fervent hodie præla, non fateatur.

Si quis varia Erasmi opera ad Philologiam spectantia, qualia multa primo volumine continentur, et præsertim quidem Adagiorum immensam collectionem, qua secundum constat, paullo studiosius legerit, profecto mirabitur multijugem omnium Scriptorum, cum Sacrorum ac ecclesiasticorum, tum etiam profanorum lectionem. Proverbia enim sua vir maximus non ex aliorum lacunis, aut ex paucis quibusdam voluminibus corrofit; sed omnes, qui eo ævo exstabant, Scripto-

^r He had in view some Professors, of his own times, with whom he had altercations.

res, ejus collectionis causa, pervolvit. Quod quanti fuerit laboris, iidemum intelligent, qui illius ævi, quo primum typographia florere cœpit, editiones vitiosissimas aliquando consuluerint, animadverterintque multa ex manuscriptis codicibus ab Erasmo fuisse depromta; et sciverint ea tempestate literarum studiosos, magnis illis subsidiis, quibus nunc cincti sumus, prorsus caruisse; neque enim ulla erant Lexica, nisi inepta et jejuna, vitiisque scatentia; aut editiones ullæ antiquorum librorum accuratioribus indicibus instructæ; aut interpretes Critici Veterum, perpaucis exceptis, nisi prorsus barbari aut inepti. Attamen in tanta bonarum editionum penuria, ne jam domesticas angustias memorem, quid non evoluit Erasmus? Ex quibus Scriptoribus quæ ad rem suam faciebant non excerpfit, et, quod caput est rei, quid non feliciter, aut certe ingeniose interpretatus est, ut etiam errantem mirari possis? Sed et per universa ejus scripta, maximam totius antiquitatis Græcæ et Romanæ scientiam, et qua majorem nullus eo tempore consequutus est, effulgere, nemo negaverit, nisi qui ea non legerit.

Neque hic quisquam nobis objiciat, virum summum non tantum ab Henrico Stephano, et Paulo Leopardo, hominibus longe doctissimis, et Græcæ præsertim linguæ peritissimis, sed et a nobis tanto inferioribus, aliisque, in errore aliquoties deprehensum; quod nec in notulis diffimulavimus, præsertim in Adagiorum opus, inque nonnullas e Græcis Scriptoribus translationes. Nam quamvis vadis navim illidentem, in amplissimo omnigenarum literarum Oceano tantum virum ad feliciorum cursum interdum revocaverimus; non ideo ingenio ac eruditioni ejus ulla ratione detractum volumus. Sæpe erravit, pravis malarum editionum lectionibus deceptus; interdum etiam dormitavit, quod fas esse in tam multiplici scriptura nemo inficias iverit, præter homines pigros, qui cum ipsi nihil præstent, leves eruditorum nævos maligne observant, ut inde sibi gloriolam apud sui similes quærant. A quo vitio semper longissime nos abfuisse, cum nobis conscii simus, non dubitavimus de delictis Erasmi Lectores monere, ne minus eruditi, tanti viri auctoritate, transversim abducerentur; alioqui ceteris tantorum laborum partibus meritam laudem qui libentius tribuat, quam nos, neminem vivere putamus. Eos demum patiemur de Philologica Erasmi eruditione tenuiter sentire, qui pluribus ac majoribus ingenii doctrinæque monumentis sæculum suum illustrarint; quod interea dum fecerint, taceant oportet, nisi velint apud omnes eruditos bonosque viros male audire.

Non sum nescius multos, cum felicissimam inventionem, delectumque rerum, ac pondus rationum se ei detrahare non posse viderent, in ejus Latinitatem esse invecos; quam ad instar styli, qui Augusti ævo obtinebat, formatam negarunt. Sed nec ille unquam professus est se illius sæculi sermonem per omnia imitari; neque sane potuisset, nisi voluisset de innumeris magni momenti rebus tacere, quæ Ciceroniano stylo commode exprimi nequeant; quod ipse testatur Ep. 15. L. xx. Verum ut unicuique suum est ingenium, sic et suus stylus sit necesse est, quem fingere ad alienam mentem, id demum est, nulla ratione statueræ habita, aliena veste velle uti, quod stultissimum esset. Coacta illa imitatio non exiguo est impedimento res dignas dictu, potius quam verba Latina, quærenti; paritque etiam frigidum, languentemque et laciniosum stylum; cum suum ingenium sequenti et rerum studioso, neque desit argumentum utile, neque commoda oratio, qua id vestiatur, quæ et multo gratior et virilior est. Quod experiaris licet, si Erasmi nostri scripta cum Longolii, Bembi, aut Sadoleti lucubrationibus contendas. Mihi certe somnus obrepit, dum has lego; iis vero mirum in modum excitor atque afficior. Sed de his legendus nostri festivissimus Dialogus, quem *Ciceronianum* inscripsit.

Potuit ergo Erasmus inter primarios sæculi sui Philologos honoratum locum obtinere, si eorum tantum disciplinas attigisset; sed sublimius ejus erat atque erectius ingenium, quam ut in inferioribus illis artibus confenesceret. Itaque sese ad Theologiam contulit, ad cujus tamen cognitionem sibi comparandam Linguarum, humaniorumque Literarum peritia felicissime usus est. Ejus ætate princeps illa Disciplinarum omni fere aliarum ornatu exuta, colebatur, et cum styli barbarie conjuncta; præterea in ea erat ineptia atque incitia ratiocinationum acutioribus prorsus intolerabilis. Cum eam universam niti oporteat aut Sacrarum Literarum auctoritate, aut antiquiorum Christianorum testimoniis; nec Græci, nec Latini Patres, imo ne utriusque quidem Testamenti tabulæ, ex Latina vulgata Interpretatione, intelligebantur. Ad eam ergo barbariem profligandam, discutiendasque tenebras, Cimmeriis obscuriores, cum alii viri docti, tum etiam Erasmus noster, elegantiorum Literarum studia, maximo successu, adhibuerunt; nec quidquam profecto ei deerat, ad Scripturam Sacram accurate intelligendam, præter Linguae Hebraicæ notitiam, quam dumtaxat delibaverat. Cæterum Scholasticorum, superiorum proxime ætatum Interpretum ac Theologorum pertæsus, et ipsos fontes adiit, et rivos antiquiorum sæculorum,
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propius a fontibus derivatos, propemodum exhausit. Quem enim Scriptorem Ecclesiasticum, qui eo quidem tempore exstaret, non excussit? Quem, data occasione, non laudavit? Imo vero, cum nullæ quorundam essent editiones, quæ ferri possent, novas incredibili labore in suum et aliorum usum adornare aggressus est; et præsertim quidem Hieronymi et Augustini lucubrationes immensa mendorum copia expurgavit, spurias a genuinis Critico acumine discriminavit, et nonnullas etiam a capite ad calcem interpretatus est. Ad hæc, quasi colophon, translatio Novi Testamenti, atque Adnotationes in omnes ejus libros accessere. De hisce et multis aliis omnis generis Scriptoribus accuratius ab eo editis, consulendus Epistolarum ejus Liber, ex quo quantis vigiliis ac sudoribus hæc omnia ei constiterint liquebit. Vix credet, qui eum evolvat, viri unius vitam atque industriam potuisse tot ac tantis laboribus sufficere.

Dum autem Erasmus ex ipsis fontibus, aut limpidioribus, ut existimabat, rivis, Theologiam Christianam hauriret, eos minime imitatus est, qui id quod cupiunt in iis quærunt, eaque quæ ipsorum indoli consentanea sunt ex iis referunt. Alii naturâ contemplationum arduarum, rixarumque, quæ ex iis nasci solent, amantes, iis lectis de solis mysteriis loquuntur; quæ non tantum defendere acerrime parati sunt, sed et subtilius interpretantur, interpretationesque suas minus probantes vehementissime insectantur; unde jurgia oriuntur, quæ postea calamitates innumeras pariunt. Alii non tam Religionis ipsius, quam vestis, qua indui solet, studiosi, in antiquis monumentis nihil præter rituum ac ceremoniarum vestigia indagant, atque in sua illa investigatione nihil inveniunt præter ea quæ ad externam Religionis speciem pertinent, et quorum necessitatem præter modum urgent, ejusque non ita observantes facilius quam par est proscribunt. Utrique autem, et hi et illi, sanctimonix Christianæ, quæ in timore Dei et probitate morum sita est, negligentiores sunt, vitiisque haud illibenter ignoscunt; dum interno bello hallucinationes ingenii humani, rituumque neglectum, in hominibus ceteroqui bonis, persequuntur. Erasmus vero noster, minime neglectis mysteriis, ritibusque, quibus aut decentior fit religio, aut humana imbecillitas adjuvatur, reverentiam Numinis, sanctissimorumque ejus præceptorum observationem, ex recta mysteriorum, cærimoniarumque interpretatione necessario nascentes, neque a Deo ulli usquam remissas, potissimum exigebat; quod ex quinto Operum ejus Volumine, sequentibusque intelligere est. Hanc Religionis Christi-

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anæ partem, ejus ævo ferme conculcatam, et Scripturæ Sacræ et Veterum testimoniis ita illustravit, ac confirmavit, ut inter potissimos ejus instauratores merito habeatur. Id certe ejus fuit acumen, eaque animi probitas, ut feliciter ubique secernat eas opiniones, eaque instituta, quæ a malis æque ac bonis defendi atque observari possunt, ab ea fide iisque moribus, quæ in solis bonis inveniuntur, quippe qui norat eam demum esse veram Religionem, qua homines non acutiores, aut externa specie spectabiliores, sed Dei et proximi amantiores fiunt; nec eum bonum haberi posse, qui nihil facit quod ab improbi animi hominibus æque fieri nequeat. Qui Theologica ejus Opera paullo studiosius evolvent, nihil homini a nobis tribui, quod non ex merito sit tribuendum intelligent.

Hanc cum veræ Theologiæ imaginem animo concepisset, erudito ac bono nemini improbandam, tantum thesaurum, ut solus eo frueretur, nequaquam infodit; sed omnibus, qui eo uti vellent, communem esse oportere existimavit. Itaque scriptis eum spargere per universam Europam conatus est; qua de causa, quicquid fuit bonorum virorum summas ei gratias habuerunt, ut operum ejus celerrima venditio et frequens ubique lectio satis ostenderunt. Verum cum non tam bene cum rebus humanis agatur, ut probi atque eruditi ullo modo æquent improborum ac imperitorum numerum, in se vir summus et veræ virtutis studiosissimus innumeros malos atque indoctos concitavit. Quamobrem vitia sæculi sui describere necesse habuit, et cum hominibus pepercerit, nisi editis voluminibus ab iis laceffitus improbe fuisset, Ecclesiasticorum quorundam, quos potissimum infestos habuit, nævos ac deliria ita pinxit, ut etiamnum hodie sine indignatione aut risu eorum tabulas, in ejus scriptis, spectare nequeamus. Dum autem omnis sortis homines in Theologicis Operibus, officium ex Sacris Literis docet, ostendit satis aperte ea tempestate malos mores, una cum maxima bonarum rerum imperitia, usque adeo grassatos fuisse, ut nescias indoctioresne essent Christiani, an improbiore. In *Colloquiis* vero, in quibus Juventutem ad virtutem et Literarum amorem accendere conatur, quam graphice passim pingit suæ ætatis vitia? Quam aperte nos docet nihil esse cur de hoc nostro tempore multum queramus, si id cum temporibus quibus vixit conferamus? Non exscribam quæ præstat in ejus operibus legi, quam in hac brevi Præfatione, ne forte similia huic nostræ ætati nimium irritabili exprobrare velle videar; sed dicam quod nemo negabit, qui rem paullo penitus introspexerit, multum toti Europæ profuisse sum-

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mi viri castigationes, et majorem fructum edituras fuisse, si omnes Eruditi eum essent ubique imitati. Tandem puduisset eos quorum vitia carpit, nec tot æmulos reliquissent, si per universam Europam, ab ea tempestate, non desuissent ii, qui stylo talia confodere poterant, suo ingenio suaque eruditione uti, ad omnes Christianos ad sanio-rem mentem revocandos. At multi ab illis temporibus, exuto omni Veritatis ac Virtutis amore, non tam hominibus, quod ipsum turpissimum fuisset, quam vitiis, quod extremæ est nequitiae, adlati sunt; ut honores ac præmia, ejusmodi flagitio proposita consequerentur. Nisi Erasmi et aliorum aliquot ad nos pervenissent fidæ eorum temporum descriptiones, eos forte laudaremus, quorum memoriam pii omnes sibi nunc jure putant execrandam. Plura hanc in rem non addo, ne odiis oleum affundere videar, hominesque iis, quos Erasmus olim castigavit, minime meliores in ejus scripta incendam. Jam satis est, imo vero plus satis rixarum et concertationum, quos si silentio minuere nequeamus, certe intempestivis querelis non exacerbabimus.

At prætermittere non possum mihi semper, ut et omnibus elegantioribus hominibus, admirationi fuisse amœnitatem summam ingenii, et facetissima dicta, quæ subinde in Erasmi lucubrationibus emicant, et Lectorum animos innocua voluptate demulcent. Non possum tacere mirabilem mitissimæ indolis *παρρησίαν*, qua vitia et privatorum, et summarum potestatum, cum in Ecclesiastica, tum in Civili Republica, sine mordaci acerbitate, exagitavit. Agnoscas ubique optimi utriusque illius Reipublicæ civis ingenium pacatum; qui sine seditione ac discidio quod in utraque vituperari poterat comiter atque humane emendare conatus est. Nimii labores, et multijugis lectio in plerisque ita omnem hilaritatem animi extinguunt; ut ex Literarum studiis eruditionem quidem, sed eam tetricam ac morosam, sibi comparent, ostendantque se ^s ringere, quam ridere, multo esse paratiores; quod et ipsos et Literas, quas profitentur, apud homines liberaliores infamat. Accurata cognitio vitiorum et delictorum humani generis minus malos sæpe reddit inhumanos et clamorosos; nequiores vero ita afficit, ut nolint inter insanos sapientes videri, malintque plures cum suo emolumento imitari, quam Christiana castigandi libertate offendere. At Erasmus noster ita ridet, ingenuisque facetiis sic abundat, quasi nihil aliud ha-

• He should rather have said, *ringi*.

buiisset

buiſſet quod ageret. Medicinam interea prolapſis moribus tam libere facit, quam ſi ei libertati eadem tributa fuiſſet merces, quam adulatores ab iis, quorum vitiis blandiuntur, ferre videmus; tantaque humanitate omnia dicta ſua condit, ut non iratum, ſed emendandi duntaxat ſtudioſum fuiſſe facile intelligas. Quæ cum reputo, hic exclamare libet:

*Huic Pudor, et Juſtitia ſoror
Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas
Quando ullum invenient parem?*

Quod cum vix ſperari poſſit, pro altero Eraſmo, quem ſuperiores, atque hæc noſtra ætas adhuc nobis debent, Roterodamenſem illum in Bibliothecis inſtructoribus ferme ſepultum, in lucem revocandum cenſuimus, ut ridendo verum dicentem, et jam ſupra invidiam poſitum frequentius audiat ſæculum ſaſtidioſum; a quo Eraſmi imitator fortasſe non audiretur, licet vel magiſtrum ingenio, candore, et eruditione, quod fieri nequit, ſuperaret.

Non diſſimulandum tamen nobis eſt, Eraſmum candore, urbanitate, et libertate, licet intra modeſtiæ limites coërcitis, duo hominum genera vehementer offendiſſe. Alii quidem volebant omnia diſſimulari, et vitia placitaque nonnullorum, quæ defendi non poterant, ſilentio involvi; quaſi ne digitulo quidem attingi poſſent homines male ſibi conſcii, et peſſime de omnibus meriti, ſine ſummo Reipublicæ Chriſtianæ periculo. Alii vero, quibus nihil niſi extremum placebat, optaſſent ab Eraſmo cum iis, quos emendare fruſtra conatus erat, omnia pacis et Societatis Eccleſiaſticae vincula prorsus abrumpi. Voluit ille inter utroſque medium ſe gerere, nec bella pluſquam civilia, quibus res Chriſtiana ſcindebatur, probare aut alere poterat; quamvis vehementer optaret ea quæ merito carpebantur, ab iis, qui ſummæ rerum præerant, emendari. Cupiebat placidis conſiliis et ſine tumultu, potius quam violenta omnium rerum, etiam recte, ut ipſi videbatur, poſitarum convulſione, diſcordias componi. Propterea, neque enim quod verum eſt diſſitebor, acerrimorum utriuſque partis hominum iram in ſe movit.

Ab utriſque aſperrimis dictis ac ſcriptis laceratus eſt, quaſi nullo Religionis ſtudio duceretur, quaſi dicacitatis nimia, atque intolerandæ audaciæ homo traductus. Ex ejus Apologiis nono Tomo comprehenſis,

sis, innumerisque literis res manifesta est; nec sunt illa ulcera a nobis refricanda. Satis norunt perspicaciores rem illi fuisse cum hominibus, qui nec flebiliter monentem, nec ridentem audituri erant; sed ex quavis ratione scribendi, occasionem ejus traducendi avide captaturi.

Non dicam Erasmus mihi semper videri de omnibus recte judicasse; hominem enim eum puto fuisse, non Deum. Non aggrediar etiam defendere quicquid fecit, nec si ejus ætate vixissem, atque is fuissem, qui nunc sum, consilia ejus per omnia sequutus essem. Sunt et mihi graves rationes, quas Lectoris scire nihil interest, ob quas multa prætermitto singularia, quæ non speciose dumtaxat, sed et vere dici possent. Verum contendam æquorum hominum esse perpendere in quam difficilia vir summus incidisset tempora. Iis enim, non rationibus tantum et argumentis, sed affectibus etiam maximis, imperiosis edictis, sævis proscriptionibus, minis ac vi res gerebatur; ita ut hostis loco haberetur a multitudine concitata, quisquis non his aut illis partibus, sed communi omnium utilitati studebat. Mirum ergo esse nemini potest, si postquam omnia dixisset, quæ dici posse putabat, de iis, quæ emendatione egebant, tandem tacuerit; et cum laceraretur a nonnullis, qui ei omnia everfuri videbantur, iis infensior sub vitæ finem fuerit. Dignus profecto erat, propter maxima in Rempublicam Literariam Christianamque merita, qui, si non audiretur, at certe suis ipsius consiliis permetteretur, nec invitatus in partes traheretur, in quibus multa ei displicebant. Honorarium otium fuisset ei in senectute ab omnibus, quasi jam emerito, ac rude donando, concedendum; cum præsertim præmia iis, qui tumultuum duces erant, proposita numquam ambiverit; nec ullum lucrum ex rixis umquam sit consequutus. Sane et dum vixit et postquam vitam hanc mortalem meliore mutavit, cum jam dissidentium Christianorum partes sua sibi jura ac dogmata seorsim constituissent, ab æquissimis quibusque, in cælum laudibus certatim sublatus est; quamvis nemo fortasse eorum omnia placita ejus ac consilia probaret. Amplissimus præsertim Magistratus Roterodamensis, qui civi suo statuam æneam, in celeberrimo Urbis suæ foro, posuit, numquam satis laudari potest, quod meritis tanti viri quidquid in eo minus probabat condonarit. Eam statuam ære expressam et ad vivum delineatam Lectoris curiosi oculis, ut eodem loco conspicitur, hic subjicimus, simul cum inscriptionibus, quæ in Erasmi honorem conscriptæ fuerunt, et hic una additæ visuntur; nec non effigiem ejus, manu dexterrimi Holbenii delineatam, et accuratissime sculptam paginâ primâ hujus Præfationis exhibemus.

mus. Versiculi, qui ante ædes, in quibus ille natus est, tales fuerunt et sunt, &c.

Inscriptiones quas pagina sequenti habes, sunt illæ, quæ in basi statuæ reperiuntur, &c.

Novi qui similia dudum expectent a vicinæ urbis Magistratu, in honorem alterius Hollandiæ ocelli. Hugonem Grotium a me designari satis omnes intelligunt, cui postquam posita erit statua, non deerit qui Reipublicæ Literariæ nomine gratias civibus ejus agat. Verum hæc nihil ad Erasmus, in cujus operibus recudendis quid sit a nobis præstitum, summatim et paucis hic indicabimus. Sequuti igitur sumus Editionem Frobenianam anni 1540. neque quidquam detraximus, aut in voluminum ordine novavimus, quem observandum censuerat ipse Erasmus. Cum difficile esset nanscisci exemplar non mutilum aut partim deletum, qualia in plerisque Bibliothecis conspiciuntur, operam dedimus ut integrum inveniremus, idque fideliter exprimeremus. Sed primùm exemplar recensuimus, multaque menda Typothetarum, inter legendum sustulimus, et pravam quamdam scribendi rationem, quæ ea tempestate obtinebat, emendavimus, ut cum *Vergilius* pro *Virgilius* scribebant, *ædere* pro *edere*, et talia. Non dicam innumera, quæ per compendiaras literarum notas exprimi solebant, plenis vocibus ubique fuisse excusa; sed monebo discrimen characterum, ut loca citata distinguantur a verbis Erasmi, a nobis fuisse ubique adhibitum, ut ratio hodierna artis Typographicæ exigebat. Per totum præterea opus notulas infimæ oræ adjecimus, quæ forte injucundæ Lectoribus non erunt. In hæc si quid vitii irrepperit, nobis absentibus, id emendatum iri, sine malignitate, ab æquis hominibus speramus.

Sciat etiam Lector oportet, nos in illis Notis minime aggressos esse Erasmus interpretari, qui interpretatione non indiget; sed tantum quædam monere, quæ non ingrata, nec inutilia legentibus fore putabamus. Illustramus interdum Erasmus, citatis accuratius locis, ad quæ respicit, aut aliis additis; interdum quod habet confirmamus, aut Lectorem amandamus ad eos, qui rem accuratius aut feliciter tractarunt; interdum denique ostendimus eum esse hallucinatum, sed sine ulla acerbitate; quæ nulla in nobis, qui summum virum summopere miramur, esse potuit. Maximos enim viros errare posse arbitramur, ita tamen ut sat multa supersint, quæ jure in iis suspiciamus.

Statue-

Statueramus hic admonere Lectorem de iis, quæ in singulis voluminibus essent etiam a nobis præstita : sed quia nondum omnia edita sunt, eaque nancisci possemus, inter excudendum, quæ nunc nobis sunt ignota, rem ad frontem uniuscujusque voluminis distulimus ; quam adire Lectores poterunt, si iis videatur.

In primo volumine, præter vitam Erasmi a Beato Rhenano conscriptam, addidimus eam, quam ediderat Petrus Scriverius, ante Epistolas ineditas, deinde præfixam Epistolarum Operi in Editione Londinensi. Sed prætermittenda non censuimus judicia selectiora virorum doctorum de Erasmo, quæ huic Epistolæ subiecta videbis. Quin etiam Epitaphia multo plurium addidimus, seorsim duntaxat antea edita, et rario-
ra facta. Præter Notulas nostras Libris ipsius Erasmi subiectas, potu-
issemus multa adnotare ad Libros e prisca Scriptoribus conversos, ut
exiguo specimine ad Libanii Declamatiunculas ostendimus T. i. p. 549.
&c. Sed nihil opus erat, cum pleræque illæ Erasmi versiones sint cum
ipsius Archetypis editæ, interpolatæ, aut castigatæ in virorum Doctorum
Notis, quod vel ex Luciani Editione Amstelodamensi satis notum est.
Præterea id non agebamus, ut ostenderemus tanti viri versionum næ-
vos, cui potius gratias agere nos par est, quam litem, propter levia de-
licta, intendere. Ad *Colloquia* quod attinet, multo uberiores iis addi-
tæ sunt Notæ, rejectis tamen atque inductis insulsis, falsis, puerilibus,
aut inutilibus multis adsummentis, quibus a nescio quo confarcinatore de-
honestatus erat Erasmus. Libro de *Pronunciatione* præfiximus moni-
tum necessarium ex Ger. Joanne Vossio. —

Encomia in laudem Erasmi ab Variis effusa.

Then follows :

Carolo Quinto Beatus Rhenanus, &c.

This is a Dedication of the Basil Edition of the works of Erasmus, and contains a summary account of his Life.

Epistola ad Goclenium.

Of this Epistle we have given an account in the Life of Erasmus, p. 371. To it is subjoined :

Compendium Vitæ Erasmi.

It is short, and drawn up by himself.

Epistola ad Servatium.

This shall be inserted in the Appendix.

Erasmi Vita per Beatum Rhenanum.

This is a Preface to Origen's Works, which had been prepared for the press by Erasmus. It contains a short account of Erasmus, particularly of the last year of his life, and of his death.

Testamentum extremum Erasmi.

See the Appendix.

Epitaphium Erasmi Basileæ.

Then follows :

Bonif. Amerbachius Joanni Paungartnero.

In this Epistle, written a year after the death of Erasmus, Amerbachius informs this Gentleman, that he had obeyed his orders, and endeavoured to collect and transmit to him all the works of Erasmus ; but that he could not procure copies of several of those Tracts. He then expatiates upon the great and good qualities of his deceased Friend, and detests those Libellers who calumniated him both before and after his death.

Erasmus Joanni Botzemo Abstemio.

This excellent Letter contains a Catalogue of the works of Erasmus. See Appendix.

Hætori Bæotio.

With this Letter to Bæotius, Erasmus sends a Catalogue of his works.

Erasmi mors Epitaphiis virorum doctorum defleta.

In this collection there is a letter of Germanus Brixius in praise of his deceased Friend ; and another of Paulus Volzcius, on the same occasion.

Amongst the *Epitaphia*, there is one of Doletus, and another of J. C. Scaliger, who had both written against Erasmus. They were both to be commended for speaking handsomely of Erasmus after his death.

death. Scaliger's verses on this occasion are not good for much; and those of Doletus are good for nothing. There is also an Epitaph made by John Helyar; concerning whom see Wood, *Vol. i. c. 48.*

To this collection let us add an epitaph by an ^tunknown poet, which is so superlatively bad, that it deserves on that account to be transcribed.

Hic jacet Erasmus, qui quondam bonus erat mus:

Rodere qui solitus, roditur a vermibus.

^u The Author being asked why he had made the first syllable of *vermibus* short, answered that he did it to make amends for having in the preceeding verse made the first of *bonus* long.

De Copia Verborum ac Rerum, Libri duo.

This treatise was composed for the use of young students, and is dedicated to Colet, A. 1512. It abounds with learned remarks, and deserves to be carefully perused by those who desire to write or to understand the Latin language. This book was also printed by Froben, A. 1516. with other small tracts.

C. 79.

Venationum, cujusmodi exstat Hadriani Cardinalis: tametsi docti negant hoc carmen illius esse.

There is an Edition, in small octavo, of the works of this Cardinal, containing his Treatise *De Sermone Latino*, and the above mentioned poem, called *Venatio*, and another, in praise of that execrable Pontif, Julius II.

C. 80. 81.

He pronounces the *Epistles* of *Phalaris* to be spurious: but was mistaken in entertaining a suspicion of the *Characters* of *Theophrastus*.

Theodori Gazæ Grammaticæ Institutiones, per Erasmus in Latinam linguam conversæ.

Dedicated to Joannes Cæsarius Juliensis, A. 1518.

^t The Author of the *Critique de Marfollier* says that it was Philip Labbe, p. 180. See Burigni, T. ii. p. 428, 429.

^u Menagian. ii. 399.

Gulielmi

Gulielmi Lili de octo orationis partium constructione libellus, ab Erasmo emendatus.

To this is prefixed an Epistle of Colet to Lily, and of Erasmus to the Reader, A. 1515.

Luciani Dialogi aliquot, Erasmo interprete.

Dedicated to Warham. A. 1512.

Luciani Toxaris.

Dedicated to Fox, Bishop of Winchester, A. 1506.

Luciani Alexander.

Dedicated, Renato Episcopo Carnutensi, A. 1505.

Luciani Gallus.

Dedicated to Ursewick, A. 1503.

Luciani Timon.

Dedicated to Thomas Ruthal, afterwards Bishop of Durham, A. 1504.

Luciani Tyrannicida, et declamatio Lucianicæ respondens.

Dedicated to Richard Whitford, A. 1506.

Luciani Libellus, de mercede conductis.

Dedicated, Joanni Paludano, Rhetori Lovaniensis Academicæ.

Luciani Dialogi aliquot.

Dedicated to Hieronymus Buslidianus, A. 1506.

Luciani convivium.

Dedicated to Joannes Eutychius, A. 1517.

De conscribendis Epistolis.

Dedicated to Nicolaus Beraldus, A. 1522.

Erasmus was very fit to give instructions upon this subject, as his own ingenious and useful letters testify.

C. 347.

He supposes the Epistle of Cicero to Octavius to be genuine, which is spurious.

C. 364.

He derides the barbarous custom of addressing ourselves to *one*, in the *plural* number, and calling him *vos*, and *vestra Dominatio*, or *vestræ Dominationes*, &c.

C. 365.

He doubts, but without a just cause, whether some of Pliny's Epistles be genuine.

C. 414.

This chapter contains his Declamation in favour of Matrimony. David Clapham translated *The praise of Matrimony*, written by Agrippa, and Erasmus, *Wood*, vol. i. c. 79.

C. 448.

Exemplum de Vita Aulica.

All this is repeated in one of his Letters, Ep. 510. c. 1887.

De Pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis.

Dedicated to the Duke of Cleves, A. 1529.

Here are many good remarks concerning the education of children, and against the cruelty of some tutors and school-masters.

In the Dedication he commends Conradus Heresbachius, Preceptor to the Duke of Cleves.

"*Heresbachius* is known in the learned world by many works, which do him honour; and had been long intimately acquainted with Erasmus. Cardinal Passionei hath communicated to me a letter of Erasmus relating to Heresbachius, which hath not been printed, and which is addressed to Ennius the Nuncio, and dated A. 1523. In it he recommends to him Heresbachius, who at that time was Greek Professor at Friburg." &c. *Burigni*, Vie d'Erasme T. ii. p. 304.

C. 501.

He says of the French language:

Lingua barbara et abnormis, quæ aliud scribit quam sonat, quæque suos habet stridores, et voces vix humanas.

Could he think the French as rough as the Dutch language?

C. 504.

C. 504.

Gallis literatoribus, secundum Scotos, nihil est plagosius. Hi moniti, respondere solent, eam nationem, quemadmodum de Phrygia dictum est, non nisi plagis emendari.

De ratione studii.

Dedicated to Petrus Viterius.

This tract contains directions for teaching and learning Latin and Greek, and for the instructing of youth.

Declamatio in laudem Artis Medicæ.

Dedicated to Henr. Afinius Lyranus, A. 1518.

Libanii Declamationes, Erasmo Interprete.

Dedicated to Nic. Ruterius, Bishop of Arras, A. 1503.

Le Clerc hath censured some passages of this translation, in his notes.

Parabolæ, sive Similia.

Dedicated to Petrus Ægidius. A. 1514.

He says in the Dedication :

Non alienum fuerit hunc libellum Adagiis, aut, si mavis, Copiæ Commentariis, seu coronidem adjungere, quod cum illis plurimum habeat affinitatis, et ad hanc vel in primis faciat.

C. 599.

Sicut pyramis, quam Rhodope meretricula Æsopi conserva construxit pecunia corporis quæstu collecta, majori miraculo famaue fuit quam cæteræ regum pyramides: ita vehementius miramur, si quid recte faciunt, a quibus tale nihil expectabatur; veluti si quis Hollandum videat peritum equitem, aut frugalem Anglum, aut Theologum eloquentem.

Colloquia familiaria.

Dedicated to Joan. Erasmus Frobenius, A. 1524.

Of these Colloquies I have^w already given some account. I shall not make many extracts from them, since, if I were to collect all

^w Life of Erasmus, p. 295:

the

the passages which please me, I should transcribe too great a part of the book.

One William Burton translated into English certain Dialogues of Erasmus. Lond. qu. in an English character. The first Dialogue is of Fish-eating." *Wood*, i. c. 336.

C. 710.

Colloq. Pseudochei et Philetymi.

Vives says to Erasmus :

*Miseret me tui, cui toties fuerit cum ejusmodi homine (Berckmanno) negotium, καὶ ὅτιμα * ἐγχεφας † mendacium, in Colloquiis. Ep. 780.*

Maittaire cites this epistle of Vives, and says :

Hoc Colloquium est Pseudochei et Philetimi (it should be Philetymi) in quo Erasmus Franciscum illum Berckmannum prævaricatorem, lucri turpis avidum, sub Pseudochei persona depingit. Ann. Typ. ii. 25.

C. 822. and 834.

In his description of beggarly Knights and pretended Nobles, who were mere robbers and ruffians, he certainly had Hutten and Eppendorf in view ; and mentions several things, exactly answering the character which he hath given us of them in some of his Epistles.

C. 856.

The Franciscans, says he, sometimes are made Popes ; and then,

Humiles illi pauperis Francisci filii porrigunt calceos suos summis orbis Monarchis osculandos.

In the same Dialogue, he speaks with some contempt of St. Francis.

C. 862.

Opulentia sordida.

In this Dialogue, Erasmus describes with much humour the miserable and sordid frugality of some Italian (as it should seem) with whom he had lived, or starved, ten months. I fancy it was Andreas Asulanus. See Erasmus, T. ix. c. 1137.

* It should be ἐγχεφας, or ἐγχεφες, or γέγχεφας.

† Perhaps *Mendacem.*

C. 866.

Exsequiæ Seraphicæ.

This Dialogue ridicules Albertus Pius (who was buried in the doublet of a Franciscan) as also the Monks of that Order. He here tells a story of the Franciscans burying two young fellows alive, for some act of disobedience, and exposes their Fraternity in such a manner, that it is no wonder if they hated him most cordially. He hath related the same story, in his letter to Grunnius, Ep. 442. c. 1831.

C. 890.

Conflictus Thaliæ et Barbariei.

This is one of his juvenile works, and a slight performance.

C. 894.

Coronis Apologetica, &c.

Erasmus here defends his Colloquies extremely well against his malicious censurers. It was a good contrivance, to deliver many of his freer sentiments in the way of Dialogue or Disputation, and by feigned persons. By using this method, he could afterwards plead for himself, that he had been obliged to keep up the decorum of conversation, and to make his interlocutors speak in character, and that it would, for example, have been ridiculous to put the sentiments of a Monk into the mouth of a Lutheran.

Dialogus de Pronunciatione.

Dedicated to Maximilian a Burgundia, A. 1528.

C. 911.

Ger. Joannes Vossius Aristarchi L. i. c. 28.

Erasmus *qua occasione ad scribendum de Recta Pronunciatione fuerit impulsus, paucis cognitum arbitror. Itaque visum hac de re adjicere quod in scheda quadam habeo, scripta olim manu Henrici Coracopetræ, viri egregie docti, doctisque perfamiliaris. Ea ita habet:*

“ Audivi M. Rutgerum Rescium, Professore linguæ Græcæ in Collegio Buslidiano, apud Lovanienses, meum piæ memoriæ præceptorem, narrantem se habitasse in Liliensi pædagogio, una cum Erasmo plus biennio, eo superius, se inferius cubiculum obtinente, *Henricum au-*
tem

tem *Glareanum* Parisiis Lovanium venisse, atque ab Erasmo in Collegium vocatum fuisse ad prandium; quo cum venisset, quid novi adferret interrogatum, dixisse (quod in itinere commentus erat, quod sciret Erasmus plus satis novarum rerum studiosum, ac mire credulum) quosdam in Græcia natos Lutetiam venisse, viros ad miraculum doctos; qui longe aliam Græci sermonis pronunciationem usurparent, quam quæ vulgo in hisce partibus recepta esset. Eos, nempe, sonare pro *Bvita*, BETA; pro *Eita*, ETA; pro *ai æ*, AI; pro *oi i*, OI; et sic in cæteris. Quo audito, Erasmus paulo post conscripsisse *Dialogum de recta Latini Græcique sermonis pronunciatione*, ut videretur hujus rei ipse inventor, et obtulisse Petro Alostenfi typographo imprimendum; qui cum, forte aliis occupatus, renueret, aut certe se tam cito excudere, quam ipse volebat, non posse diceret; misisse libellum Basileam ad Frobenium, a quo mox impressus in lucem prodiit. Verum Erasmus, cognita fraude, nunquam ea pronuntiandi ratione postea usum; nec amicis, quibuscum familiariter vivebat, ut eam observarent præcepisse. In ejus rei fidem exhibuit *M. Rutgerus* ipsius Erasmi manu scriptam, in gratiam Damiani a Goës Hispani, pronunciationis formulam (cujus exemplar adhuc apud me est) in nullo diversam ab ea qua passim docti et indocti in hac lingua utuntur. *Henricus Coracopetræus Cuccensis*. Neomagi 1569. pridie Simonis et Judæ."

Videri hæc queant (subjicit Vossius) *alicui non tam adjutum, quam oppugnatum ire causam nostram; quippe qui statuamus optimo jure seculo nostro immutatam esse vulgarem Græcæ linguæ pronunciationem. Verum cum Achillea sint pleraque omnia, quibus ab Erasmo atque aliis refellitur vulgaris isthæc loquendi ratio; neutiquam in animum inducere possum, quod Erasmus eam retinuerit, nec amicos ab ea deterruerit, id eo factum, quod editi libelli pæniteret; verum magis mihi verisimile fit, cum meliora videret probaretque, deteriora tamen sequutum; sive quia a puero sic loqui adfuevisset; sive quod desperaret suo se exemplo alios ad imitationem provocare posse; sive quod loquendum putarit cum vulgo, sapiendum cum paucis, ut præcipit τῆς ἀληθείας Philosophus.*

Hactenus Vossius. Monendi etiam sunt harum rerum studiosi (says le Clerc) *ut, lecto Erasmi Dialogo, legant etiam Joan. Rodolphi Wetstenii Orationes pro Græca et genuina linguæ Græcæ pronunciatione, quibus Erasmi sententiam oppugnavit, editas Basileæ anno 1686.*

Wetstein, in the above-mentioned book, after having related this story, adds:

En! nec ipse Erasmus suo Dialogo fidem habuit: quis ergo illam a nobis requireret? Eundem Græcum sonandi modum constanter retinuisse, cernere est e Colloquiis familiaribus, illo præsertim, quod *Echo* nomen præfert; ubi voci *eruditionis* respondet Echo ὄνοις; *Episcopi*, κόποι; *ariolari*, λάροι; *astrologi*, λόγοι; *Grammatici*, εἰκῆ; *famelici*, λύκοι. Quæ omnia cum Græca pronunciatione ad amussim conveniunt; et si scivisset erronea, sine dubio in editionibus posterioribus, ut corrigerentur, operam dedisset: sed nihil minus; non solum ipse priori rationi firmiter adhæsit, verum ut ab aliis suæ fidei creditis addisceretur, omni cura providit. *De ling. Græc. pronunc.* p. 115.

But though Erasmus might comply with common custom, yet he lays down nearly the same system in his Note on *John* xiv. 26. which he had defended in his book *De Pronunciatione*.

When Constantinople was taken by the Turks, in the middle of the fifteenth Century, the learned Greeks, who fled to Italy, introduced both the study of the Greek tongue, and their own manner of pronouncing it.

But some Critics, as Aldus Manutius, Erasmus, Cheke, &c. suspected that these Greeks had lost the true and original pronunciation. They proposed a different way of reading Greek, and soon made many converts to their opinion.

J. R. Wetstein published a collection of Orations, or Dissertations, against these Critics, and in defence of the pronunciation of the modern Greeks; in which he hath pleaded his cause so well, that he will at least lead a candid examiner into a state of suspense, and make him pronounce a *Non liquet*.

The Greeks above-mentioned sounded η, υ, ει, οι, and υ, like iota; αι like ε; the υ in αυ and ευ like the Latin v consonant, that is, a little like f, or φ. They also sounded ε like the v consonant; and γ before γ, κ, ξ, χ, like ν.

They pronounced the ι, not broad, as we English do in *templi*; but softer, as we do in *templis*.

They pronounced, for example, the first seven lines in Homer, nearly thus:

Μινιν αἶδε Θεα Πιλλιαδω Αχιλῖος
Οφλομινιν, ἰ μιν' Αχῆϊς αλγε' εθηκε,
Πολλας δ' ἰφθιμοφς ψυχας αἶδι προΐαψεν

Ἰωάν,

Ἴρῳν, ἀφίος δ' ἐλορμα τεφχε κινεωσιν
 Ἰωνισι τε πασι· Διος δ' ἐλελιέο φοφλι·
 Εξ ὅφ δι τα πρῶτα διασιλιν ερμανη
 Ατρεδισ τε αναξ ανδρων, κε διος Αχιλλεφς.

Here it is evident that, upon this system, there is in the Greek language a perpetual *Iotacismus*, together with many useless vowels and diphthongs (useless as to pronunciation) which might as justly have brought an *action of trespass* against *Iota*, as *Sigma* once did against *Tau*.

Before Erasmus comes to treat of pronunciation, he makes many good remarks upon the office and the proper qualifications of schoolmasters, the education of youth, and the art of forming the letters of the alphabet, or of writing handsomely, an art in which he himself was no great proficient. He extolls the skill of Albert Durer in designing. He shews his genius throughout, in enlivening a learned, but a dry and subtle subject.

Ciceronianus.

Dedicated to Joannes Vlattenus, A. 1528.

Of this excellent Dialogue we have already spoken in the Life of Erasmus. Nosoponus, the Ciceronian, makes a ridiculous appearance in it, and his two friends banter him with their ironical approbation, and gently dispute with him, designing to cure him, if they can, of his madness. Nosoponus at last, being a good man, and in other respects a sensible man, becomes almost a convert, and departs more than half cured.

In this treatise Erasmus hath pointed out some real faults in Cicero, both for style and sentiment, and laughs at his poetical works; which provoked the Ciceronians beyond measure.

He characterizes, or criticizes many Authors both ancient and modern, as, Varro, Cæsar, Sallust, Seneca, Val. Maximus, Suetonius, Livy, Quintilian, Q. Curtius, the *Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores*, Corn. Nepos, Amm. Marcellinus, Velleius Paterculus, the two Plinies, the Latin Poets, A. Gellius, Macrobius, Symmachus, Apuleius, Boëthius, Aufonius, Lactantius, Cyprian, Hilary, Sulpicius Severus, Tertullian, Jerom, Augustin, Paulinus, Ambrose, Gregory I. Leo I. Bernard, Bonaventura, Thomas Aquinas, Petrarch, Blondus, Boccace, Tortellius, Philolphus, Leonardus Aretinus, Poggius, Valla, Herm. Barbarus,
 J. Picus

J. Picus Mirandulanus, Politian, Janus Lascaris, Codrus Urceus, Georg. Trapezontius, Theod. Gaza, Georg. Merula, Marullus, M. Mufurus, Pomponius Lætus, Platina, Beroaldus, Beroaldus Junior, Baptista Pius, Barth. Scala, Petrus Crinitus, Leonicens, Leonicus, Domitius Calderinus, Scipio Carteromachus, Hieron Donatus, Ant. Sabellicus, Paulus Æmilius, Baptista Egnatius, Paulus Bombasius, Alciat, Hier. Aleander, Albertus Pius, Cælius Rhodiginus, Cælius Calcagninus, R. Gaguinus, Badius, Budæus, J. Faber Stapulensis, Joannes Pinus, Beraldus, Deloinus, Laz. Bayfius, Claud. Cantimacula, Scepperus, Ruellius, Mosellanus, Brixius, Grocin, Linacer, Pace, More, Latimer, Pole, Saxo Grammaticus, Adr. Barlandus, Des. Erasmus, Guil. Gaudanus, Ægidius, Dorpius, Ceratinus, Rod. Agricola, Hayo Hermannus, Alex. Hegius, Hermannus Buschius, Goclenius, Reuchlin, Wimphelingus, Melancthon, Hutten, Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus, Zasius, Bruno Amerbachius, Glareanus, Urfinus Velius, Jac. Pifo, Andr. Critius, Anton. Nebriffensis, Stunica, Sanctius, Vives, Longolius, Sadolet, Bembus, Bapt. Cassellius, Pontanus, Sannazarius, Paul. Cortesius, Petrus Phædrus, Camillus.

C. 983.

He tells a good story how the Ciceronians were imposed upon by some wits of that time :

Nec enim semel lusum hunc vidimus. Fragmentum e Cicerone decerptum, addito Germani cujuspiam titulo, quam deridebant, quoties barbarum inclamabant, qui sibi valde Ciceroniani videbantur? Rursum aliquid pridie confictum proferebatur in medium, addebatur Ciceronis nomen, et finge batur exemplar repertum in bibliotheca pervetusta : quam exosculabantur, quam adorabant divinam illam et inimitabilem Ciceronis phrasim ?

Muretus played a trick of this kind upon Joseph Scaliger. The story is too well known to insert it here : but they who are not acquainted with it, may find it in Bayle *T R A B E A*.

C. 995.

Jesus Christus, Verbum et Filius æterni Patris, juxta prophetias venit in mundum, ac factus homo, sponte se in mortem tradidit, ac redemit Ecclesiam suam, offensique Patris iram avertit a nobis, eique nos reconciliavit, ut per gratiam fidei justificati, et a tyrannide liberati, inferamur

mur Ecclesiæ, et in Ecclesiæ communione perseverantes, post hanc vitam consequamur regnum cœlorum.

So all the Editions which I have seen : but it should certainly be — *a Diaboli tyrannide liberati*. Erasmus thus humourously turns this *Christian sentence* into *Ciceronian Latin*.

Optimi Maximique Jovis interpres ac filius, servator, Rex, juxta vatum responsa, ex Olympo devolavit in terras, et, hominis assumpta figura, sese pro salute Reipublicæ sponte devovit Diis Manibus, atque ita concionem, sive civitatem, sive rempublicam suam, asseruit in libertatem, ac Jovis Optimi Maximi vibratum in nostra capita fulmen restinxit, nosque cum illo redegit in gratiam, ut persuasionis munificentia ad innocentiam reparati, et a Sycophantæ dominatu manumissi, cooptemur in civitatem, et in Reipublicæ societate perseverantes, quum fata nos evocarint ex hac vita, in Deorum immortalium consortio rerum summa potiamur.

C. 1004.

What shall a Ciceronian do with his skill, when he hath acquired it? to what use can he apply it?

Scribet epistolas Ciceronianas? Ad quos? — Ad quatuor Italos, qui se nuper jactare cœperunt Ciceronianos; quum, ut ostensum est, nihil sit Cicero dissimilius, vixque tenuem umbram habeant Cicero- nis. — Nunc fac rationem tecum ineas, num hoc laudis sit tot vigiliis, tot sudoribus redimendum, non sine periculo valetudinis, ut a quatuor ineptis Italis adolescentibus recipiaris in catalogum Ciceronianorum.

Erasmus probably means some of those Italians, who had² derided and censured him as a barbarous and unpolite writer: but most assuredly he did not mean Sadolet and Bembus, whom he hath so often commended, of whose style he had a favourable opinion, and who were his particular friends. Indeed he hath sufficiently guarded against such surmises, both by praising them in this very treatise, and by representing these *four Italians* as *foolish boys*, and *poor writers*. And yet it must be owned that his censures of the Ciceronians fall obliquely and in some measure upon Bembus, who affected to speak of religious and Christian subjects in a Pagan style.

² See Epist. 469. c. 1858.

C. 1011.

He speaks of his inveterate enemy Albertus Pius, without any rancour and acrimony.

B U. *Equidem* arbitror Albertum Carporum Principem propius ad Tullianam phrasim accedere quam Aleandrum. Nihil hic edidit hactenus, quod equidem sciam, unicum duntaxat librum, aut, si mavis, prolixam epistolam ab illo scriptam vidi, qua respondet Erasmo, tametsi sunt qui ceu compertum asseverant, ejus operis alterum esse fabrum. No. Accedit ille quidem, quisquis est, quatenus licuit homini in Theologicis ac Philosophicis literis ab adolescentia versato.

C. 1012.

He says of Grocin :

Si Gulielmum Grocinum proferam, respondebis nihil illius exstare præter unicam Epistolam, elaboratam sane et argutam ac bene Latinam. Maluit enim nihil scribere, quam nihil videre, homo natura lusciosus. Ad epistolarem argutiam appositus, Laconismum amabat, et sermonis proprietatem : diceres Atticum in hoc sane genere : nec aliud affectavit : Ciceronis copiam ferre non potuit, si quando legeret illius libros. Nec scripto solum, sed et dicendo Laconisabat.

C. 1012.

Of Linacer :

Novi (Thomam Linacrum) virum undequaque doctissimum, sed sic affectum erga Ciceronem, ut etiamsi potuisset utrumlibet, prius habuisset esse Quintiliano similis quam Ciceroni, non ita multo in hunc æquior, quam est Græcorum vulgus. Urbanitatem nusquam affectat, ab affectibus abstinet religiosius quam ullus Atticus, breviloquentiam et elegantiam amat, ad docendum intentus. Aristotelem et Quintilianum studuit exprimere. Huic igitur viro per me quantum voles laudum tribuas licebit ; Tullianus dici non potest, qui studuerit Tullio esse dissimilis.

C. 1012.

Of More :

Fateor

Fateor ingenium felicissime natum, et quod nihil non potuisset efficere, si totum his studiis vacare licuisset. Cæterum, illo puero, vix tenuis odor literaturæ melioris demigrarat in Angliam. Deinde parentum auctoritas ad leges ejus gentis discendas, quibus nihil illiteratius, adegit; mox in causis agendis exercitatus, hinc ad Reipublicæ munia vocatus, vix succisivis horis respicere potuit ad eloquentiæ studia. Tandem in regiam pertractus, et regni regionumque negotiorum undis immerfus, magis amare potest studia, quam colere. Et tamen dicendi genus quod assequutus est magis vergit ad Isocraticam structuram ac Dialecticam subtilitatem, quam ad fufum illud Ciceronianæ dictionis flumen, quamquam urbanitate nihilo M. Tullio inferior est. Quoniam autem adolescens diu versatus est in poëmatibus scribendis, Poëtam agnoscas et in oratione prosa.

C. 1013.

Of Erasmus :

Hinc tibi proferam Erasmus Roterodamum, si pateris. N O. Professus es te de Scriptoribus dicturum. Istum vero ne inter Scriptores quidem pono, tantum abest ut Ciceronianis annumerem. B U. Quid ego audio? atqui videbatur et inter πολυγράφος censi posse. N O. Potest, si πολυγράφος est, qui multum chartarum oblinat atramento. Alia res est scribere de quo nos agimus, et aliud scriptorum genus. Alioqui qui manu describendis libris quæstum faciunt, Scriptores dicuntur, quum hos eruditi malint Librarios dicere. At hoc est nobis scribere, quod agro fructum producere; hoc nobis lectio, quod agro sterco ratio: hoc nobis concoctio et emendatio, quod in agris occatio, pascuatio, putatio, zizaniorum evulsio, ac reliquæ operæ, sine quibus aut non emergit sementis, aut non adolescit exorta. B U. Quid igitur ille? N O. Abjicit ac præcipitat omnia, nec parit, sed abortit; interdum justum volumen scribit stans pede in uno, nec unquam potest imperare animo suo, ut vel semel relegat quod scripsit, nec aliud quam scribit; quum post diutinam lectionem, demum ad calamum sit veniendum, idque raro. Quid quod ne affectat quidem Tulliano more dicere, non abstinens a vocibus Theologicis, interim ne a sordidis quidem?

C. 974. and C. 1016.

His remarks on Longolius are excellent, but too large to be transcribed.

VOL. II.

U

C. 1019.

C. 1019.

Of Bembus and Sadolet :

N O. *Prætercurrisi* Jacobum Sadoletum ac Petrum Bembum, prudens opinor. B U. Næ prudens viros eximios, raraque horum temporum exempla nolui miscere turbæ. Petri Bembi nihil exstat quod sciam, præter aliquot Epistolas, in quibus exosculor, non modo dilucidum quoddam, sanum, et, ut ita dicam, Atticum dicendi genus, sed probitatem, ac humanitatem, ac singularem ingenii candorem in oratione velut in speculo relucens : nec alia re vel fortunatiorem vel ornatiorrem judico Longolium, quam talium virorum amicitia. At Jacobus Sadoletus cætera fere æqualis Bembo, in Commentario quem elegantissimum edidit in Psalmum 50. non adeo affectat haberi Ciceronianus, ut non personæ decorum tueatur, est enim Episcopus Carpentoractensis, ut non materiæ serviat, ne in Epistolis quidem abhorrens a vocibus quibusdam Ecclesiasticis. Quid igitur? Non dixit Tulliano more? Non dixit : imo dixit potius, qui eo modo dixit, quo probabile est iisdem de rebus, si viveret, dicturum esse Ciceronem, hoc est, de Christianis Christiane. ^a Hujusmodi Ciceronianos ferre possum, qui summo præditi ingenio, disciplinis omnibus absoluti tum judicio prudentiaque singulari, siue unum Tullium in dicendo sibi proposuerunt, siue paucos eximios, siue doctos omnes, non possunt non optime dicere.

C. 1019.

Of Pontanus, and Sannazarius :

B U. *Non* sum vel tam hebes, vel tam invidus, ut non fatear Pontanum multis egregiis ingenii dotibus virum fuisse summum. Ac me quoque rapit placido quodam orationis lapsu : verborum dulce quiddam resonantium amœno tinnitu demulcet aures, demum splendore quodam perstringit dignitas ac majestas orationis. N O. Quid igitur obstat, quo minus illum fateare Ciceronianum? B U. Ex meo judicio nihil illius laudi vel accesserit, vel decesserit. Quædam illius degustavi. Tractat materias profanas, quasque locos communes, de fortitudine, de obedientia, de splendore, quæ tractata facillime nitescunt, atque ex se facile suppeditant sententiarum copiam, easque sic tractat, ut ægre possis

^a Utriusque (Bembi et Sadoleti) multo plura habemus opera, quam viderat Erasmus ; quorum nonnulla, ut diximus, sunt nimis Ciceroniana, quamvis ab ingeniosissimis hominibus profecta. *Clericus.*

agnoscere

agnoscere Christianus fuerit necne. Similiter temperat stylum in libello de Principe. In Epigrammatibus plus tulisset laudis, si vitasset obscenitatem, quod nec in Dialogis satis cavet. In Meteoris et Urania quæsit materiam quæ facile splendescit, et rem sane felicem feliciter tractavit, nec illic requiro Christianam dictionem. In cæteris interdum desidero decorum et aptum, et aculeos quos Marcus Tullius in animo relinquit etiam posito codice. Certe ad istam legem quam tu nobis præscripseras, Ciceronianus non erit, in cujus scriptis sexcentas voces possem ostendere, quæ nusquam sunt apud Ciceronem. Postremo vides, quam infrequens sit in manibus Pontanus, vir extra controversiam in literis inter præcipuos numerandus. N O. Pontano successit Actius Syncerus, qui partum Virginis matris felici carmine descripsit, cui supra modum applausum est a Romano theatro. B U. Testantur hoc abunde Leonis et Clementis Brevia, sic enim hodie vocant, tum Ægidii Cardinalis addita præfatio, ne cæteros commemorem, nec sine causa tantopere placuit. Mihi certe magna cum animi voluptate perlectum est opus utrumque: nam et Eclogas scripsit Piscatorias. Quis autem talem indolem in juvene Patricio non exosculetur? Hoc nomine præferendus est Pontano, quod rem sacram tractare non piguit, quod nec dormitanter eam nec inamœne tractavit; sed, meo quidem suffragio, plus laudis erat laturus, si materiam sacram tractasset aliquanto sacratius: qua quidem in re levius peccavit Baptista Mantuanus, quamquam et alias in hujusmodi argumentis uberior. Nunc quorsum attinebat hic toties invocare Musas et Phœbum? Quid, quod Virginem fingit intentam præcipue Sibyllinis versibus, quod non apte Proteum inducit de Christo vaticinantem, quod Nympharum, Hamadryadum, ac Nereïdum plena facit omnia? Quam dure respondet Christianis auribus versus ille, qui, ni fallor, Virgini matri dicitur:

Tuque adeo, spes fida hominum, spes fida Deorum.

Scio *Deorum* metri gratia positum loco *Divorum*. Me quidem leviter^b offendit in tot virtutibus, quod synalæphæ frequentes hiulcam reddunt compositionem. —

He hath not, as I remember, more *Synalæphas* than Virgil; nor are those *Synalæphas* any blemish in that elegant Poem.

Atque haud scio utrum sit magis reprehendendum, si Christianus profana tractet profane, Christianum se esse ^c *disimulſis*, an si materias Christianas tractet Paganice. —

“ *John Hudson* — encouraged Litchfield to print Erasmus’s Dialogue *Ciceronianus*, correcting it, adding the Epistles of Erasmus and others relating to the same argument, and made an Index to it.” *Wood*. vol. ii. c. 941,

De Civilitate morum puerilium.

Inscribed, A. 1530.

Henrico a Burgundia Adolphi Principis Veriani filio.

Instructions for the education and the behaviour of youth.

“ *Gybertus Longolius*, a famous physician, wrote notes upon this book of Erasmus.” *Burigny*, T. ii. p. 328.

Galenī Exhortatio &c. Erasmo interprete.

Dedicated to Joannes Antoninus Cassoviensis, a Physician, A. 1526.

Epitome in Elegantiarum Libros Laurentii Vallæ.

Dedicated to the Reader, A. 1534.

Euripidis Hecuba et Iphigenia, interprete Erasmo.

Each is dedicated to Warham. In the dedication of Iphigenia, he makes a good remark upon the choruses of Greek Tragedies :

Nusquam enim mihi magis ineptisse videtur Antiquitas, quam in hujusmodi Choris, ubi dum nimium affectat nove loqui, vitiavit eloquentiam : dumque verborum miracula venatur, in rerum judicio cessavit.

P. Ovidii Nasonis Elegia de Nuce, cum Commentario Erasmi.

Dedicated to John, son of Sir T. More.

It quibus vacabit, conferentes hanc *Nucis* editionem cum *Heinfiana*, multum discrimen animadvertent. Otio abundabat Erasmus, cum tam longam commentationem ederet in hoc poematum. *Clericus*.

In the Dedication, Erasmus says :

Ne vero mireris apud Ovidium loqui Nucem, quum apud Homerum loquatur Argos navis. —

^c *Disimulſis*. So also Ed. Bas. It should be, *disimulans*, or *disimulatus*.

He was mistaken; there is no such thing in Homer. Instead of *Argos* also, he should have said *Argo*, which is represented by other poets as a talking ship, but not by Homer.

Erasmi Epigrammata

The first of these poems, is an Ode in praise of England, and of Henry VII. and of the Royal Family, dedicated to Prince Henry, afterwards Henry VIII.

T O M U S II.

A D A G I A.

C. 707. I.

Herculei labores.

ERASMUS here declaims very feelingly and elegantly upon the hard fate of men of letters, who are rewarded for their pains with envy and malice; and makes an apology for his Adages, shewing what a laborious and difficult undertaking it was, and how much it merited the favourable judgment of the Reader, and proper allowances for such defects as were, in a manner, unavoidable. It might very well have stood as a Preface to the whole work.

C. 21.

He cites these two precepts of Pythagoras :

Πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον τετραμμένον μὴ λαλεῖν.

Adversus solem ne loquitor. And,

Πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον τετραμμένον μὴ ὀμιχεῖν.

Adversus solem ne mejiro.

The first, *not to turn yourself towards the Sun, when you speak*, is vehemently absurd. I fancy it should be — μὴ ἀποπαλεῖν, or, χέζειν, or, ἀφεδέυειν. *ne cacato.*

C. 77. XIX.

Erasmus here takes an opportunity to censure the Princes and Prelates of his time.

C. 94. LXIII.

Δὲς διὰ πασῶν.

He commends Ambrosius Leo Nolanus, a learned man, a philosopher, and a musician, and gives us from him some pretty remarks upon this proverb, as also upon C. 889. LXVI.

C. 106. I.

Aut regem, aut fatuum nasci oportere.

In explaining this proverb, Erasmus with much freedom and good sense lashes the vices and the follies of Princes, and tells them their duty. On which Le Clerc notes :

Utinam hæc legerent reges ! non tam facile existimarent se nasci dominos hominum, ut nascuntur domini canum venaticorum, nec magis interesse populi, cui pareat, quam canum, a quo alantur ; ac perinde non esse cur populi umquam de salute sua quidquam deliberent, aut decernant, quod sit sejunctum a dominorum utilitate.

C. 163. B.

Οὐ γὰρ εἰς ἐὰν ἴδῃ ἔχεις. —

This is not the true reading. See *Menandri Fragmenta*, and the notes, p. 22.

C. 166. XXXIX.

Here Erasmus hath inserted a very handsome elogy of Rodolphus Agricola. See also *Epist.* 13. c. 1533.

Dialogis meis de Pronunciatione, et Ciceroniano, adjeci orationem Rodolphi Agricolæ, Mediolani, sicuti videtur, habitam. Nihil ab illo viro proficiscitur, quod non divinitatem quandam spiret. Itaque nolim quicquam illius intercidere, *Ep.* 949.

C. 199. XLV.

He hath shewed the same respect to his learned friend Alciat, who, as he observes, had differed a little from him in explaining this proverb.

C. 183.

C. 183. IV.

“ *Erasmus* in the explication of this proverb, which he hath taken from *Apostolius*, without citing him,

Τὴν Χάρυβδιν ἐκφυγὼν, τῇ Σκύλλῃ περιέπεσον,

concludes with this verse, famous, says he, amongst the *Latins*, but the author of which, as he owns, was not known to him :

Incidit in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdim.

Galeottus Martius of *Narni*, who died A. 1476. (and concerning whom see *Naudæus*, ch. 5. of his *Additions to the History of Lewis XI.* and *Father Labbe*, p. 373. of his *Bibliothèque Nouvelle de Manuscrits*) hath first discovered that this verse was of *Philippus Gualterus* in his *Alexandreis*. *Hoc carmen*, says he in his book *De Doctrina promiscua*, cap. 28.

Incidit in Scyllam, &c.

est Gualteri Galli de Gestis Alexandri, et non vagum proverbium, ut quidam non omnino indocti meminerunt.

Pâquier in his *Recherches*, L. iii. c. 29. hath since made the same remark. This *Philippe Gaultier*, called *De Chatillon*, though born at *Lille* in *Flanders*, lived about the middle of the thirteenth century. We have from him, amongst other works, his Poëm entitled *Alexandreis*, in ten books, and not in nine, as says *J. G. Vossius* *De poetis Latinis* p. 74. The verse cited above is in L. v. 301. where the Poet addressing himself to *Darius*, who flying from *Alexander*, fell into the hands of *Bessus*, says ;

Quo tendis inertem,

Rex periture, fugam? Nescis, heu perditæ, nescis

Quem fugias; hostes incurris, dum fugis hostem.

Incidis in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdim.”

Menagiana, T. iii. 130.

C. 220. I.

We have here a pretty emendation proposed by *Paulus Bombasius*, and a character given of this learned man, who was a Professor of Humanity at *Bononia*.

C. 293.

C. 293. LXXVII.

He explains the proverb, *In Trophonii antro vaticinatus est*: and says,

Quæ quidem Trophonii fabula mihi adeo videtur similis ei, quæ de *Patricii Antro*, quod est in Hibernia, fertur, ut altera ex altera nata credi possit. Tametsi non desunt etiam hodie permulti, qui descendant: sed prius triduo enecti jejunio, ne capite sano ingrediantur. Qui descenderunt, aiunt sibi ridendi libidinem in omni vita ademtam.

I should be glad to know whether *St. Patric's Den* be still visited by the pious Irish.

De famoso illo S. Patricii Purgatorio scriptores etiam Pontificii inter se non consentiunt. Sunt enim qui nihil singulare in eo se potuisse agnoscere, modeste fatentur. Sunt vero etiam qui stupenda narrant, inter quos est Matthæus Parisiensis, in Chronico ad an. 1153. Falsa certe veris misceri auctor agnoscit; unde sibi sufficere ait, antri prodigiosi conditionem, et modum pœnitentes introducendi hodie observatum descripsisse. Scilicet antequam in cryptam abscondi possit pœnitens, novem dies continuos cibo omni potuque abstineat necesse est. Solo pane sub cineribus cocto et aqua vitam tolerare jubetur. Quo facto, in Templum S. Patricii nudipedem introductum, absolutis rite precibus, septies parietes templi interioris circumire oportet, idemque postea circa sellulas, ut vocant, pœnitentiales prope Purgatorium facere, non quidem pedibus eas obeundo, sed nudatis genibus. Hinc ad crucem se confert in medio areæ positam, qua adorata aliam accedat oportet, saxa inter incondita lapidesque acutos eminentem. Ut vero conceptos inde dolores abstergat facilius, parvum lacum intrat, in cujus fundo marmor reperitur impressis Sancti nostri vestigiis sacrum. Idem opus diebus septem continuis semel, octavo tamen bis pœnitenti est faciendum. Tandem, facta confessione, solenni ritu Purgatorio horis quatuor et viginti includitur, præter vas aqua repletum cibo omni destitutus. Quæ vero incluso per dictum tempus accidant, prolixè referre tutum non fuit visum Auctori. *Acta Erudit.* Suppl. i. Vol. ii. p. 71. where an account is given of a Book called, *Il Mose dell' Ibernica*, i. e. *Moses Hibernice. Vita S. Patricii per Abbatem D. Jacobum Certani*, 1686.

B. Patricii antrum diris et horrendis spectaculis famosum. *Thuanus*, L. LXVIII. p. 353. See also *The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared.* Part iii.

C. 332.

C. 332. XCVI.

He tells a story of a rich Londoner refusing to pay the fees which he had promised to a German physician, who attended him in a pestilential fever, and cured him at the hazard of his own life.

C. 345. XXVII.

Lemnum malum.

See Bayle LEMNOS, Not. I. who corrects some mistakes of Erasmus, and who often examines his Adages. Compare Erasmus, C. 281. XLVII. C. 508. LIX. C. 533. XXXII. C. 540. LIH. and C. 1082. XXVIII. C. 841. LVII. C. 900. LXX. C. 1000. L. C. 1022. XXIII. with Bayle, EURIPIDE, Not. R. ACARNANIE. ABDERE. MOLIONIDES, Not. C. LESBOS, Not. C. PRODICUS, Not. D. JUNON, Not. E.

C. 361. LXXX.

Ut canis e Nilo.

The Ægyptian dogs, when they drink at the Nile, are said to run all the while, for fear of being snapped by the Crocodiles. Erasmus cites a witty saying, recorded by Macrobius: *Post fugam Mutinensem, quærentibus quid ageret Antonius, quidam familiaris ejus respondit: Quod canis in Ægypto; Bibit et fugit.*

C. 373. XXI.

Suspendio deligenda arbor.

Here is a small stricture upon his rival Cælius Rhodiginus, who pretended to do more than others, and yet could not explain this easy proverb.

C. 480. XCI.

Ἐν δὲ δικασίῃ κ' Ἀνδροκλείδης πολεμαρχεῖ.

Detorqueri potest — in *Theologos* quosdam, eo nomine indignos, qui diffidium ac tumultus concitant in plebe Christiana, quo nimirum hac occasione celebres reddantur, maluntque publico omnium malo nobilitari, quam inglorii vivere.

Ambitious Divines, who have neither interest enough to get preferment from the Great, nor Scholarship enough to become considerable in the Republic of Letters, must use these artifices, to make themselves

conspicuous. Therefore, *It must needs be, that such Offences come, as long as there are Deluders and Dupes in this world.*

C. 515.

Qui bene conjiciet, vatem hunc perhibeto optimum.

Utinam, says Erasmus, hanc divinandi rationem amplecterentur Principes, quorum hodie bona pars a prognostis et astrologis pendet, hominum genere, ut nunc sunt plerique, vano pariter ac seditioso, et Reipublicæ pestilente.

The world is now pretty well cured of this folly, and Astrology is as poor a trade to live by, as Philology.

C. 551. I.

The discourse upon this proverb contains excellent lessons for Princes, and a fine encomium upon Alexander, Archbishop of St. Andrews.

C. 581. XCVII.

He gives us here a ludicrous account of a public Theological dispute between * Standish (Provincial of the Franciscans in England, and afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph) and an Italian Servite. Standish, as Erasmus represents him, was a Monk of consummate ignorance and impudence; and the Italian was equal to him in ignorance, but not in impudence. See Bayle FRANÇOIS. Not. M.

In the Life of Erasmus, I have noted that Erasmus called Standish, *Episcopum a Sancto Asino*. To explain this Scoff, let it be observed that in those days *St. Asaph* was called *St. Asse*; as you may see in Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 58. 70. iii. p. 116.

C. 653. LXV.

The wickedness of tyrannical princes, and of those who have the care of their education, and of the Mendicant Monks, is here censured with great freedom and vehemence. Erasmus accounted these remarks to be of no small importance, for he recommends them to the perusal of his friend More. Ep. 311 C. 1694.

C. 755. XXXVI.

Pontificalis cæna.

* Life of Erasmus, p. 220:

Here

Here he observes jocosely, that the best sort of wine was called in some places, *Vinum Theologicum*; and gives this reason for it, that it is written concerning the Priests, *They shall eat the sins of the people*, and that sins being of hard digestion, the strongest wine was the more necessary for them.

C. 770. I.

Sileni Alcibiadis.

To this proverb he hath subjoined a long discourse, in which he exhorts men not to judge of persons and things by appearances, nor to entertain false notions of virtue, of piety, of grandeur, and of happiness. He censures very freely the vices of the Great, both in Church and State, and gives excellent advice to Princes and Popes, and to other persons in authority, which probably was then thrown away upon most of them, as much as it would be now.

C. 788. XXVII.

Arcadicum germen.

See La Mothe Le Vayer, tom. iv. p. 223. 12°.

C. 869. I.

Scarabæus aquilam quærit.

His commentary upon this text contains an entertaining satire upon bad kings.

C. 947. XC.

Ἀρχίλοχον παλῆς, Archilochum teris. ERASMUS.

Ἀρχίλοχον παλῆς, non minus dure diceretur, pro *Archilochi vestigiis ingrederis*, quam Latinis, *Archilochum calcas*, aut *conculcas*." H. S T E P H A N U S.

Here Stephanus, though so well skilled in the Greek language, hath made a slip; for he who studies the works of Archilochus, in order to imitate him, might not improperly be said *Ἀρχίλοχον παλῆν*, as it is said in Aristophanes:

Ἀμαθὴς γὰρ ἔφους, καὶ πολυπρόγμων, εἰδ' Αἴσωπον πεπάτηκας.

— *Ne Æsopum quidem trivisti.* Avib. 471.

After I had written this, I found the following note in Bayle's Dictionary: "As to the proverb, *Archilochum teris*, I do not think that it means, as Erasmus imagined, a slanderer, who walks in the steps of Archilo-

Archilochus, or who studies his writings; but a man who having offended Archilochus, ought to fear the fate of one who treads upon a serpent, and receives immediately a mortal wound. See what Lucian puts in the mouth of Archilochus against one who had spoken ill of him, *Alis cicadam comprehendisti*, and you will be satisfied that the exposition of Erasmus, although conformable to the notion of Suidas, is erroneous. Yet I deny not that *παλῆν* may be taken sometimes like *terere*, for *lectitare*: *ἔδ' Αἰσῶπον πεπότηκας*, said Aristophanes, as Mr. de la Monnoie informed me." ARCHILOCHUS. Not. C.

C. 951. I.

Dulce bellum inexpertis.

Here Erasmus hath drawn up a long and laboured Dissertation concerning the great evils of war, and hardly allows it lawful in any case for Christian nations to wage war with each other. He informs us that when he was at Rome, he had drawn up a Treatise upon this subject, called *Antipolemus*, inscribed to Julius the second, and here he speaks of it, as if he intended to print it.

Verum hisce de rebus omnibus aliquanto copiosius audietur, cum edemus librum, cui titulum fecimus *Antipolemo*, quem olim Romæ vitam agentes, ad Julium II. Romanum Pontificem conscripsimus: eo tempore, quo de bello in Venetos suscipiendo consultabatur.

He could not have preached to a worse auditor than this same wicked Pope, who loved war as much as all good Christians hate it, and of whom that might have been truly said, which Agamemnon says of Achilles:

Ἐχθιστος δέ μοι ἔσσι διόλκεφέν βασιλῆων,
Ἀιὲ γάρ τοι ἔρμε τε φίλη, πόλεμοί τε, μάχαι τέ.

C. 1037. LIV.

Melitæus catulus.

After having rallied those who keep lap-dogs, he says:

Sed intolerabilius est quod apud Britannos complures alunt greges urforum ad saltationem, animal vorax ac maleficum. Cujusmodi sunt et fimix, licet minus voraces. Nec pudet has Christianorum esse delicias, tot egenis esurientibus. Verum quid ista deploramus, cum obambulent, qui exemplo ab Italis orto, puellam aut puerum circumferunt gesticulationes ineptas edoctum, et unius puellæ calamitas alit otium qua-

quatuor aut quinque robustorum nebulonum. Et hujusmodi ludos æquis oculis spectant homines Christiani.

C. 1040. LXVIII.

Plutarchus advers. Stoicos: --- μηδ' εἰ χελώνην, τὸ τῷ λόγῳ φασὶ, μελό-
πιθε δῖοι. Ἀδράστῃ ταχὺς ἵππος. Nec si testudinem, inquit, ut est
in proverbio, insequatur Adraſti celer equus.

Here H. Stephanus ſays :

Non videtur deprehendiſſe Erasmus (ſolet enim diligenter hac de re
admonere) ex poëta *quopiam* ſumta eſſe poſtrema hujus loci verba.

It is ſtrange that Stephanus himſelf ſhould not have recollected that
this ſame poet is his friend Homer :

Οὐδ' εἰ κεν μελόπιθεν Ἀρείονα δῖον ἐλάυνου,
Ἀδράστῃ ταχὺν ἵππον, ὃς ἐκ θεοφιν γένος ἦεν.

Il. Ψ. 346.

C. 1049. I.

He expatiates upon the importance of chuſing good neighbours,
good friends, and good patrons; and then ſays of himſelf :

Idem accidit mei ſimilibus in deligendis ac retinendis ſtudiorum noſ-
trorum patronis et alioribus. Negligimus oblatos, aut amplectimur
nobis parum aptos, aut ſi quis obſiguit accommodus, non ſtudemus illius
erga nos benevolentiam mutuis officiis alere. In prima certe parte
graviffime peccavi adoleſcens. Etenim ſi tum reſponდიſſem favoribus
magnatum, qui me cœperant amplecti, futurus eram aliquid in literis;
ſed immodicus libertatis amor effecit, ut diu cum perfidis amicis, et
pervicaci paupertate colluctarer. Nec erat finis futurus, niſi *Guilhel-*
mus ille *Waramus*, Archiepiſcopus Cantuarienſis, vir non tam ob tituli
munerisque dignitatem, quam ob egregias ſummoque Præſule dignas
virtutes reverendus, me veluti fugitantem in amicitia ſuæ naſſam pel-
lexiſſet. Guſtata duntaxat illius humanitate, contuli me in Italiam.
Ibi ceſſantem, neque quicquam minus quam de repetenda Britannia co-
gitantem, ultro revocat delato ſacerdotio. Hoc quoque neglectum eſt.
Cæterum ubi me ventus alius retuliſſet in Angliam, ſic adſtrinxit non
tam benignitate, quamquam ea quoque fuit et eſt in illo ſingularis,
quam morum amabili quadam jucunditate, miraquæ in amando con-
ſtantia,

stantia, *id quod in viris primatibus sane rarissimum est*, ut nolens illi præberem manus. Hæc erat esca, qua me pertraxit in suum jus. Ita meo bono captus sum, hoc uno nomine felix, quod hic Mæcenæ obtigit; sed longe felicissimus futurus, si maturius contigisset. An illum hujus alumni pœniteat nescio, certe mutuis in illum officiis meo animo nondum ipse satisfeci, nec videor unquam satisfacturus. Proinde mihi rogandi sunt omnes, qui bonarum literarum, qui religionis amore ducuntur, ut si quid fructus non pœnitendi cœperunt ex meis lucubrationibus, huic sanctissimo præfui pro me gratias agant, atque adeo, si possint, referant. Referent autem, si non patientur illius memoriam apud posteros intermori, cujus benignitati debent quicquid ex libris meis hauserunt, si quid omnino frugiferum hauserunt.

C. 1055. VI.

He informs us that he had given an edition of the *Mimi* of Publius Syrus, with short notes.

C. 1068. LXII.

Having occasion to mention Joannes Campanus, he says that he was, *Vir suo seculo magnus, et admirabilis ingenii*. See an account of this man, and of his works in Le Clerc, *Bibl. Choïs.* xiv. 56. and in Bayle's Dict. CAMPANUS, and in Paul Jovius, Elog. p. 39.

C. 1080. XVIII.

He expresses an high esteem for Hermolaus Barbarus, and says that he was, *vir divinus*.

C. 1135. LV.

Speaking of the *Μηλεγύλαι*, he says that they were --- *Non dissimiles iis qui hodie Divi Antonii, Cornelii, aut Joannis Baptistæ reliquias ad quæstum circumferunt, potius quam ad pietatem*.

“IN the *Adages* of Erasmus there were many bold strokes, which offended the Divines; and they had prevailed with Paul IV. to condemn the book. The Fathers of the Council of Trent, taking into consideration the usefulness of that work, ordered Paulus Manutius to revise it, and strike out every thing that was offensive. Manutius yielding to the exhortations of Gregory XIII. accepted the commission; and was assisted by some Divines. Scarcely was the revision of this
book

book completed, when Paulus Manutius died. His son Aldus dedicated to Gregory this interpolated work, under a title in which no mention at all is made of Erasmus.

Adagia, quaecumque ad hanc diem exierunt, Pauli Manucii studio atque industria, doctissimorum Theologorum consilio atque ope, ex præscripto Sacrosancti Consilii Tridentini, Gregorio XIII. Pont. Max. auspice, ab omnibus mendis vindicata, quæ pium et veritatis Catholicæ studiosum lectorem poterant offendere, sublati falsis interpretationibus, et nonnullis, quæ nihil ad rem pertinebant, longis inanibusque digressionibus, cum plurimis ac locupletissimis indicibus, nunc vero in hac postrema editione ab innumeris erroribus repurgata, et veræ lectioni restituta.

Aldus, in the Epistle dedicatory, declares that the intention of the Fathers of the Council of Trent in ordering this revision of the Adages, was to preserve the readers from being infected by the impieties with which Erasmus had filled most of his works. It was at Florence that the Adages thus corrected, or corrupted and spoiled, were printed in 1575. Gregory XIII. approved this Edition, and condemned all the others.

Although Aldus Manutius, addressing himself to the Pope, says that his father had a share in thus revising the Adages, yet many of the Learned affirm that the fact is not true. Muretus pretends that he had only reviewed the sheets corrected by the Revisors, and had given them to the printer. Gasper Riciulli presided over this edition. He was Archbishop of Regio, after having been General of the Monks called *Minimes*; and he distinguished himself in the Sessions of the Council of Trent, which were held under the Pontificate of Pius IV.

Before we take leave of this subject, let us relate a passage in a letter of Demetrius Valerius one of the authors of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*. He says that when the Proverbs of Erasmus were brought to Cologne, the Doctors there, who did not love Erasmus, said openly; *Of what use can this book be to us? Have we not the Proverbs of Solomon?* Burigni, *Vie d'Erasme*, Tom. ii. p. 374.

TOMUS III. PARS I. et II.

ERASMI EPISTOLÆ.

PRÆFATIO CLERICI.

OPERUM Des. Erasmi nullum est notius, et quod doctorum hominum manibus jucundius teratur, quam Epistolarum volumen. Quamvis enim in aliis sint multa doctiora et reconditoris eruditionis plena, ut in Adagiorum volumine; attamen eam auctoritatem in Republica Literaria, ad hunc usque diem, obtinuit Erasmus, tantaque est ingenii ejus amœnitas, et judicii id acumen; ut non minus cupiant Eruditi nosse quæ ad ipsum Erasmum pertinent, et quæ joca aut seria ad amicos ex tempore scriberet; quam quæ ex abditissima Antiquitate, non sine labore et meditatione, seu sacra, seu profana illa sint, depromebat. Nec sane video cur tanta curiositate Poëtæ, Rhetoris, Theologi cujusvis antiqui vitam rimemur, ut vel minimas ejus circumstantias diligentissime adnotemus, iisque erutis plane triumphemus; ad vitas vero præstantissimorum virorum, qui patrum aut avorum nostrorum ævo vixerunt, egregiamque operam Reipublicæ Literariæ aut Ecclesiasticæ navarunt, nauseemus. Sed non omnium, imo paucorum hoc esse fastidium quotidie experimur, et nuper in Erasmo etiam nostro experti sumus. Cum enim sermone Gallico Vitam ejus edidissemus, collectam potissimum ex hac Epistolarum ejus Editione, vidimus eam summo cum plausu a viris elegantioribus excipi, et avidissime legi; cum propter res ipsas, tum etiam quod non tam nos narraremus quid fecisset aut dixisset Erasmus, quam ipsum veluti in scenam denuo prodeuntem, et verbis ex Epistolis desumptis, rem totam exponentem induceremus. Dixit Horatius de Lucilii scriptis:

*Ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim
Credebat libris; neque, si male cesserat, unquam
Decurrens alio, neque, si bene; quo fit ut omnis
Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
Vita Senis.*

Idem dixeris de hisce Erasmi Epistolis, cum ab ipso, tum ab aliis editis. Quæcumque recte, aut secus fecit, vel sensit, quæ timuit, quæ cupiit, omnia hic sine fuco exposita sunt; erat enim hæc indoles Erasmi, ut diu celare

celare non posset quæ sentiebat, præsertim amicis, et interdum quoque inimicis, si paullo commotior esset. Interdum quidem paulo cautius loqui videtur, sed mox ad ingenium redit; ita ut facile intelligas quid revera senserit, si modo sequentes Epistolas legas.

Editæ fuerant, Erasmo vivo, Epistolæ plurimæ, quarum numerum auxit in posterioribus Editionibus; queriturque in Epistola *DVII.* quæ prima erat in Editione Basileensi et Londinensi, et *MCCXCV.* varia contigisse, editis illis Literis, propter quæ nonnullas non editas fuisse optasset, tum etiam agit de variis generibus epistolarum, eaque habet quæ utilia ac jucunda erunt lectu, nec a nobis hic exscribentur. Sed sæpe mirati sumus, cur Erasmus, cum Epistolas suas in lucem publicam vivus emitteret, nullam prorsus rationem habuerit temporum, quibus scriptæ erant, multas sine ulla temporis nota emisserit, in multis tempora mendose notata reliquerit, atque omnes in fasciculum collectas, sine ordine ullo, veluti projecit ab aliis in ordinem redigendas. Ejusmodi enim confusione fit ut nunc Erasmus senem, mox puerum, aut juvenem audias loquentem, finem rerum quarundam legas, antequam earum videris initium, nec ullam seriem ejus vitæ adsequaris. Quibus rebus fiebat, ut voluptas, quam ex nonnullarum lectione nemo non capiebat, cum ad alias transeundum erat, valde minueretur; quia re imperfecta dimissus Lector continuo ad alia transferebatur, sæpe antiquiora, aut quæ nullum certe nexum cum superioribus habebant; nec ad rem inchoatam, nisi sero redibat.

Itaque in hac Editione, ante omnia operam dandam esse putavimus, ut ordine temporum collocarentur, quo et historiam vitæ Erasmi, et rerum, quæ ejus tempore contigerunt, et quarum meminit, aut pars fuit, habeat lector; qua re nihil jucundius ac utilius esse posse nostra ipsorum experientia sensimus. Cum enim varias Erasmi Epistolas, prout erant, ordine perturbato olim legissemus, nec potuissemus eam confusionem sine fastidio ferre, atque ad finem voluminis pervenire; contra maxima voluptate perfusi sumus, quando primum eas ordine collocatas legere cœpimus. Quod et alii experti sunt, qui quamvis antea legissent has Literas, novum tamen prorsus opus sibi legere visi sunt, cum vitam Erasmi, ex ordine dispositis collectam, Gallico sermone, perlustrarunt. Nos etiam nonnulli monuerunt, sese varia, cum voluptate, in ea vita deprehendisse, quæ, legentes confusas Epistolas, non animadverterant. Qua re factum est ut hanc Editionem, necessario, propter additamenta, dilatam viri docti pæne quotidie flagitaverint.

Nonnulla tamen incommoda Literas hâc ordine disponentibus occurrerunt, quæ quo minus rem omnino perfectam daremus, ut cupiebamus, obstiterunt. Primum erant Epistolæ, sine ulla temporis et loci, unde scriptæ erant, nota, editæ. Deinde menda erant in numeris quibus dies et anni expressi erant, et in ipsis etiam locis; quia manum Erasmi minime sane elegantem adsequi non potuerant Typothetæ, aut ipse etiam Erasmus ex memoria vacillante confusis Epistolis notas temporum et locorum addiderat. Hinc factum ut Londinum et Lovanium, Bruxella et Basilea aliquando sint confusa. Denique Literas non paucas, Editione jam ferme adfecta, novas accepit Bibliopola, quæ ordine suo non potuerunt collocari. Nulla ratione hisce incommodis mederi nos posse melius existimavimus, quam si in Appendicem eas omnes Epistolas, quæ aut cum cæteris non convenirent, aut serius in manus nostras venissent, conjiceremus; ubi sunt iterum ordine temporum collocatæ, quæ quidem sic collocari potuerunt, aliæ vero alphabetico duntaxat, pro nominibus eorum ad quos scriptæ sunt, dispositæ.—— Cæterum non omittendum tempora datarum Epistolarum nunc more Romano, nunc festis Christianorum diebus additis, nunc more hodierno numero dierum mensis expresso, ad unam hanc posteriorem commodioremque formam redacta fuisse ab erudito viro Joanne de la Faye.

Non tantum optimo ordine collocatæ sunt, emendatioresque prodeunt hæ Epistolæ, sed multo etiam auctiores quam unquam prodi-
erant.——

Præstantissimorum virorum, ad quos Erasmus scripsit —— Vitas atque Elogia haberes, si diutius vixisset vir reverendus Claudius Joly, Canonicus et Officialis Parisiensis qui anno 1699 pollicitus erat Petro Hottono, si modo de conditionibus conveniret, quod facile potuisset fieri, se missurum huc opus Gallicum, quod inscripserat *Historiam παλαιοελληνικών Literarum, sub finem XV sæculi et initio XVI. qua continentur elogia multorum eruditorum virorum illius ævi, et præsertim Vita Erasmi Roterodami, qui primus earum instaurator fuit.* Sed mors viri eruditi, matura quidem, si ætatem ejus spectes, at huic Operi acerba, impediit quominus copia ejus fieret Bibliopolæ; qui etiamnum hodie non illibenter id ederet, si nanscisci posset, vel hac sola de causa, quod Erasmi Epistolis lucem sceneretur.——

It is not necessary that we should make any further remarks upon the Epistles of Erasmus, from which we have principally collected the materials for his Life.

TOMUS IV.

TH E fourth tome of Erasmus from C. 1. to C. 83. contains translations of Plutarch.

The first, *De discrimine adulatoris et amici*, is dedicated to Henry VIII. and was very proper for the perusal of a Prince, who was too fond of flattery.

The second Tract, *De utilitate capienda ab inimicis*, is dedicated to Cardinal Wolsey; and he takes the liberty to tell him very frankly that the favours bestowed by the King upon Erasmus had consisted more in words than in deeds. *Equidem plurimum illi jam debeo, quod me toties ornat testimonio vocis suæ. Quis enim non gaudeat tali ore laudari? Plus tamen debiturus sim, si auctis fortunulis nostris, fidem quoque laudibus, quas mihi tribuit, adstruat. Nam nunc quidem multi non credunt me talem esse, qualem ille prædicat, quod conspiciant hanc fortunam tam magnificis illius præconiis parum respondere.*

The Tract, *De cobibenda iracundia*, is dedicated to Alexius Turzo, Treasurer to the Queen of Hungary, and dated, A. 1525.

That *De Vitiosa Verecundia*, is dedicated to Franciscus Delfus, a young gentleman, whom he hath mentioned and commended in his Epistles, A. 1526.

Plutarchus de tuenda bona valetudine.

† This Translation Erasmus dedicated to John Young. The Dedication is omitted in the Editions of Basil and of Leyden. Knight, p. 174. gives it us imperfect and curtailed; and informs us not whence he took it. I transcribe it from an old Edition, which is in our *Museum Britannicum*, and which contains *Plutarchi Opuscula*, translated by Erasmus, Steph. Niger, Angelus Barbatus, Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus, and Phil. Melanchthon; printed at Basil by Froben, A. 1518. 4^{to}.

† Life of Erasmus, p. 57.

*Clarissimo viro Joanni Yonge, Sacrorum Scriniorum Magistro, Des.
Erasmus Roterodamus S. D.*

Quod ad tantum amicum tantulam mitto strenulam, mirari non debes, qui scias hanc esse xeniorum naturam, ut benevolentiae symbolo magis quam pretio commendentur. Tum quid satis breve videri possit, quod ad hominem mittitur, tot obeundis legationibus, tot publicis regni negotiis, semper occupatissimum? Ut ne illud addam, his turbulentissimis ac vere ferreis temporibus brevissimum esse convenire, quicquid ad Gratias ac Musas attinet. Verum ut hoc munusculum meum non nihil etiam ornem verbis: Primum, e Plutarchi thesauro ^e depromptum, a quo quidem auctore scis nihil non egregium proficisci. Deinde, recens est, et adhuc spirans officinam. Ad hæc, vix credas, quantis mihi pusillus hic liber constiterit sudoribus: non tam quod Plutarchus, vel ob stylum, vel ob infinitam rerum haud expositarum congeriem, sit difficilior, sed multo magis ob id, quod quam est omnium doctissimus, tam idem est omnium depravatissimus; et ut est unus præcipue dignus qui legatur, ita unus est, qui minime legi possit. Adeo in singulis pene versibus cum mendarum portentis luctandum est. Denique si argumentum quæras, docet quo pacto, vel absque pharmacis, bonam tueare valetudinem. Quam etiamsi nemo non plurimi facit, paucos tamen arbitror digniores, quibus ea quam diutissime contingat, quam te, qui omnia tua studia ad publicam confers utilitatem, ut non tam tibi quam patriæ natus videare. Docet autem hoc, minus quidem medice, quam Galenus aut Paulus ^h Aegitina, sed magis philosophice. Supereft, ut hoc quicquid est libelli jam in manus hominum exeat, non solum tuo nomine commendatius, verum etiam lima emendatius; atque adeo ob id ipsum commendatius, quod emendatius. Bene vale, Londini, Calendis Januariis, Anno 1513.

ⁱ “*The* first edition of this book is printed at Lovain, under the correction of his friends Hadr. Barlandus, and Mart. Dorpius, with an Epistle of the former, and some verses of the latter, concluding:

Imprimebat Lovanii Theodericus Martinus Alostenfis, Anno a partu Virginis millesimo quingentesimo tertio decimo, mense Novembris, Leone decimo Pontifice Max. et Maximiliano Cæsare orbi terrarum præsidentibus. 4to.”

^e Perhaps depromptum est.

^h Ægineta.

ⁱ Knight, p. 174.

There is also in the *Museum Britannicum* an English translation of this version of Erasmus, without date, *Imprynted by me Robert Wyer dwellynge at the sygne of St. John Evangelyst, in saynt Martyns Paryshe besyde Charynge Crosse.*

It is in small 8^{vo}. and bound up with several medical tracts, printed by the same person, and perhaps translated into English by him.

“*Plutarch*, in his Treatise *De tuenda bona valetudine*, says: Τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐγκέφαλον τῆς φοίνικος, γλυκὺν ὄντα σφόδρα, κεφαλαλγὸν λέγουσιν εἶναι. Erasmus had translated this: *They say that the brain of the Phœnix, which is very sweet, gives the head-ach.* At least it is so in Xylander's edition of *Plutarch*, tom. ii. p. 133. Perhaps Erasmus had translated it so in his first edition; but in the Basil edition of his works, and in that of Leyden, tom. iv. c. 39. B. it is *palmæ cerebrum*. It should have been *palmæ medulla*; and Xylander, who was a learned man, should have corrected this fault in his edition of *Plutarch*. If Xylander and Erasmus had been asked, whether they imagined that any man had ever eaten the brains of a phœnix, they would have owned that *Plutarch* could not have entertained a fancy so ridiculous. Yet they let this fault stand, which doubtless they would have corrected, if they had thought about it. But it is impossible for a man to be always attentive to his work.” *Averanius* in the *Bibl. Chois.* xxii. 6.

Muretus took notice of this blunder, in his *Variae Lectiones*, lib. xiii. c. 12. *Perron* also hath censured the same mistake in *Amiot*, the French Translator of *Plutarch*, *Perronian.* p. 80.

Apophthegmata, lepideque dicta Principum, Philosophorum, ac diversi generis hominum.

This is a large collection of thirty seven sheets, which Erasmus compiled, as he did his *Adages*, in the course of his studies. Books of this kind, when compiled by men of great reading and abilities, are always useful and entertaining. It is dedicated to William, Duke of Cleves, A. 1531.

C. 156. X.

Socrates interrogatus quamobrem ipse non administraret Rempublicam, cum administrandi rationem optime sciret, respondit, Eum utilio-rem esse civitati, qui multos efficeret idoneos gubernandæ Reipublicæ, quam qui ipse recte gubernaret. Idem mihi respondit Nicolaus Leonicenus

cenus Ferrariæ, demiranti cur artem medicandi, quam profitebatur, ipse non exerceret. Plus, inquit, ago docens omnes medicos. Nec dissimile mihi respondit unicus studiorum meorum Mæcenus Guilhelmus Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis Sacerdotium improbe recusanti, dicentique, Qua fronte fruar illorum pecuniis, quibus ut linguæ ignarus, nec concionari possum, nec monendo, nec consolando adesse, nec ullum boni pastoris officium præstare? Quasi, inquit, non plus efficias, qui libris doces pastores omnes, quam si uni rusticanæ plebeculæ infervias. Fassus sum, amice dictum, mihi tamen non persuasit.

C. 219. IV.

— *Plerique* sunt qui putent optime collocatum, quod impenditur templis ac sacrificiis epulisve divorum: at vir ille perspicax (Phocion) sensit, multo sanctius esse, reddere quibus debeas: quid censurus de his, qui fraudata conjuge ac liberis, exstruunt sacrificis structuras regias, et horum otio alendo magnam facultatum partem impendunt?

C. 300. LVI.

See Bayle, DRUSUS (M. Liv.) Not. O.

C. 335. VIII.

He again takes the opportunity to salute his old friends the Monks: *Philosophus* Ethnicus rejecit a ditissimo liberalissimoque Rege ultro delatam ingentem pecuniæ summam: et nunc pro Sanctis haberi volunt, qui extremam professi paupertatem, in tantum ut horreant etiam ærei nummi contactum non aliter quam viperæ, non referendis artibus venantur divitum ac pauperum liberalitatem.

C. 355. XLII.

— *Quum* essem (says Erasmus) apud Coloniam Agrippinam, Senatus honoris gratia misit vinum in cantharis testaceis, nec eos repeti mos est. Id admiratus, rogavi causam. Responsum est, olim vinum folere mitti cantharis argenteis: hoc honoris quum esset habitum cuidam ex eorum numero, qui magnam nobilitatis partem existimant rapto vivere, postridie mane profectus est cum argenteis cantharis. Re com-]perta, misit ad illum Senatus qui cantharos reposceret. At ille; ultro, inquit, dono dedistis, et ego gratias egi. Hoc casu admoniti mutarunt consuetudinem.

C. 357.

C. 357. XI.

See Bayle, DUELLIUS, Not. E.

C. 363. II.

Quod accurate factum velimus, raro faciendum est. Hac ratione duci videntur Itali quidam eruditi, qui licet pulcre calleant Latine, tamen vix unquam adduci possunt ut in familiari congressu Latine loquantur. At si quando compellit necessitas, dicunt exacte, quasque de scripto. Novi Venetiæ Bernardum Ocricularium, civem Florentinum, cujus historias si legisses, dixisses alterum Sallustium, aut certe Sallustii temporibus scriptas. Numquam tamen ab homine impetrare licuit, ut mecum Latine loqueretur: subinde interpellabam, Surdo loqueris, vir præclare; vulgaris linguæ vestratis tam sum ignarus quam Indicæ. Verbum Latinum numquam quivi ab eo extundere.

C. 370. XV.

See Bayle, APELLES, Not. D.

Under these Apophthegms are placed some critical notes of Paulus Leopardus, pointing out some mistakes of Erasmus.

"*Nicolas Udall* wrote a Commentary on the Apophthegms of Erasmus." *Wood*, vol. i. c. 88.

M Ω P I A Σ

Stultitiæ

E Γ Κ Ω Μ Ι Ο Ν.

Laus.

Cum Commentariis Gerardi Listerii, et figuris Joannis Holbenii. E Codice Academiae Basiliensis. Accedunt,

Præfatio Caroli Patini.

Vita Holbenii, pictoris Basiliensis.

Opera Holbenii.

Epistola Gerardi Listerii ad Joannem Paludanum.

Præfatio Erasmi ad Thomam Morum.

Ex Præfatione ^k *Caroli Patini.*

Hujus operis apologeticum scribere tum virium tenuitas, tum animus prohibet. Quod quisque mali reperiet, prætereat; hauriat, si quid sit

^k Vide C. Patini *Lycium Patav.* p. 77.

boni. Cogitet Erasmus in omnes luisse, eo magis excusandum quod nullum peculiariter læserit. Qui ad rem plura desiderabit, epistolas legat in calce hujus libelli hac de causa appositas, leporibus, elegantis, eruditione plenas. Mihi porro Reipublicæ literariæ bono assidue intento, e re publica visum est libellum hunc quem pluribus et utilem et perjucundum fore perspiciebam, e Bibliotheca Academiæ Basiliensis gratiose ejus Procerum indultu denuo producere. Imagines deinde¹ Jo. Holbenii hoc merebantur, ut non soli Basileæ, verum et toti orbi literato communicarentur: five artis ejus præstantiam admireris, five quæ ex iis oritur, Declamationis hujus illustrationem. Tanta enim diligentia figurarum lineas calamo circumduxit, ut ad miraculum usque illarum aliquot mihi videantur elaboratæ.

Initio libelli, hæc manu exarata leguntur: *Hanc MORIAM pictam decem diebus ut oblectaretur in ea Erasmus habuit.* Pagina ejusdem Basiliensis editionis^m 53. a latere Erasmi sedentis et scribentis, docti cujusdam viri hæc manu scripta sunt: *Quum ad hunc locum perveniebat Erasmus, se pictum sic videns exclamavit, Obe! obe! si Erasmus adhuc talis esset, duceret profecto uxorem.* Erasmi vero manu, libro inscriptum est: *ADAGIA ERASMI*, quo indicaretur librorum sibi dilectissimus. Ad ejusdemⁿ p. 54. Epicuri de grege porcum cernens Erasmus, uno verbo rem totam declaraturus, et in amicum lusurus, adscripsit *HOLBEIN*, quo scilicet pictoris illius mores indicaret. Pagina^o sequenti, ineptas ridens Scotistarum distinctiones scripsit Erasmus; *Scoti anima cacat stulta logicalia.* Sunt et alia ad marginem adscripta partim declarandi causa, si quæ obscuriora occurrebant, partim confirmandi, si quæ^p minus incredibilia viderentur; interim cum omnia enarrare longum nimis foret et superfluum, fatius est silentio hæc præterire.

Commentarios Gerardi Listrii Rhenensis subjunximus, ab erudita Moriae declamatione inseparabiles, pari doctrinæ gressu cum ipso con-

¹ See Keyser's Travels, Vol. i. p. 138.

^o *Fuelflin*, in his History of the most eminent Painters of Switzerland, written in German, and printed at Zurich, in 8^{vo}. 1755, and 1756; and of which I find an extract in the *N. Bibliothèque Germanique*, tom. XXI. p. 423. says of Holbein: *He would have been starved to death, if Erasmus and Amerbachius had not frequently relieved him.* Mr. de Miffy.

^m Col. 487.

ⁿ C. 488.

^o C. 489.

^p It should be *nimis incredibilia*, or *minus credibilia*.

textu procedentes. Hinc conjecturam arripuerunt aliqui, eosdem non a Listris, sed ab ipso Erasmo fuisse concinnatos, adeo mens et eruditio scriptoris cum commentatore conveniunt. Illam firmat Gerardi nomen quod Erasmi parenti commune fuit, et Rhenensis patria: ad Mosam enim, quæ Rheni partem facit, situm est Roterodamum, in quo natus Erasmus. Hic postea totum ejus tractum frequenter incoluit, lustratis sæpe Basilea, Argentina, Moguntia, Colonia, aliisque ad ejus oram sitis. Hinc putant Erasmus sub hoc ænigmate latuisse, qui ne insolentiae cujusdam accusaretur, quod in proprium opus commentatus fuisset, amici, bona cum ejus venia, nomen sibi substituit. Accedit non modo styli æqualitas, verum et opinionum convenientia. — Hanc in rem sunt Petri Opmeeri verba in opere Chronographico, pag. 454. "Erasmus edebat tunc quoque Moriam, falsa aspergine perjucundum, sed Theologo prorsus indecorum opus: quod ne quid deesset, illustravit commentariis, sub nomine Gerardi Listris, &c."

Eadem ferme recenset And. Desselius, in Bibliotheca Belgica, p. 276, 277.

Gerardum Listrum Rhenensem extitisse porro nullum est dubium, &c. Quid tandem de auctore commentariorum Moriae censendum est? Listrum vixisse luce clarius patet, uxoratum fuisse, Grammaticum, Medicum, trilinguem, πολυμαθές, variorumque etiam operum scriptorem. Opinio nostra est, quæ cæteras conciliare valet, eum quidem commentarios edidisse, sed in iis usum plerumque Erasmi opera, &c.

The learning and sagacity which appears in these notes, in discovering all the places of ancient writers alluded to in the text, and a singular care to soften such passages as might offend the Bigots, make it probable that Erasmus wrote some part of them, at least, and that Listrus lent his name to the whole.

¹ The *Encomium Moriae* was translated into French by Gueudeville, A. 1717.

"Erasmus dedicated this work in 1508. to Thomas More, his particular friend, a man as jocular as himself, and consequently capable of relishing the humour of this ludicrous Declamation. By an ingenious and useful drollery, he introduces Folly describing the follies of mankind, without sparing any station and degree. Yet he names none,

and represents no person in such a manner as to point him out. His design was to lash the faults of the age, with a view to reform offenders, if it were possible, rather than to expose and exasperate them.

Yet as the Monks, the Scholastic Divines, and the Hypocrites of those times furnished him with the smartest strokes of raillery which occur in the treatise; some there were who took offence at it, probably because they knew themselves to be guilty of the faults which are there censured. He was therefore obliged to draw up an Apology addressed to Dorpius, in 1515. More, who was much pleased with the work of his friend, also undertook the defence of it in a letter addressed to Dorpius, who at last owned himself to be satisfied, because Erasmus and More had treated him gently enough, though they were not much inclined to spare the perverse Divines of those days.

This translation of the *Encomium Moriae*, like that of More's *Utopia* by the same hand, is rather a paraphrase of the burlesque kind, than a version.

One can hardly excuse Erasmus intirely, for having put into the mouth of Folly some strokes, which seem to confound religious Truth with Folly, and honest persons with ideots, knaves, and madmen: but as the piety of this great man is well known, and established, from his other works, it is apparent that the spirit of declamation and of humour carried him rather too far. A sensible reader will easily see what allowances and abatements are to be made for such ludicrous sallies." *Le Clerc*, Bibl. A. and M. vii. 214.

None are greater Fools than they, who set up for Fool-Doctors in the Grand Hospital of Incurables, the principal districts and partitions of which are, Europe, Asia, Africa, America, with a fifth towards the South pole, not yet discovered. The first degree of folly is to think one's self wise; the second is to profess one's self wise; and the third is to pretend to reform the world, and to cure others of their folly. To attempt such a cure, a man must be a fool and a half. So moralizes a certain Philosopher, who, methinks, judgeth rather too severely of his fellow-creatures. In the spacious Hospital, of which he speaks, there are always some Patients who may be cured, or, at least, much relieved. Let every one therefore contribute all that he can towards mending others, not forgetting himself.

"The *Moriae Encomium* was translated into English by Thomas Chaloner, A. 1549." *Wood*, vol. i. c. 149.

Erasmus hath made an apology for this ludicrous piece, in his *Adages*, C. 460. XL.

C. 402.

Erasmus, in his *Dedication to More* mentions:

—— *Grunnii Corocottae porcelli testamentum.*

This *Testament* was first published by J. Alex. Brassicanus; and afterwards inserted at the end of the *Adages* of Erasmus, in some interpolated editions of that work. See *Fabricius, Bibl. Lat.* tom. ii. p. 538. 4^{to}. Ed.

C. 475. Not. 6.

Here Erasmus, or Listerius, treats *Bel and the Dragon*, *Susanna*, and *The Song of the three Children*, as apocryphal and spurious.

Ad Philippum Panegyricus.

This Oration was presented by Erasmus to Philip, Duke of Burgundy, at Brussels, in the year 1504. In it he takes occasion to argue copiously against war, and in favour of peace.

He hath passed a censure upon the English, which one would not have expected from him:

Annon videmus, ut inter feras, ita et inter nationes hominum, ferocissimas quasque, maximeque barbaras, pugnacissimas esse? sicuti Cares, Scythas, et Britannos.

But as he hath not spared us, so neither hath he spared the Spaniards:

Ut facile hinc evanuit superstitiosus ille meticolus, qui nonnullos ceperat, ne te remitteret Hispania ferociorem. — Audent jam certissimam in spem ingredi, te perpetuo popularem Principem, et ab omni specie tyrannidis alienissimum futurum, quem non exempla regnorum ostensa corrumpere potuerint, in quibus dominatus ac servitutis plurimum est, libertatis atque æqualitatis minimum.

Here observe, upon the word *meticolus*, that Erasmus often takes the liberty to use unclassical *diminutives*, which is not allowable.

In a following Epistle to Joannes Paludanus, he defends his Panegyric against some impertinent censurers, and says of himself, amongst other things, that he never was a flatterer.

A quo profecto vitio, te in primis teste, sic abhorruī semper, ut ne possim quidem adulari cuiquam si velim, neque velim si possim. Proinde nihil vereor, ne crimen istud in meos hæreat mores, apud eos qui tecum Erasmus intus et in cute norunt.

Then follows a copy of verses in praise of Philip, and two Epistles, one to Nicolaus Ruterius; the other to Joannes Sylvagius, A. 1518.

Institutio Principis Christiani.

This book is dedicated to Charles, afterwards Charles V. and it contains excellent precepts.

He judges very well of the forms of civil government, when he says :

Si Princeps contingat omnibus absolutus virtutibus, optanda sit pura ac simplex Monarchia; verum quando id haud scio an umquam contingat, quin potius magnum et exoptandum, si detur mediocris, ut nunc sunt res hominum, præstiterit Monarchiam Aristocratiae et Democratiae admixtam temperari diluique, ne quando in tyrannidem erumpat, sed quemadmodum elementa vicissim sese librant, ita simili moderamine consistat Res publica. C. 576.

Bona pars imperii, consensus est populi: ea res primo Reges peperit. C. 609.

Nothing, says he, disgusts a people more than a Prince, who leaves them to ramble abroad.

Nihil æque multitudinis animum alienat a Principe, quam si foris agere gaudeat, quod negligi videatur ab eo, cui præcipue vellet esse curæ. Tum quod exigitur, quoniam alibi consumitur, perire sibi putat; nec Principi dari vectigal interpretatur, sed alienis prædam objici. Proinde neque patriæ quidquam molestius aut perniciosius, neque Principi periculosius quam longinquæ peregrinationes, præsertim si diuturnæ sint. Nam ea res omnium opinione, et Philippum nobis ademitt, et non minus afflixit ditionem illius, quam bellum tot jam annos cum Gelriis actum. C. 590. He repeats the same observations in the *Querela Pacis*, C. 637.

See Burigni, tom. i. p. 307, &c.

He

He hath not forgotten, we may be sure, to treat copiously of the mischiefs of war, C. 607.

Isocrates ad Nicoclem.

Translated by Erasmus.

Declamatio de Morte.

A consolatory discourse, intended as a pattern for young students, who are to compose Declamations.

Declamatiuncula.

An exercise of the same kind.

Querela Pacis.

Dedicated to Philip, Bishop of Utrecht.

This is a Declamation, upon a subject which Erasmus always had at heart, upon the advantages of peace, and the evils of war.

C. 627.

— *Impii* Spiritus, per quos cœlitum atque hominum concordia primum dirupta est, et hodie rumpitur, tamen inter se fœdus habent, suamque illam qualemcumque tyrannidem consensu tuentur: solos homines, &c. *Milton* hath the same thought:

*O shame to men! Devil with Devil damn'd
Firm concord holds, men only disagree, &c.*

Both took the hint from the Scriptures: *If Satan cast out Satan, how should his kingdom stand?* Homer's Gods, who are a sort of Devils, fight together with the utmost animosity.

He mentions Maximilian as living: therefore this piece was written before A. 1519.

Hieron.

This is a translation of a very pretty Dialogue of Xenophon.

Precatio ad Dominum Jesum, pro Pace Ecclesiae.

He composed this in the year 1532.

Lingua.

Lingua.

“ *The Praise of Folly*, and the *Treatise on the Tongue*, are the two most considerable works in the fourth Tome. As in the first of these Tracts he introduceth Folly making a jest of all professions, and speaking boldly on every subject ; in the second he teacheth us what use we ought to make of our tongue, and in what different ways it is commonly abused. Each of these Discourses abounds with wit, and with ingenious censures of the vices of his times, particularly those of the Monks, who spared him as little in their sermons and in their writings.

The difference between him and them was, that he named no persons, and only attacked vices in general, with a view to correct them ; whilst the Monks attacked him directly, and represented him as a libertine and an atheist, to ruin him if they could. These men, though none of them be particularly pointed out and named, will not bear to be publicly told of their faults, and still less will they be persuaded to mend their manners. Erasmus had not the pleasure of reclaiming them by his exhortations ; and the great change, which in his days befell the state of religion, had no other effect upon them than this, that in those countries where Monkery was little esteemed, they concealed some of their grosser misdemeanours ; but where no person presumed to contradict them, as in Italy and Spain, Erasmus, if he were to return to life, would find them just such as he left them.” *Le Clerc*, *Bibl. chois.* i. 397.

The Dedication of the *Lingua* is to Schydloviets, Chancellor of Poland, A. 1525.

He lashes the Priests of his time, who, as he says, were frequently drunk, when they baptized children, or heard confessions.

Nunc plerisque videmus ebrios baptizare pueros, ebrios audire confessiones. — Ante annos non ita multos accidit quod dicam : Quidam exorsus apud hujusmodi sacerdotem, ubi sensit hominem altum dormire, surrexit atque abiit interrupto sermone. Hoc digressio, successit alter. Cumque rursus obdormisset, excitavit hominem confitens, Non, inquit, audis quae dico ? Ille somno delirus, existimans eundem hunc esse, qui prius coeperat confiteri, Imo probe audio, inquit : dixeras te effregisse scrinium vicini tui. Perge caetera dicere. Hoc meminerat ex confessione prioris, velut insigne, tametsi dormitans ac semisomnis.

At

At confessor ille incanduit, negans se unquam scriniorum fuisse perfossorem. Hoc casu, qui successit, rescivit superioris arcanum.

Menage, I think, tells a story of such a Priest, who being so much in liquor that he could not find the office for baptism in his Missal, said to the company : *This child is very hard to christen.*

C. 692.

He complains of the multiplicity of oaths, which were required on various occasions, and served only to multiply perjuries. Alas! the same complaints may still be made.

C. 709.

He extolls Thomas à Becket: So little was he acquainted with his history and true character!

C. 740.

Referam quod ipse vidi in *Italia*, sed ita ne quem attingam aut adspergam suspicione. Aderam tribus *Graecis*, quorum unus erat Monachus, alter eruditus mediocriter, tertius puer tredecim ferme natus annos. Monachus oblivione prætermiserat horam prandii. Itaque curatum est a nobis ut cibi nonnihil adferretur. Ille contentus erat duobus ovis, nec passus est adferri plus eduliorum, bibit item quam parcissime. Ipse mihi semper visus est vir modestus ac bonus, nec incurius sacrarum literarum, tametsi præter vulgatam *Graecorum* linguam nihil noverat. Cultus erat tam vilis, tam horridus et squalidus, ut existimem Hilario-nem illum cultius amictum fuisse. Hactenus omnia digna monacho. At non respondebant hujus convivii bellaria. Amoto cibo reditum est ad fabulas. Doctus ille protulit libellum *Graece* scriptum, in quo referebantur miracula. Ferunt autem apud *Graecos* hunc esse morem, ut sacerdos a sacro recitet apud populum, si quod alicubi miraculum accidit. Hoc quidam Satanæ discipulus fuerat imitatus, sic ut eadem esset præfatiuncula, qua sacerdos solet excitare plebis attentionem, rursus eadem clausula, qua populus audito miraculo consuevit accinere gratias et gloriam Deo. In medio erant obscœnitates, quales apud nos vix ullum scortum auderet in balneis proloqui. Ad harum recitationem meus Monachus tanquam ad rem mire festivam, mire cœpit hilarescere, gestire, solvi in cachinnos, et ad singulas obscœnitates accinebat clausulam solennem. Puer accumbebat in medio, cujus ætati conveniebant fabulæ magis pudicæ. Equidem in Monacho desiderabam rectam

rectam institutionem, potius quam bonam mentem. Tales nimirum evadunt, qui nihil aliud discunt quam ceremonias. Oblatæ fuerant carnes, et erat dies quo fas erat^s aliis vesci. Ille magna religione recusabat. Nec passurus erat vestem mutari. Et in ea re quæ pertinebat ad veram pietatem, tam erat irreligiosus. Saltem adolescentuli reverentia debebat hominem a tam obscœnis jocis revocare, &c.

Erasmus here tells a remarkable story of three *Greeks*, one of whom, who was a Monk, and a Bigot, set a sad example of lewdness and profaneness. He prefaces his story with a declaration that he will point out no man, and expose no man. I was inclined to suspect that he had thrown dust in his reader's eyes, that his three *Greeks* were really three *Italians*, that the smutty book was written in *Italian*, and that in the room of *Graecis*, *Graecorum*, &c. we might substitute *Italici*, *Italorum*, &c. But, upon second thoughts, I am not quite satisfied with the conjecture.

Carmen de Senectutis incommodis.

See Life of Erasmus, p. 27.

TOMUS V.

PRÆFATIO JOANNIS CLERICI.

EX quatuor primis voluminibus Operum Desiderii Erasmi, colligere facile possumus, doctissimum juxta ac humanissimum ætatis suæ virum fuisse; verum ex hoc demum intelligere licet, quam magnus Theologus fuerit, et quanto rerum divinarum amore eruditissimus ejus animus arserit. Hic enim potissima ejus opera habemus, quæ ad instituendum hominem Christianum in meliore Theologia, et ad pietatem permovendum spectant; quod dum agit Erasmus, ex re ipsa, et tota styli ratione emicant eæ religiosæ indolis scintillæ, ut liqueat hominem, quod conatur aliis persuadere, intimis antea medullis ipsum imbibisse. Spirat ubique non cæcam superstitionem, sed cœlesti luce illustratam pietatem, quæ non in minutis quibusdam cæremoniis sita est, quibus defungi etiam possunt homines nequam, sed in ea morum sanctimonia, quæ in solis vere bonis conspicua est. Hinc jam olim plures ex hisce libellis in varias linguas transtulerunt pii juxta et eruditi viri, ut ab omnibus lectitarentur; excuterenturque, si fieri posset, e manibus imperitorum inepti libelli, qui inanis superstitionis vincu-

^s That is: quo aliis fas erat iis vesci.

lis animos eorum irretiebant. Galli, Angli, Belgæ, Hispani, et Poloni vernaculas in linguas translatos habuerunt, ab optimis et doctissimis quibusque plebi diligenter commendatos. Utinam vero etiamnum hodie qui militiam sequuntur, numquam e manibus deponerent libellum, quo inchoatur hoc volumen, et quem inscripsit Erasmus *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*! Profecto non videremus tot homines, in Christianorum exercitibus, qui milites quidem fortasse vocari queant, sed an incensum Christianorum venire possint nescio. Utinam etiam omnes Christiani orbis Theologi semper in sinu gestarent opusculum *De ratione Veræ Theologiæ*! cum in eo plus sit sani succi, et rectæ Theologiæ, quam in multis crassis voluminibus aliorum, sine dubio in animis legentium aculeum relinqueret, et pro tot captiosis, contentiosisque tricis, utilia dogmata et monita auditorum suorum animis instillaret. Sunt et hic alii libelli lectu dignissimi, et præsertim quidem *Christiani Matrimonii Institutio*, et *Vidua Christiana*, quos operæ pretium esset iterum in linguas vernaculas verti ab hominibus peritis, propter mutationem, quæ linguis hodiernis, a temporibus Erasmi, ad hanc nostram ætatem, contigit; ut elegantia sermonis politiores et delicatuli homines, qui Latina legere nequeunt, ad eorum lectionem allicerentur. Interea Latine docti, quorum bibliothecis deerant, eos in succum suum convertant, atque inde indoctis animi alimentum, quo indigent, impertiantur. Quæ non dico, quasi omnia omnino, quæ hoc volumine leguntur, aut omnibus placere velim, aut mihi etiam prorsus et sine exceptione ulla probentur. Satis est, si modo longe maxima pars Christianis propemodum omnibus placeat, et utilis esse possit. Propter maiorem partem, quæ, sine dubio, optima est, par est alia, quæ minus placent, feramus, quicumque simus. Quidni enim erga tantum virum eandem adhibeamus æquitatem, qua utimur erga plerosque Veterum, quorum scripta, quamvis per omnia nobis non probentur, nihilo secius laudamus et extollimus? Ego certe ob præstantiam doctrinæ, quæ passim hic occurrit, salubritatemque præceptorum, quæ subinde leguntur in hoc volumine, cætera omnia minime difficulter fero, et censeo ab omnibus ferenda. Vale.

• *Enchiridion Militis Christiani.*

Cum anno 1618. Lovanii ederetur, præfixit ei Erasmus pulcherri-
mam Epistolam, quæ est 329. in Editione nostra Voluminis Epistola-

• Life of Erasmi. p. 21.

rum, ad quod eam postea amandari voluit Erasmus. In ea graphicis coloribus pingit eorum religionem, qui Theologiam Christianam sitam volebant in argutiis Scholasticis, pietatemque, institutorum humanorum, rituumque frigidorum observationem, esse putabant. Data erat illa Epistola ad Paulum Volzium, Abbatem in Monasterio Benedicti Ordinis, quod dicebatur Curia Hugonis, vulgo *Haugshofen*, ad Selestadium Alsatiae urbem. Is Volzius cum A. 1539. incidisset in Joannem Calvinum Argentorati, ab eo edoctus, Calvini sententiam amplexus est, et S. Ministerii munere, ad obitum usque, in ea urbe functus; ut testatur Theod. Beza, in Vita Calvini. *Clericus.*

“ *The Sorbonne condemned the Enchiridion, in 1543. and in the same year the Parliament of Paris ordered that, and many other prohibited books, to be burned. Which was done near the Porch of the Church of Nôtre Dame, at the sound of the great bell. But this Enchiridion was the French one, translated by Berquin, and it differed much from the original.*” *Burigni*, tom. i. p. 306. See also p. 288, &c.

Tindall translated the *Enchiridion* into English. See *Holland's Herolog.* p. 148.

C. 29.

Erasmus recommends the study of the mystical and allegorical senses of Scripture. He himself runs too much into them, in his religious treatises, imitating the Fathers, who abound with such spiritualized baubles. He commends, as adepts and masters of this fantastical science, Dionysius, commonly called the Areopagite (but Erasmus had too much judgment to imagine that he was really the Areopagite) and St. Augustin, two egregious triflers in that way, if ever there were any triflers in the world. He commends also Origen, who walked, as he says, in the steps of St. Paul.

Epistola ad Adolphum, &c.

This Epistle is an exhortation to learning and virtue. At the same time, Erasmus sent this young Nobleman some manuscript prayers, for his use.

Fuit Adolphus filius Philippi a Burgundia, et † Annæ Borfellæ (*Bersalam* vocat Erasmus) feminae præstantissimæ, et erga Erasmus bene-

† Life of Erasmus, p. 15.

ficæ, qui eam sæpe laudat in Epistolis. Erat ex nobilissima familia Borfellorum, aut Borsalorum, quæ in Zelandia habuit magna prædia, et præsertim Veriam urbem, quæ vulgo *Ter-veer*: quamobrem Adolfum *Veriensem Principem* vocat Erasmus. Philippus à Burgundia, pater Adolphi, filius fuit Antonii à Burgundia; quem Philippus, Burgundiæ Dux, cognomine *Bonus*, ex illegitimo concubitu suscepit. *Clericus.*

Ratio Veræ Theologiæ.

It is dedicated to the Cardinal *S. Chrysogoni*, A. 1518. and it contains excellent instructions for students in Divinity. Joannes Caius published an Epitome of this treatise, and also an English translation of the Paraphrase of Erasmus on the Epistle of St Jude. *Holland. Heroolog. p. 183.*

C. 112.

Audiamus Paulum ita vaticinantem — In novissimis diebus instabunt tempora periculosa, et erunt homines seipsos amantes, cupidi, elati, &c. habentes speciem quidem pietatis, virtutem autem ejus abnegantes. --- Obsecro te, lector, annon tibi videtur digito demonstrare quosdam ex istorum ordinibus, qui ipsius mundi visceribus immixti, Monachos se vocant, et Regum luxum, fastum, ac tyrannidem affectantes, mendicitatem prætexunt, &c.

C. 115.

He treats the miracles wrought in his days, with the contempt which they deserved.

Christus raro edidit miracula, quæ præter admirationem nihil haberent utilitatis, qualia fere sunt, quæ nunc fingunt de Divis.

C. 116.

He cites the *Three that bear witness in heaven*, &c. as though it were a true reading. At other times he hath given it up as spurious, or extremely suspicious.

C. 134.

At inter nos quot quæstiones extiterunt, quot opiniones, quot sectæ disputantium, utrum Christus individuum hominis adsumserit, an speciem, an tertio quodam modo dicatur Deus et Homo. Atque hac de

re cum inter Veteres parum convenerit, nuper etiam exortus est *quidam*, qui reprobatis superiorum opinionibus, novam viam indicet.

I know not whom Erasmus means by this quidam.

Paraclesis, id est, Adhortatio ad Christianæ Philosophiæ studium.

Then follows :

Exomologesis, sive, Modus Confitendi.

Dedicated to Franciscus Molinus, Bishop of Condom, A. 1524.

In this treatise, he recommends an annual confession of sins to the Priest, not as a precept of our Saviour or his Apostles, yet as an ancient, laudable, and useful practice ; and then gives some directions for the manner of performing it.

But when he proceeds to shew, on the other hand, the inconveniences and the evils of auricular confession, he produceth arguments, to which it would be hard to give a reasonable reply ; so that he who should be disposed to write against such confessions, would find plenty of materials in this very work.

Enarratio Primi Psalmi.

Dedicated to his good friend Beatus Rhenanus, A. 1515.

In this discourse he condemns the Arians ; and censures the pride, rapaciousness, avarice, and other vices of the Bishops of his age, and the sordid and wicked arts, by which they rose to those stations.

He exhorts all persons to read the Scriptures, which, as he says, ought to be translated into vulgar tongues, and put into the hands of the vulgar. He hath made the same remarks in many other places ; and to this opinion he pretty constantly adhered. He exhorts the common people not to have an implicit faith in their teachers, nor to suffer themselves to be led by the nose, like bears.

He was deceived by a very foolish story, adopted by Gregory Nazianzen, Prudentius, and others, that Cyprian, before his conversion, had been a magician. See Tillemont, H. E. tom. iv. p. 1.

Commentarius in Psalmum secundum.

He makes a judicious remark on the writings of the Rabbins :

Ego, ut non in totum damno videre quid adferant Hebræorum interpretes, præsertim antiqui, ita non arbitror illis esse multum tribuendum,

dum, quum animadvertam horum commentarios fere fumis ac fabulis anilibus refertos, ne quid interim dicam de studio falsandi nostra, odioque Christi.

He commends Thomas à Becket. for a behaviour, which was ambiguous, and upon which he puts the most favourable construction :

Divus Thomas Episcopus Cantuariensis, quum esset ad eum honorem auctoritate Regis admotus, ipse vero hactenus magis in aulicis negotiis, quam in sacris literis fuisset detritus, intelligens quantum oneris suscepisset in humeros, tanta celeritate properavit *apprehendere disciplinam*, ut quum in ea gente solenne sit, ut Archiepiscopus ille, totius Regni Primas, Proceres aulicos accipiat convivio, Magnatibus suas mensas affatim instrueret iis rebus, quibus animo obsequerentur suo, ne parcus aut sordidus videretur, cæterum ipse ad suam mensam neminem admisit præter eruditos aliquot. Toto convivio lector sonabat ad aurem, aut si quid incidisset, de sensu Scripturæ disputabatur. Adeo nullum tempus patiebatur sibi intercidere, quod non daretur apprehendendæ disciplinæ. Utinam hos versiculos Episcopi nostrorum temporum omnes frequenter psallant !

Paraphrasis in Tertium Psalmum.

Addressed to Melchior Viandalus, a Divine, who in a letter to him had earnestly pressed him to write upon the Psalms. A. 1524.

Concio in Quartum Psalmum.

Dedicated to John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, A. 1525.

Enarratio Psalmi XIV.

De Puritate Tabernaculi, sive Ecclesiæ Christianæ.

Dedicated to Christophorus Eschenveldius, A. 1536.

C. 311.

Qui caste vivit cum legitima conjuge, par turturum immolat Domino : qui gemit desiderio vitæ cœlestis, et simplicitatem amplectitur in omnibus, par columbarum obtulit.

This is better than the allegorical interpretation of Eusebius, in his *Commentaries on the Psalms*, who observes, τὰς τὸν μονήρη βίον ἐπανηρημένους εἶναι σπαρροὺς, τὰς δὲ παιδοποιίας ἢ τῆς ἄλλης οἰκονομίας πρόνοιαν πεποιημένους τὴν τευγόναν, &c. that they who embrace the *Monastic* life, are the *Sparrows*; and they who marry, and have children, and mind domestic

mestic affairs, are the *Doves*. p. 519. Eusebius inadvertently exposed himself, and his friends the Monks, to much ridicule, by this unlucky comparison. In the French language, the allegory and the allusion would have been still more diverting, from the similitude of names, *Moines* and *Moineaux*.

Enarratio Psalmi XXII.

Dedicated to Lord Rochford. See Life of Erasmus, p. 545.

Consultatio de Bello Turcico, A. 1530.

Addressed to Joannes Rinckus.

In this treatise he deplores the great wickedness, and the grievous calamities of the times, and exhorts Christians to repentance and amendment. He gives some account of the Turks, who, from being a despicable crew of ruffians, were become a most formidable people, not so much by their own conduct and valour, as by the follies and vices of the Christians. Then he shews that it is lawful for Christians to wage war with such an enemy, and with any enemy in defence of their own lives and fortunes, and gives abundance of good advice upon the subject, advice which never was, and never will be followed, unless perhaps hereafter, in the Millennium.

Enarratio Psalmi XXXIII.

Dedicated to Conrad, Bishop of Wirzburg, A. 1530.

In this discourse are many good things, mixed however with many allegorical and far-fetched interpretations. He hath some remarks which do not at all favour the invocation of Saints:

Quamquam nec præceptum ullum nec exemplum hujus rei reperitur in Sacris Literis, siue Vetus Testamentum excutias, siue Novum. Cæterum si quis existimet quemquam Divorum posse quod Christus non possit, aut quemquam esse Deo magis exorabilem, is magna tenetur superstitione, ne dicam impietate. — Tutissimum autem simul et optimum est, quod nos docuit Spiritus Sanctus: potius est quod præcepit Christus, quam quod induxerunt homines, &c.

Enarratio Psalmi XXXVIII.

Dedicated to Stanislaus Turzo, Bishop of Olmutz, A. 1532.

Enarratio

Enarratio Psalmi LXXXIII. De amabili Ecclesiae concordia.

Dedicated to his learned friend Julius Pflug, A. 1533.

"Richard Taverner published an introduction to a Christian concord in matters of religion, translated from Erasmus *De facienda Ecclesiae concordia*." Wood, vol. i. C. 184.

C. 476.

Magis deplorandum est, quod, nostra etiam memoria, reperta sunt conventicula, in quibus noctu post decantatas Dei laudes, extinctis lucernis, promiscuo venere viri cum foeminis miscebantur.

It is probable that Erasmus too lightly adopted false rumours spread by persecutors against people called Heretics, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

C. 484.

Speaking of the origin of Monkery, he says:

Divus Basilius legitur Monachos, qui in solitudinibus procul ab hominum commercio degebant, ad urbana sodalitia revocasse: quod vir prudens intelligeret illorum plerosque non evadere vere pios, sed superciliosos, falsa sanctimoniae persuasione turgidos, irritabiles, vindice morosos, sensus communis expertes, et ad omnem vitae functionem ineptos. Fatetur idem Chrysostomus, &c. And

C. 490.

Sunt qui putant Franciscanos in altiore gradu consistere, quod seminudis incedant pedibus, quod pecunias non contingant. Rursus sunt qui his praeferant Dominicanos, quod domi non vescantur carnibus. Utrisque praeferunt Benedictinos, qui et pluribus horis canunt in templis, nec unquam domo prodeunt. Jam inter omnes summum gradum obtinent, qui lorica ferrea pro indusio cutem defricant, &c.

C. 499.

He proposeth a scheme of pacification, toleration, and mutual condescension between Papists and Protestants.

In Psalmum LXXXV. Expositio Concionalis.

Dedicated to the Bishop of Lincoln, A. 1528. Joanni Longlondo.
It should have been *Longlando*.

De

De Misericordia Domini Concio.

Dedicated to Christopher, Bishop of Basil, A. 1524.

C. 579.

He approves the invocation of Saints :

Si non audes compellare Jesum, si non potes contingere Jesum, saltem furtim contingere fimbriam : adito Sanctum aliquem, in quo relucet pietas ista, ut suis precibus te commendet misericordi Domino. Per hos enim exferit sæpe virtutem suam, undequaque paratus ad conferendam omnibus salutem.

But it is not clear, whether he means departed Saints, or good men living upon earth.

Virginis et Martyris comparatio.

This discourse is dedicated

Helicæ Marceo Collegii Machabæorum Moderatori :

and likewise,

Collegio Virginum Machabæiticarum apud Coloniam Agrippinam, A. 1524.

These Nuns had sent him some sweet-meats, desiring the favour of his instructions, and he repaid them with this discourse.

Concio de Puero Jesu.

This was made to be spoken by a boy of St. Paul's School.

Epistola Consolatoria Virginibus Franciscanis, juxta Cantabrigiam.

If the Nuns, to whom Erasmus addressed some of his treatises, were capable of understanding them, and the language in which they were written, they must have had an excellent education.

“ *They* to whom Erasmus writes this Epistle, were the Nuns at Denny-Abby, near Cambridge, whom he looked upon as virtuous and good ; and who did to the last preserve a good character for their order and discipline, while their neighbouring Sisters of St Radegund at Cambridge had, till their dissolution, just the contrary. — Erasmus here makes mention of two sisters of the family of the Greys, or Dorset family, to whose brother he had very early been a tutor, as Wolsey had also been to two of the brothers in Magdalen College, Oxford.” *Knight*, p. 292.

Christiani

Christiani Matrimonii Institutio.

Dedicated to our Queen Catharine, A. 1526.

^w This is a copious and accurate work. Erasmus considers marriage as a Canonist, a Civilian, a Philosopher, and a Divine, and then proceeds to the education of children.

C. 622.

He mentions, and seems to approve, the charitable judgment of Gerson, concerning the state of infants who die unbaptized :

Nec defuerunt homines eruditi, quorum est Joannes Gerson, quibus visa est opinio non omnino rejicienda, si quis hanc spem conceperit ex Divinæ misericordiæ magnitudine, infantes ex piis parentibus ortos, si quo casu contingat citra culpam hominis, absque baptismi munere decedere, non omnino dedendos esse suppliciis æternis. Verum utcumque de hoc judicavit Ecclesia; nam meam hic sententiam non interpono, &c.

C. 649.

He condemns clandestine marriages, both here and in many other places, and thinks that they ought to be dissolved.

Recte quidem Ecclesiæ leges damnant clandestina conjugia, sed utinam hisce temporibus sic damnarent, ut furtim contracta pro non contractis haberentur, nisi majorum accederet auctoritas, et solemnis utrimque stipulatio, quod olim apud Censores fieri solitum, nec sine jurejurando, supra demonstravimus. Nullum, opinor, in Sacris Literis exemplum inveniri, filios familias, aut pupillos clam iis, in quorum potestatibus sunt, contraxisse matrimonium, quod illis reclamantibus valuerit, &c.

C. 652.

In the time of the Apostles, says he, *Idem erat Episcopus, Sacerdos, et Presbyter.*

C. 668.

He gives an amazing description of the wickedness, insolence, and outrageous tyranny of the Nobility in those times, and treats his

z Du Pin, xiv. 64.

Ruffians of Quality as they deserved, and reproves the folly of rich Plebeians, who were ambitious of marrying their girls to beggarly and debauched Patricians. But this seems to be one of the follies, of which the world will never be cured; and happy is the Commoner,

Whose daughter flaunts a Viscount's tawdry wife!

Nunc apud nonnullas nationes inane Nobilitatis nomen impunitatem adfert scelerum. Etenim si piraticam aut latrocinium exercent plebeius, in rotam subigitur: si Eques, aut qui minimum nobilitatis possit fingere, et si quam habet turriculam, latronum speluncam bellum appellatur, quod aliquoties indicit is, qui pedem ubi ponat non habet. Unde talibus jus indicendi belli? unde jus sub belli simulati prætextu, in publicis viis, in alienis ditionibus spoliare quoslibet? Quoties ad aleam, scortationes, potationes deest pecunia, ad belli titulum confugitur, et hostis est, quisquis habet aliquid ad prædam idoneum. Principes, ac præcipue Cæsar, optime mereretur de rebus mortalium, si talia portenta tolleret de medio, cum suis equis et turribus, nec sineret illis in facinore deprehensis in aliud prodesse generis titulum, nisi ut velut eminentes in altiore rotam tollerentur. O parentum dementiam! qui putant rectius consultum filiæ, si tali Equiti nupserit, quam si bono Agricolaë aut perito Fabro. Et inani nobilitatis fuco decepti, malunt generum, qui bene parta male dissipet, quam qui sua industria rem traditam fervet augeatque. Hic puellis poterat ignosci. Sexus et ætas gloriæ cupientior est, nec valet rerum judicio, sed tantum, quod in præsens delectat, spectat. Parentibus venia dari non potest, qui postea turpiter deplorant calamitatem, quam excludere poterant. Etenim quum tot existent exempla sic initorum conjugiorum, debebant ex alienis periculis sapere. Valeat igitur Nobilitatis inane nomen vel facinoribus partæ, vel malefactis inquinatæ, vel e mentitæ vel adscititiæ. Ementiri Nobilitatem impostorum est, quod tamen faciunt nonnulli, quo peccent excusatius tutiusque. Emere Nobilitatem stultorum est, veluti fumo gloriantium, quum Sapiens veram etiam Nobilitatem contemnat: et tamen aliquid est e claris probisque Majoribus prognatum esse, &c.

Here Erasmus assuredly describes, though he names them not, his *quondam* friend Hutten, who was just such a beggarly Knight and Ruffian, and his other friend Eppendorf, who falsely pretended to be Noble.

C. 696.

He censures the Painters and Statuaries for the indecency and immodesty of many of their works :

Membraque (*read quæ*) *verecundiæ gratia* *celas ne videantur*, *cur in tabula nudas?* — Addunt artifices quidam etiam *verecundis* argumentis de suo nequitiam. Etenim, quum pingunt aliquid ex Evangelica historia, affingunt impias ineptias: velut quum exprimunt Dominum apud Martham ac Mariam exceptum convivio, interea dum Dominus loquitur cum Maria, fingunt Joannem adolescentem clam in angulo fabulantem cum Martha, Petrum exsiccantem *cantarum* (*read cantarum*.) Rursus in convivio Martham a tergo assistentem Joanni, altera manu injecta humeris, altera velut irridente Christum, qui nihil horum sentiat. Item *Petro* (*read Petrum*) jam vino rubicundum, cyathum admoveare labris. Et hæc quum blasphema sint et impia, tamen faceta multis videntur.

Vidua Christiana.

* Dedicated to Mary, Queen dowager of Hungary, &c. Sister to Charles V.

C. 736. and 760.

Erasmus reckons amongst the learned Christian ladies, *Sunia*, and *Frotela*, or *Fretella*, to whom St. Jerom wrote one of his Epistles. But *Sunnia* and *Fretella* were of the male sex, though their names had a feminine aspect. Baker, in his *Reflexions upon Learning*, hath censured Father Simon, for making this mistake; and seems not to have known that Erasmus had fallen into the same error.

If Father Simon have any doubt of the thing, I have the Epistle of Jerom now before me (says Baker) *in two very fair manuscripts; in both which it is, Dilectissimis fratribus Sunniæ et Fretellæ.*

But, with Mr. Baker's leave, his argument taken from the word *fratribus* is not quite conclusive: for if *Sunnia* and *Fretella* had been brother and sister, Jerom might have addressed himself to them, *Dilectissimis fratribus*. His argument from Jerom's letter, which is full of Greek and Hebrew, and of critical erudition, is more satisfactory.

† Life of Erasmus, p. 557.

‡ P. 234.

By the way, Father Simon seems to have corrected his mistake, without owning it, in his *Nouvelles Observations*, printed at Paris in 1695. He says: *Il n'y a qu'à lire la lettre (de S. Jérôme) à Sunia et Fretila. — Ils lui avoit demandé comment il falloit traduire, &c. p. 199.*

Ecclesiastes, sive de Ratione Concionandi.

² This treatise is divided into four books, and is dedicated to Christophorus Stadius, Bishop of Augsberg, A. 1535.

It is full of good instructions for the Clergy, and for all young persons who intend to take Orders.

C. 798.

Hanc sacram functionem qui sibi vel usurpant temere, vel administrant indigne, non exuruntur igne cœlesti, non obruuntur subita morte, non lepra suffodiuntur; sed cum corpore simul et anima conjiciuntur in ignem æternum.

Perhaps, *suffunduntur*.

C. 810.

Quod si nunc quoque singulis civitatibus singuli præessent Episcopi, tamen hoc etiam negotium quam sit difficile, — declarat Chrysostomus. --- Quantum igitur negotii credimus esse, cum, præter vicos et pagos, viginti frequentes et amplæ civitates uni parent Antistiti. Sit hoc leve; unius humeris imponuntur quatuor aut quinque tales Episcopatus, cum aliquot Abbatiis annexis. Quis non fateatur hanc sarcinam esse majorem humanis viribus? Atque hæc quoque conduplicatur profanæ ditionis accessione.

He seems to have had in view, besides other Ecclesiastics, Cardinal Wolsey, who had been a scandalous pluralist.

C. 814.

He expresseth his hopes that if Christian Missionaries would preach the Gospel to Infidels in a proper manner, God might enable them perhaps to work miracles, if it were necessary.

C. 821.

He did not like the custom of kissing the Pope's foot.

² Du Pin, XIV. 65.

Liquet

— *Liquet* olim Episcopos --- summo in pretio fuisse. --- Testantur hoc manuum, genuum, ac vestium oscula. Nam pedum apud veteres Scriptores non memini legere.

C. 824.

He informs us that Domestic Chaplains were very ill treated in the families of some Noblemen.

Nec ille mos probandus, quem in quibusdam Potentium familiis videmus. Sacerdos, mantili injecto humeris, cherniba sustinet, et pransuris infundit aquam, totoque convivio stans aperto capite ministrat laicis accumbentibus. Sed ut ad hunc modum eviluerint Sacerdotes, ipsi magna ex parte sunt in causa, qui, dum se præbent Laicis, quam Sacerdotibus similiores, a Laicis contemnuntur.

C. 840.

" *It* may not be here unserviceable to our English Antiquaries, to touch upon the ludicrous and superstitious customs which were prevalent about these times, ^a and of which Erasmus gives us the following account either from good authority, or his own observation, while he was here in England. The first he mentions (which I presume he had from Dean Colet) was a popular custom, or fury rather, in his Church of St. Paul's, which extremely offended the Dean, and yet he knew not how to restrain it, for fear of incensing the multitude, and creating some greater mischief.

Amongst the English at London (says he) *there is a custom, that on such a day, (viz. St. Paul's Conversion) the people in a sort of wild procession,*

^a Jam quod populus habeat ubique suas quasdam peculiare ineptias, veluti sodalitates, et compotationes in templis, superstitiosas circumlationes Divorum, velut apud Flandrios Livini et Winochi, ludosque ridiculos, qui sic diutina consuetudine invaluerunt, ut absque tumultu non facile queant abrogari, et si abrogentur, periculum est ne abrogatis succedant ineptiora, Pastor ab hujusmodi spectaculis sese subducatur, vel hoc modo significans sibi non probari quæ geruntur. Quoniam autem in diversis regionibus diversæ sunt hujusmodi ludorum formæ, ut lector intelligat quid velim, unam atque alteram exempli causa proferam. Apud Anglos mos est Londini, ut certo die populus in summum Templum Paulo sacrum inducat longo hastili impositum caput feræ (damas illic quidam appellant, vulgus capros, quum revera sit hircorum genus cornibus palmatis, in ea insula abundans) cum inamœno sonitu cornuum venatoriorum. Hac pompa proceditur ad summum altare: dicas omnes adflatos furore Deliæ. Quid hic faciat Pastor? Si reclamet, violenta res est consuetudo, ac citius aliquid seditionis excitet, quam medeatur malo. *Ecclesiast.*

bring

bring into the Church of St. Paul's the head of a kind of deer frequent in that island, fixed upon the top of a long spear or pole, with the whole company blowing hunters horns in a hideous manner : and so in this rude pomp they go up to the high altar, and offer it there. You would think them all the mad votaries of Diana. What should the Pastor or Prelate of the Church do in such a case? If he oppose it, why then the claim of custom is a violent thing, and to attempt the stopping of such a flood shall raise a tumult or insurrection of worse consequence than it will be to connive at a perverse and inveterate custom.

This, which was at first probably a Pagan custom, continued to the Reformation. — Though the Church was now dedicated to the memory of St. Paul, yet they seemed willing not to forget the Goddess Diana, to whom, we are told, in this very place was anciently a temple erected, and that in the time of Melitus the first Bishop of London. Ethelbert, King of Kent, built a church to the honour of St. Paul, where before stood a temple of Diana, as an ancient manuscript in the Cotton Library tells us : *Immolat Dianæ Londonia : thurificat Apollini suburbana Thorneia*, Thorney is now Westminster. Sir W. Dugdale in his history of St. Paul's Church, tells us that there was a great manor held by the service of the offering a Doe, at the high altar on the Conversion of St. Paul : which though it doth not wholly excuse the custom, yet however doth somewhat apologize for it. But it is certain that many intolerable abuses, besides this, crept into the Church by degrees, and the superstitions were so multiplied, that wise and good men could not away with them, and often fell under trouble for, what they could not help, inveighing against them. The same Author mentions that there was a signal Grant by Sir William le Baud, Knight, in 3 Edward I. of a Doe yearly in winter, on the day of the Conversion of St. Paul, and of a fat Buck in summer, upon the day of the commemoration of the same Saint, to be offered at the high altar by the said Sir William, and his family, and then to be distributed amongst the Canons resident : which said Doe and Buck were so given by the said Sir William, in lieu of twenty-two acres of land lying within the Lordship of Westlee in Com. Essex, belonging to the said Canons, and by them granted to him and his heirs, to be inclosed within his Park of Toringham, whereunto they lay adjacent. This was afterwards confirmed by his son Sir Walter le Baud, by his Deed of the Ides of July, 30 Edward I. Unto this Grant were witnesses Sir Nich.
de

de Wokyndon, Sir Richard de la Rokele, Sir Thomas de Maundevell, and Sir John Rochford, Knights, &c. The reception of which Doe and Buck was, till Queen Elizabeth's days, performed at the steps of the Quire by the Canons of this Cathedral, attired in their sacred vestments, and wearing garlands of flowers on their heads: and the horns of the Buck carried on the top of a spear, in procession round about in the body of the Church, with a great noise of horn-blowers, as the learned Camden upon his own view affirmed. Vid. p. 17. Dug. Hist. of St. Paul's.

Mr. Strype in his Ecclesiastical Memorials under Q. Mary, p. 278. says more relating to this odd custom (*viz.*) that the last day of June, 1557. (which confirms its being kept up till Queen Elizabeth) was St. Powel's (Paul's) Day, i. e. commemoration of a Privilege: and at St. Paul's London, was a goodly procession. For there was a Priest of every parish of the Diocese (City, I suppose, he means) of London, with a cope, and the Bishop of London wearing his mitre; and after, according to an old custom, came a fat Buck, and his head with his horns born upon a banner pole, and forty persons blowing with the horn afore the Buck, and behind.

Since we have been speaking of St. Paul's Church, it may not perhaps be unacceptable to the Curious, if we here present them with the picture of an earthen lamp, which was found in digging the foundation of this Church. It represents the figure of a building which the late Mr. Kemp, into whose hands this lamp came, supposed to be the temple of Diana. And he was the more confirmed in this opinion, from another lamp of the same sort, which was found in the same place, and at the same time with the former, together with several boars tusks ^b.

That Diana was worshiped in Gaul, we learn from ^c Polyænus. And as a proof of her being worshiped likewise in Britain, ^d Mr. Sammes takes notice of an image, that, in the year 1602. was dug out of the ground in Monmouthshire, which both by the form and dress, as likewise by an inscription found not far from it, appeared to be the figure of that Goddess.

And Mr. Camden thinks it not improbable, that there was anciently a temple of Diana, where St. Paul's Church now stands, from the

^b Monument. Kemp, part I. p. 179, 180. ^c L. VIII. Strat. c. 39.

^d Antiquities of Britain, p. 135.

great number of ox-heads that were found there in digging up the Churchyard in the reign of King Edward the first, and were then looked upon as Gentile sacrifices. ^e And in this opinion he is followed by his learned Editor, by ^f Mr. Sammes, ^g Mr. Howel, and ^h others. Particularly the ingenious Dr. Woodward acquaints us, that he has in his collection tusks of boars, horns of oxen and of stags, as also the representation of deer, and even of Diana herself, upon the sacrificing vessels, digged up near St. Paul's Church; and likewise a small image of that Goddess, found not far off. ⁱ Now it appears from ancient writers, that not only stags, but oxen, and swine also were sacrificed to Diana.

But I return to the Lamp. The prospect of the building, as here represented, must have been taken from the South side of the river, as is plain from the largeness of the human figure standing there. The shape of the boat on the river is not unlike one published by Bayfius, which he says was drawn from an ancient monument. The lamp itself being but ordinary work makes the building less correct and accurate. I offer it therefore but as a conjecture, and leave it to those, who are better versed in such antiquities, to judge of it as they please; and whether, from the form, it may appear more likely to be a Roman or a British building. I shall only add, that it is no objection to its being a temple, because the front looks to the South; since we are told by Vitruvius, that although temples ought generally to be built, when the situation of the place will admit of it, with their front Westward; yet ^k when they are placed by rivers, they should look towards the bank, as those did in Egypt, which were near the Nile; and as the building here does on this lamp, the draught of which was communicated to me by the learned Mr. Ward, Rhetoric Professor of Gresham College; to whom I must own myself obliged for the first knowledge of this curiosity, as well as for his ingenious conjecture concerning it.

^l Another custom in England in the country parishes (says Erasmus) is to carry the consecrated Host in procession, when they go the bounds

^e Edit. Gibson.

^f Ibid.

^g Antiq. of Brit. p. 135.

^h Londinopolis, p. 8.

ⁱ Letter to Sir C. Wren, § 83.

^k Vitruvius, L. iv. c. 5.

^l Alibi per segetes circumfertur Corpus Domini, hoc indecentius quod gestatur a Sacerdote equestri. In pagis, atque etiam oppidis quibusdam, opificum ordines habent
or

or round the parochial limits: which looks the more indecent, because the Pyx (or box wherein the consecrated wafer is enclosed) is carried by the Priest, on horseback. In other towns and villages the several trades and occupations have each of them their peculiar pomps and ceremonies: long poles are carried about by fellows that sweat under them, and at every step or two must have drink given them: at the top of the pole is the image of the Saint, who is the special patron of that particular trade or mystery. [Erasmus seems to allude to the custom of the Wool-trade, celebrating the honour of Bishop Blaze their founder on the third of February.] The common people have a great many other foolish sports and shews [May-Games and Whitsun-Ales, &c.] where maids are dressed up and led about very fine; and many things are said and done more fit to be concealed than approved.

^m He speaks in another part of the same book, of the strolling songsters and ⁿ ballad-fingers, who get into great mens houses, and there sing, — but seem rather to bark than to sing, &c.

^o He tells also a story of a certain superstitious lady in England, who left a good sum of money to a Priest to say so many Masses for her soul at Rome; as if Roman Masses were more effectual than those said in England. Her money, says Erasmus, had been better bestowed, if she had obliged this Priest never to have gone to Rome, for I knew

pompas suas. Mali erecti gestantur a multis sudantibus ac defecturis, nisi subinde potu reficiantur: in summo est Divus, cujusque opificii præsēs. Habet populus et alios ludos pompasque, in quibus circumferunt spectacula, circumducuntur virgines mire cultæ, dicuntur fiuntque multa dissimulanda magis quam probanda. *Ibid.*

^m Apud Italos quorundam Ecclesiastarum pronuntiatio multum accedit ad pronuntiationem mendicorum aut circulatorum, qui mensa in foro posita, mira vocis dexteritate commendant nugas suas. — Apud Anglos est simile genus hominum, quales apud Italos sunt circulatorum, de quibus modo dictum est, qui irrumpunt in convivia Magnatum, aut in cauponas vinarias, et argumentum aliquod, quod edidicerunt, recitant, puta Mortem omnibus dominari, aut Laudem matrimonii. Sed quoniam ea lingua monosyllabis fere constat, quemadmodum Germanica, atque illi studio vitant cantum, nobis latrare videntur verius quam loqui. C. 958.

ⁿ By the description which Erasmus gives of our Strollers, they seem to have been rather *Religious-story-tellers*, than *Ballad-singers*. Knight hath not translated this passage accurately.

^o Novi foeminam nobilem ac prudentem, quæ Sacerdoti legavit bonam pecuniæ summam, ut annum Romæ quotidie sacrificaret, quasi Missæ Romanæ sanctiores sint quam Britannicæ! Et tamen ea pecunia melius fuisset collocata, si obligasset eum sacrificum, ne umquam Romam adiret. Nam mihi familiariter notus erat, quem arbitror magis sacrificasse Vulcani conjugii, quam Deo. Tom. v. C. 1312.

the man very well, and, I think, he was more accustomed to sacrifice to Venus, than to God.

^p There was another superstitious usage of the English upon Palm-Sunday, which he also mentions. What shall we say, says he, of those, who out of England and Scotland, with vast expence, through a thousand dangers travel to Jerusalem; leaving at home their wives and children, whom they ought to take care of? When they return from Jerusalem, they are called Knights of the Holy-Land, and they being in a Fraternity or Gild of Brethren, upon Palm-Sunday, are very serious in the most ridiculous action: they draw a wooden ass in procession with ropes, not themselves wiser than the ass they take so much pains about." *Knight*, p. 297.

C. 856.

In his remarks on the classic authors, and on the Fathers, who will teach us the art of composing and of preaching, there are many judicious observations.

C. 873.

He condemns the invocation of the Virgin Mary, at the beginning of Sermons.

C. 881.

When we celebrate some Saint and Martyr in our sermon, we may mention the miracles accompanying and following his death:

Ad insequens tempus pertinent, prodigia mortem consecuta, ^q et fons salubris aquæ illic exsiliens, ubi Martyris caput amputatum terram contigit, aut oleum medicamentis efficax sponte resudans e monumento, aut ad Martyrum monumenta profligati Dæmones, quæ pro divinis testimoniis haberi debent.

Surely he could hardly say all this sincerely and *ex animo*; but must have given it as proper for *the middle isle*, for a sermon *ad plebeculam*.

*tail
or, wing*

^p Quid dicendum de his, qui ex Anglia et Scotia tantis impendiis per tot discrimina petunt Hierosolymam, præsertim domi relictis charissimis, quibus juxta doctrinam Apostoli debent perpetuam curam? — Qui Hierosolymæ fuerunt, Equites Aurati vocantur, seque Fratres vocant, et in die Palmarum serio rem agunt ridiculam, fune trahentes asinum, ipsi non multum differentes ab asino ligneo, quem trahunt. *Epist. de Utilit. Colloq.* ^q Perhaps *ut*.

C. 692

C. 962.

He passeth this censure upon Juvenal :

Juvenalis, qui Satyram corruptit, et vertit in Tragicam invektivam.

C. 974.

— *basta* Achillis, quam nemo Græcorum ferre potuit, præter unum Patroclum.

Here his memory deceived him, for neither Patroclus nor any other Greek could make use of the spear of Achilles.

C. 986.

He tells some stories of a Harlequin-Preacher, who used to surprise his audience with his monkey-tricks.

Simili novitate fertur Cardinalibus ac summo Pontifici exprobrasse fastum ac delicias. Erat apud illos dicturus — Is nihil aliud prolocutus, *Pby sanctum Petrum ! pby sanctum Paulum !* subinde cum execrantis voce exspuens, nunc in dextrum, nunc in sinistrum, nec aliud addens, e medio proripuit sese : relinquens omnes attonitos, aliis suspicantibus eum esse versum in furorem, aliis dubitantibus num in hæresim quampiam, aut Judaismum Paganismumve prolapsus in eas blasphemias erupisset. Quumque ageretur de homine conjiciendo in vincula, Cardinalis quidam, qui propius noverat ejus ingenium, atque etiam amabat, persuasit, ut prius ad Pontificem evocaretur, paucisque Cardinalibus testibus audiretur. Rogatus, quomodo in tam horrendas blasphemias erupisset ? respondit, sibi longe aliud argumentum fuisse præparatum, et paucis summam orationis exposuit : Cæterum, ubi spectarem, inquit, vos tanto strepitu tantisque in deliciis vivere, simulque reputarem quam humilem, laboriosam, et ^r *amœnam* vitam egerint Apostoli, quorum vices geritis, colligebam aut illos fuisse dementes, qui tam spinoso itinere contenderint in cœlum, aut vos recta ad inferos proficisci. Sed de vobis, qui tenetis claves regni cœlorum, nihil malæ suspicionis in animum inducere potui. Supererat ut illorum stultitiam detestarer, qui, quum licuisset ad istum modum splendide suaviterque vivere, maluerunt per omnem vitam jejuniis, vigiliis, ac laboribus discruciar.

^r Read *inamœnam*.

C c 2

C. 997.

C. 997.

Sed impudentius est, quam ut imitandum sit, quod Homerus equis Achillis, et navibus quibusdam, sermonem attribuit; licet in *Literis mysticis* Asina reprehendit dominum suum.

His memory deceived him concerning Homer, who hath no *talking ships*.

C. 1024.

His interpretation of St. Paul's *thorn in the flesh* is not right. Bp. Bull hath given a better in a sermon on that text.

C. 1024.

He pleads his own cause, and defends his quitting the Monastery, in which he had been *encaged* in his youth, by force and fraud.

C. 1049.

Those are Canonical books of Scripture,
— *de* quorum auctoritate nulla umquam fuit dubitatio, nec apud Hebræos, nec apud Græcos, nec apud Latinos. Cujus ordinis sunt, Genesis, &c. Novi vero Instrumenti sunt hi, quatuor Evangelia, Acta Apostolorum, Pauli Epistolæ omnes, excepta ea quæ scribitur ad Hebræos, prima Petri, et prima Joannis. Non quod cæteris adimam auctoritatem, sed quod horum præcipua sit auctoritas. Quidam, impense candidi, conantur omnium auctoritatem æquare, nitunturque nobis persuadere etiam tertium et quartum Esdræ, quorum somnia contemnit Hieronymus, sancti Spiritus afflatu scriptos esse: et librum cui titulus Sapientia, quem plerique Philonis esse credunt, a Solomone fuisse conscriptum, quum nec stylus conveniat, et ipsa res satis præ se ferat, hoc opus post Christi tempora esse conscriptum. Videbitur hæc alicui civilitas, verum ea civilitas magis elevat pondus Scripturæ Canonice, quam confirmat.

C. 1054.

He is of opinion that the Hebrew and the Greek languages are fuller of ambiguities than the Latin. But certainly the Latin language hath more ambiguities in construction than the Greek.

C. 1079.

C. 1079.

He says of infant-baptism :

*Probabile est tingere infantes institutum fuisse ab Apostolis ; non dam-
naretur tamen qui de hoc dubitaret.*

He himself hath doubted of it in other parts of his works.

C. 1088.

He hath made an acute observation concerning the word *God*, that it is a *noun relative*.

Deus relativum est, quemadmodum *Dominus*. Dicitur enim Deus Hebræorum, Deus Abraham, quemadmodum Rex, Dominus, et Princeps. *Ens* hujus aut illius non dicitur.

Modus orandi Deum.

Inscribed, *Clarissimo Poloniæ Baroni, Hieroslao de Lasco.*

C. 1116.

He observes that the necessity of praying to Saints cannot be proved from the holy Scriptures ; but he defends the practice, as ancient and innocent, and blames the excess and superstition which had crept into it. One of his arguments in behalf of the invocation of Saints is a very poor one ; for it is taken from the miracles wrought at their tombs, and these miracles are taken for granted. The spirit of credulity seems to have strongly possessed him when he wrote this.

Cæterum hanc mortalium pietatem Deo gratam esse, vel ipsis factis abunde testatus est ad sepulchra Martyrum, ad implorationem Sancto-
rum tot miraculis editis, liberatis dæmoniacis, sanatis ægrotis, excitatis mortuis. Nec enim arbitror quemquam fore tam impudentem, qui contendat omnes fabulas esse, quæ tot egregii Scriptores Ecclesiæ mag-
no consensu tradiderunt : etiamsi fateamur in hoc genere permulta confingi.

C. 1120.

He observes very justly that the Processions, and carrying about of images, and other religious Ceremonies of the like kind came from Paganism.

Sunt

Sunt ista vestigia veteris Paganismi. Olim in sacris ludis circumferebatur Bacchus, Venus, Neptunus, Silenus cum Satyris, et difficilius erat in Christianorum vita mutare professionem, quam publicam consuetudinem. Itaque religiosi Patres arbitrabantur magnum esse profectum, si pro talibus Diis circumferrentur statuæ piorum hominum, quos miracula declarabant regnare cum Christo: si superstitiosa consuetudo cursitandi cum facibus in memoriam raptæ Proserpinæ verteretur in religiosum morem, ut populus Christianus cum accensis cereis conveniret in templum in honorem Mariæ Virginis: si qui prius in morbis invocabant Apollinem, aut Æsculapium, nunc invocarent sanctum Rochum, aut Antonium: si quæ prius petierant uterum ac felicem partum a Junone ac Lucina, peterent idem a Sancto Jodoco, aut alio quovis Divorum: si qui consueissent rem domesticam tutandam et augendam Lari, Mercurio, aut Herculi commendare, committerent sancto Erasmo aut Nicolao: si nautæ pro Venere et Geminis invocarent Virginem Matrem, eique pro impiis hymnis canerent nauticam cantionem, *Salve, Regina*: si qui segetem stultissimis ritibus lustrare consueverant, aut Cererem puerorum ac puellarum cantu delinire, circumferrent per agros vexillum Crucis, hymnos modulantes in laudem Dei ac Divorum: si pro Jove sospitatore miles ingressurus bellum sese committeret Divo Georgio aut Barbaræ: si civitates singulæ pro tutelaribus Diis adoptarent Bavonem, Marcum, aut alium quempiam e numero discipulorum Christi: si qui popismatis aliisve profanis ac superstitiosis remediis fulmen arcere, aut procurare consueverant, sonitu consecratarum nolarum aut suffitu consecratarum frondium idem facerent: si qui prius magicis artibus dolori cordis medebantur, jam admoto codice Evangelico mederentur: aut qui post auditum primum in Majo coccycem, consperso per cubiculum pulvere, quem circumscripto dextri pedis vestigio sustulissent, pulices ac pediculos profligare consueverant, idem facerent illata divi Francisci tunica: si qui capitis impetigini et alopeciis superstitiosis remediis subvenire consueverant, idem facerent admoto pectine, qui fuit Christo cum Matre communis, quem audio Treviris etiam nunc ostendi: si qui ad bellum se gladiis fortunatis et indusiis incantatis solent armare, jam sese munirent ligno Crucis.

Hæc tolerata sunt a Patribus, non quod in his esset Christiana religio, sed quod ab illis quæ commemoravimus, ad hæc profecisse magnus pietatis gradus videretur. Eadem ratione toleratæ sunt Imagines, quas veteres Ecclesiæ Proceres aliquot vehementer detestati sunt, odio videlicet idolo-

idololatriæ. Gaudebant igitur populum huc profecisse, ut pro Deorum simulacris venerarentur imagines Jesu servatoris, et aliorum Divorum. Quanquam harum usus jam in immensum progressus est. Nec tamen ideo profligandæ sunt imagines omnes e templis, sed docendus est populus, quemadmodum his conveniat uti. Quod inest vitii corrigendum est, si fieri potest absque gravi tumultu: quod inest boni probandum est. Optandum esset nihil in templis Christianorum conspici nisi Christo dignum. Nunc illic videmus tot fabulas ac nænias depictas, ut septem lapsus Domini Jesu, septem gladios Virginis, aut ejusdem tria vota, aliaque id genus hominum inania commenta: deinde Sanctos non ea forma repræsentatos, quæ ipsis digna sit. Siquidem pictor expressurus Virginem Matrem aut Agatham, nonnunquam exemplum sumit a lasciva meretricula: et expressurus Christum aut Paulum, proponit sibi temulentum quempiam ac nebulonem. Sunt enim imagines quæ citius provocant ad lasciviam, quam ad pietatem: et hæc tamen a nobis tolerantur, quia plus videmus mali in tollendo, quam in tolerando. Videmus quædam templa foris et intus plena nobilium insigniis, clypeis, galeis, leonibus, draconibus, vulturibus, canibus, tauris, bubalis, onocrotalis, vexillis ab hoste direptis; videmus locum occupatum ambitiosis divitum monumentis, solum inæquale factum et ad ingrediendum inhabile, quasi vel mortui studeant graves esse populo: hæc si feruntur in templis potius quam laudantur, arbitror et divorum imagines recte tolerari.

C. 1126.

He could hardly justify prayers in an unknown tongue, but he treats the subject gently, for fear of giving offence.

Has (preces) Sacerdos olim sic pronunciabat, ut totus populus et audiret, et intelligeret, eoque veluti pariter cum illo oraret, tacitis dumtaxat affectibus, demum voce clara accineret *Amen*. Id tum commode fiebat, quoniam Sacerdos ea lingua sacrificabat, quæ populo erat communis. Nunc linguis novatis, ritus tamen vetus manet. Nec satis adhuc constat utrum magis expediat relinquere, an novare, quod jam inveteravit. Scio hanc esse multitudinis imperitiæ naturam, ut magis reveatur, quod non intelligit. Sed interim minus utilitatis redit ad populum, ad quem sola vox Antistitis pervenit. Novandæ consuetudinis auctor esse nolim. — Optandum autem esset, ut totus cultus divinus, qui tribus potissimum constat, hymnis, doctrina, et precatione, lingua toti populo nota perageretur. — Verum multa sunt in vita mortalium, quæ magis optare liceat, quam sperare.

Ex-

Explanatio Symboli, &c.

Dedicated to Lord Rochford, A. 1533.

Precationes aliquot, &c.

Dedicated to David Paungartner, A. 1535.

Precatio ad Jesum.

Dedicated to Joannes Rincus, A. 1532.

Precatio Dominica, &c.

Dedicated to Justus Ludovicus Wissenburgensis, A. 1533.

Pæan Virgini Matri.

This was composed to oblige the Marchioness of Vere. It is a puerile performance, in a poetical, tumid, and idolatrous style.

Obsecratio ad Virginem.

Another piece of the same stamp.

De contemptu Mundi.

A boyish exercise, for which he himself apologizes. It is an exhortation to a Monastic state, written for the sake, and in the name of another, and not containing his real sentiments. A mere declamation composed before he was twenty years old.

This treatise *de contemptu mundi*, and the *Virginis et Martyris comparatio*, were translated into English by Thomas Paynell. *Wood*, vol. i. p. 145. Thomas Paynel must have been a silly fellow, who could pick out no better flowers from the works of Erasmus.

Disputatio de tædio et pavore Christi.

^s Dedicated to Colet. This Dedication is also printed amongst the Epistles. *Ep.* 403. c. 1789.

Colet had a notion that Jesus Christ was not terrified and cast down, at the approach of his sufferings, through the infirmity of human nature; but that his agony proceeded from mere pity and grief for the

* Du Pin, xiv. 70.

impeni-

impenitent Jews, and for their destruction. Some of the Fathers had talked much after the same manner. Erasmus wrote this dissertation against the notion of Colet, at Oxford. Burigni hath given an inaccurate account of this treatise of Erasmus. Tom. i. p. 175.

De præparatione ad mortem.

Dedicated to the Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, A. 1533.

Here also are some good cautions and preservatives against the superstitions of that age.

Ode de Casa Natalitia, et Hymni.

Concerning this Ode see Knight, p. 20.

C. 1324.

In his Hymn to the Holy Angels, he says :

*Ambitu quem triplici triformem
Dextera lævaque frequentiores
Cingitis, quam nocte silente plenam
Sidera Lunam.*

Read,

Ambitu quem vos triplici triformem, &c,

What follows, concerning Satan and the fallen Angels, is very prettily imagined and expressed, and truly poetical.

*Invidet vestræ Miser ille forti,
Eminus sedes quoties ademtas
Suspicit frendens, et inauspicati
Pœnitet ausus.*

*Vespero quondam similis rubenti,
Inter æternos rutilabat ignes,
At simul Regis diadema miles
Ambiit audax,*

*Jam pares volvens animo cathedras,
Flammeo telo, grege cum sequaci
Ictus, ejectusque, rudem ruina
Terruit orbem.*

Excipit partim cava Styx ruentes,

VOL. II.

D d

Abditur

Abditur lucis bona pars opacis,
 Curſitat magnum per inane multo
 Plurima turba :

Denſior quam Cecropiis in hortis,
 Tinnulos æris crepitus ſecuta,
 Evolant examina, quamque cœlo
 Decidit imber.

An Ode in praise of Joachim and Anna,

Then follows :

Liturgia Virginis Lauretanæ.

Dedicated to Theobaldus Bietricius, A. 1525.

Divæ Genovefæ Carmen Votivum.

See Life of Erasmus, p. 14.

Commentarius in Hymnos Prudentii de Natali Jeſu, et de Epiphania Jeſu.

Dedicated to Margaret Roper, A. 1524.

Chriſtiani hominis inſtitutum.

Epitaphium Odiliæ, &c.

T O M U S VI.

NOVUM TESTAMENTUM.

PRÆFATIO JOANNIS CLERICI.

EN tibi, Lector, ſextum Operum Deſ. Eraſmi Volumen, quo continetur ejus Verſio Latina Novi Teſtamenti, Græco contextui addita, una cum Adnotationibus. Verum cum in prioribus Editionibus numeri commatum, qui ſunt quærentibus quidpiam commodiſſimi, non eſſent additi, et Græcis et Latinis eos hic diligenter addi curavit Bibliopola. Præterea Adnotationes Eraſmi, quæ erant ad calcem ſubjectæ, nec niſi difficulter cum contextu Græco, ejusque Verſione Eraſmiana conferri poterant, nunc paginis ſingulis ſubjectæ facile ſeſe legendas præbent. Ne miretur tamen Lector, minus in Operibus Eraſmi verſatus, verba, quæ ſingulis Adnotationibus illuſtranda præ-
 4
 figun-

figuntur, non inveniri in iis locis Versionis, ubi numeri conspiciuntur; sciat oportet Erasmus Adnotationes suas, non in suam ipsius Versionem scripsisse, sed in Translationem Vulgatam. Numeros tamen ad Versionem Erasmi referendos existimavimus, ut eæ Translationes commodius inter se conferri possent. Post Canones Eusebianos Bibliopola etiam adjicienda curavit nonnulla, quæ non erant in Editione Frobeniana, anni 1540. sed quæ in alia antiquiore Novi Testamenti Erasmi invenit. Ea sunt Summa totius Scripturæ, et Index rerum, quæ in Novo Testamento leguntur. Hæc si ab ipso Erasmo confecta non sint, attamen, eo volente et probante, videntur olim illi Editioni adjecta, sunt enim bona et utilia. Præterea cum inventa essent in Editione Basilienfi anni 1522. additamenta alia nonnulla elegantia et frugifera, quæ non comparent in aliis, resecta, ut opinor, ob causas quas adsequi difficile non est; nec easdem causas nunc haberemus eorum omittendorum, non immerito visum est Bibliopolæ ea post Auctoris dedicationem ad Leonem X. Pontif. Max. addere. Laudandus sane propterea est, quod ramenta omnia divitis venæ studiose undequaque collegerit, ut eorum usum communioem toti Reipublicæ Literariæ faceret. Quam in rem, nullis laboribus, aut sumtibus pepercit, dignusque est ideo, cui omnes Reipublicæ Literariæ cives ex animo faveant.

Si de præstantia Operis, ex multitudine editionum, iudicium ferri possit, præstantissimum hoc Volumen fuisse oportet, quod toties editum est, ut nullius lucubrationes in Novum Testamentum tam sæpe sint recusæ. Ac sane primus omnium vidit Erasmus quomodo restituendum, illustrandumque esset Novum Testamentum. Primum enim varias lectiones ex MSS. Codicibus, et SS. Patribus, ex quarum collatione vera constitui posset, sat diligenter collegit. Translationem etiam novam, cum antiqua minus Latina, et obscura nimis esset, elegantiores et clariorem multo totius Novi Testamenti, summo labore, perfecit. Denique ex Linguae Græcæ usu, consensuque eorundem Patrum, sententiam dictorum, quoad potuit, tradidit; nec alius quisquam ejus ætate melius id, quod adgressus est, præstare potuisset. Scio esse viros doctissimos, qui dixerint Erasmus nimis diligenter collegisse varias lectiones locorum, ubi sermo est de divinitate Christi, iisque, qui eam negant, viam munivisse. Quare eum occulti Arianismi suspectum facere voluerunt. Verum ad dogma ipsum quod attinet, ita se ipse in Apologiis, quæ nono Volumine continentur, defendit, ut ei heterodoxum quidquam tribui mera nunc calumnia esset. Ad varias autem illas lectiones

tiones quod attinet, si vera sunt quæ dicit de MSS. Codicibus, Patri-
busque, apud quos aliter loca nonnulla legantur, nihil est quod illi suc-
censeamus; neque enim nobis fas est mendaciis veritatem tueri, quæ
fane iis non indiget. Quod si nos fefellisset, ostendendum id esset; quod
factum non video. Itaque cum nobis sit magna suppetat locorum et ar-
gumentorum copia, quibus Arianismum confutemus, quamvis sit ali-
qua varietas, nonnullis in verbis, siue apud Patres, siue apud priscos co-
dices; utamur iis rationibus, quibus nihil dubium est ^t admissum, du-
biaque, prout sunt, relinquamus, et Erasmo gratias potius habeamus,
quod nos de iis, quæ tuto urgeri non possunt, fideliter monuerit, tot-
que et tantis laboribus genuinam sacrorum oraculorum sententiam ape-
rire conatus sit, et vero etiam feliciter ut plurimum aperuerit. Utere
igitur, Lector, hoc Opere, in usus tuos commodius multo quam antea
disposito, magnoque viro eas grates rependito, quas potes et debes, be-
nigna æstimatione ejus Operum; laudibusque, quasi flosculis, æter-
num hoc ingenii ejus monumentum nobiscum spargito.

Then follow:

The approbation of Leo X. addressed to Erasmus, A. 1518.

The Dedication to Leo X. A. 1516.

A Preface to the third edition of the year 1524.

It contains an exhortation to piety, and to the study of the Scrip-
tures.

Paraclesis.

An exhortation of the same kind, in which he recommends even to
the lowest of the people, the perusal of the Scriptures translated into vul-
gar languages.

Epistola de Philosophia Evangelica.

Of the causes and ends for which Christianity was revealed.

Solæcismi per Interpretem admissi.

A specimen of the gross faults in the Vulgate.

Loca obscura, &c. Loca depravata, &c.

A specimen of faults, in the editions of the Vulgate, which are not
to be imputed to the Translator, but crept into the copies.

‡ F. admissum.

Ad placandos eos, &c.

Faults in the Vulgate, omissions, commissions, &c.

Apologia.

He defends himself against his ignorant calumniators, and gives some account of his labours on the New Testament.

De Duabus Postremis Editionibus, Quarta et Quinta, Erasmus pio Lectori S. D.

A refutation of the cavillers who had censured his New Testament.

In Annotationes Novi Testamenti Præfatio.

In this Preface he gives a hint, which may be of service to those who study the New Testament in a critical way.

Si Christi sermones exstarent Hebraicis aut Syriacis, hoc est, iisdem verbis prodi, quibus ille locutus est, cui non cordi foret in illis philosophari, et non solum verborum vim ac proprietatem, verum singulos etiam apices excutere?

*Eusebii Canones.**Summa totius Sacræ Scripturæ.**Index vocabulorum, &c.**Vita Matthæi, Marci, Lucæ, Joannis, per Hieronymum.**Vita Matthæi, Græce, per Sophronium.**In Matthæum Proæmium Theophylacti, Græce.*

In the Edition of Leyden, for Θεοφύλαξ read Θεοφύλακξ.

*Novum Testamentum.**Index in Annotationes N. T.*

Matt. III. 16.

Col. xxi. Not. 22.

Quum essemus proxime Brugis, qua non alia civitas hodie florentior, aut bonorum ingeniorum feracior, in omnium celeberrimo congressu, cum aliorum Principum innumerabilium, tum præcipue Caroli Cæsaris semper augusti, et R. D. Thomæ Cardinalis Eboracensis, scrutati sumus Bibliothecam vetustissimi Collegii, vulgo dicti, Sancti Donatiani: quod hodieque veteris eruditionis ac disciplinæ non pauca tenet vestigia. Ibi reperimus Evangeliorum codices complures, &c. Horum nobis

nobis copia facta est per omni virtutum genere præcellentem Marcum Laurinum, ejus Collegii Decanum. Habebat ea Bibliotheca complures alios libros antiquitatis venerandæ, qui neglectu quorundam perierunt, *ut nunc ferme sunt Sacerdotum mores magis incumbere patinis quam paginis, et potiolem habere curam nummorum quam voluminum.*

Matt. XI. 27. Col. LV. N. 25.

Here he disputes against a man, whom he represents as a vile calumniator, and who, I suppose, was Aleander. See Life of Erasmus, p. 407.

Matt. XI. 30. C. LXIII. N. 44.

He complains of the intolerable load of human impositions and decisions, of multiplying articles of faith, of the manifold corruptions in the Church, of Monks, fastings, festivals, excommunications, &c.

Matt. XII. 32.

— *Whosoever speaketh against the holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him.*

Erasmus in his Paraphrase on this verse, tom. VII. C. 73. interprets it: *vix inveniet veniam.* Bishop Latimer understood it in the same manner. See Strype's *Memor.* vol. ii. p. 70.

Matt. XV. 5. C. LXXXI. N. 6. and XXIII. 14.

He takes occasion to censure the Monks, who used to persuade superstitious people to leave their estates to what was called *pious uses*, and to injure their own families, and their lawful heirs. Erasmus took care, when he died, that none of these Harpies should finger any of his money.

Matt. XIX. 12. C. C. N. 12.

There are, says he, three sorts of Eunuchs :

Tertium, qui volentes ob regnum Dei sese continent. In qua classe ponemus eorum genus, qui vel arte vel metu detruduntur in cœlibatum, ut scortari liceat, uxorem ducere non liceat: adeo ut si profiteantur concubinam, sint catholici Sacerdotes; si uxorem dici malint, conjiciantur in ignem. Mea sententia clementius tractarent suos liberos parentes, si quos cœlibatui destinassent, pueros etiamnum curarent educandos, quam si integros nolentes aut inscios conjicerent in hoc incendium libidinis.

Matt.

Matt. XXII. 42. C. CXIII. N. 37.

Observing how they who studied the Hebrew language, differed from one another in the interpretation of Hebrew words, he says :

Addam ridiculum quiddam : A duobus locus hic fuit impetitus, quorum prior confessus est apud Hebræos sic haberi, quemadmodum ego notaram, alter affirmat contra haberi, uterque se profitetur scire Hebraice, et uterque suam sententiam scriptis evulgavit, et interim Erasmus vocatur intractabilis, qui diffidat talibus monitoribus. Atque ego sane vix unquam duos vidi, qui in re Hebraica consentirent, sive hoc linguæ, sive hominum est vitium.

Matt. XXIII. 1. C. CXVII. N. 1.

He lashes the Bishops of his days :

— *Nunc* quoque fortassis audiendus sit Episcopus, qui recte doceat Evangelium, etiamsi ipse parum Evangelice vivat. Cæterum quis ferat eos adversus Christi doctrinam, pro suo commodo fixis ac refixis legibus, meram tyrannidem exercentes in populum, suoque quæstu ac majestate mentientes omnia ? Qui constitutiunculis ad quæstum^a ad tyrannidem ex-cogitatis irretiunt populum, non sedent in cathedra Evangelica, sed in cathedra Simonis Magi, aut Caiphæ. Atque hoc ita dictum sit de malis Episcopis, qui utinam nulli sint usquam, ut bonorum auctoritati nulla in parte derogetur.

Matt. XXIII. 5. C. CXVIII. N. 4.

He reproves the modern Scribes, Pharisees, and Relique-mongers :

Quid dicturus sit (Hieronimus) si videat hodie passim ad quæstum ostentari lac Mariæ, quod honore propemodum æquant corpori Christi consecrato ? prodigiosum oleum, fragmentula ligni crucis, tam multa, ut si in acervum redigantur, vix una navis oneraria vehat : hic ostentari Francisci cucullam, illic intimam vestem Mariæ Virginis, alibi pectinem Annæ, alibi caligam Joseph, alibi calceum Thomæ Cantuariensis, alibi Christi præputium : quod cum sit res incerta, religiosius adorant quam totum Christum. Neque vero hæc ita proferuntur tanquam ferenda, et plebeculæ donanda affectibus, verum huc fere, summa religionis vocatur, avaritia Sacerdotum, et Monachorum quorundam hypocrisi, quos alit populi stultitia. Atque in hisce comœ-

^a Perhaps ac.

diis primas agunt Episcopi quidam factitii, ne nusquam valere videantur; hæc suis diplomatis approbant, suis condonationibus ornant, tanta gravitate, ut quoties mihi legitur istorum comprobatio, minus credam quam antea credebam. —

Matt. XXIV. 23. C. cxxv. N. 23.

Audimus Monachos passim clamantes (de superstitionis loquor, non de piis) *Ecce Christus hic est*, nec hos tamen inter se consentire. Observantes dicunt, apud Coletas et Conventuales non est Christus, sed hic est. Jacobitæ clamant, *Hic est Christus*; apud Augustinienses non est. Rursus Benedictini clamant, *Hic est Christus*; non apud Mendicantes. Denique clamat hoc genus omne, *Hic est Christus*; apud Sacerdotes qui cucullam non gestant, Christus non est. Tot undique voces obstrepunt clamantium, *Hic est Christus*. Sed quid ait ipse Christus? *Nolite credere, &c.*

Matt. XXVII. 45. C. cxliv. N. 49.

Neque enim illæ tenebræ occupabant universum terrarum orbem, ut meo judicio recte sentit Origenes, sed Judæam duntaxat, aut terram Hierosolymitanam, &c.

See also tom. ix. C. 619. and his note on *Acts*, C. 503.

Marc. VI. 3. C. clxxi. N. 1.

Curatum est a Spiritu Sancto ne multa proderentur literis de rebus externis Domini Jesu, veluti de forma habituque corporis, de cibis ac vestibus, ne mentibus hominum ad superstitionem pronis daretur occasio: quandoquidem ex hoc, quod Evangelistæ tradunt Jesum fuisse fabri filium ac fabrum ipsum, exortum est genus hominum, qui *Jesuitæ* vocari volunt, quod in Monasteriis fabrilem artem exercent, malleumque gerunt pro insigni. —

Marc. VI. 9. C. clxxii. N. 9.

He scourges the Mendicant Monks, and says that Christ was no Mendicant. See also C. 231. N. 15.

Marc. X. 43. C. clxxxix. N. 28.

Qui ex hoc loco contendunt ignem apud inferos esse materiale, necesse est ut fateantur illic et vermem esse materiale. Quod si hic tropum admittunt, vermem interpretantes remorsum conscientiae, pote-

* This was the first order of *Jesuits*, which is, I believe, but little known.

rant et per ignem accipere perpetuum cruciatum animæ; in quem sensum hunc locum interpretatur Theophylactus.

Luc. III. 14. C. CCXLII. N. 17.

He speaks against going to war.

Luc. VII. 4. C. CCLVIII. N. 4.

Aa eundem modum et hodie quidam, quæstui prætexentes pietatem adulantur divitibus: Benigne largitur Fratribus, extruxit nobis Monasterii partem, favet Ordini nostro, tantum legavit, fraudatis etiam liberis. Quasi quod illis datur, fortassis ad luxum, Deo detur. Hæc non eo spectant, ut damnem benignitatem in Monachos, præsertim pios, sed ut admoneam quosdam nihil aliud agentes, quam ut captent divites.

Luc. XI. 3. C. CCLXXVI. N. 1.

Panem quotidianum. Atqui non est Græce *quotidianum*, sed ἐπιούριον, quod magis sonat *crastinum*. Non enim petunt comineatum in multos annos, sed tantum in proximum diem. Et qui vesperi orat pro victu postridiano, quid aliud petit quam victum quotidianum?

Luc. XIV. 15. C. CCXCII. N. 7.

Ὁς φάγεται. *Qui manducabit.* Potest accipi, *qui manducat*, &c.

“*Erasmus* was deceived, when he denieth φαγεῖναι to be used in the future; and in the same place he holdeth that φάγομαι, πίομαι, be present, not future, whereas they are future only, and not present.” *Laur. Humphrey.* In *Strype's Life of Parker*, *Append.* p. 142.

Luc. XXII. 36. C. CCCXVII. N. 19.

This Note is a Dissertation against war.

Joan. I. 1. C. CCCXXV. N. 2.

He defends himself for translating λόγος, *Sermo*, and not *Verbum*.

Joan. XIV. 26. C. CCCXVIII. N. 22.

Here Erasmus condemns the barbarous way, in which the Ecclesiastics and others pronounced *Christus*, *Kyrie eleeson*, &c. and proposeth some rules concerning pronounciation. He observes that the Italians, the Germans, the French, and the Dutch, spake Latin with such different sounds, that they could not understand one another.

Joan. XXI. 22. C. ccccxxi. N. 15.

— *Et tamen hi se jactant absolutos Theologos, nec minus sibi videntur pii quam docti, abominandum facinus arbitantes, si pro scaro vescantur ovilla, et meram religionem esse ducunt, si bene monentem sic calumnientur. Tale Sanctorum genus gignunt nobis linum et lana, corium et pannus, pisces et fabæ, nigror et albor, nomina et tituli. Excitet Dominus spiritum suum in omnibus.*

Act. II. 8. C. ccccxli. N. 12.

Probabilius est autem Apostolos sua lingua fuisse loquutos, et miraculo factum ut nemo non intelligeret, perinde ac si suam quisque linguam audisset. Nec unquam legimus hoc miraculi accidisse alias, nisi forte semel atque iterum, &c.

This is a strange notion of Erasmus, which he hath often repeated. Arnobius hath one no less extravagant, and of the same kind, when he says of our Saviour; Unus fuit e nobis, qui cum unam emitteret vocem, ab diversis populis, et dissona oratione loquentibus, familiaribus verborum sonis et suo cuique utens existimabatur eloquio? Lib. i. p. 27.

Grotius on Acts, II. 3 insinuates, that he thought the gift of tongues to be temporary, and says: — quoties negotium ipsis esset cum Gentibus lingue alterius. Prophetis prophetia raro aderat cum Deus vellet (read, aderat nisi cum Deus vellet) neque certi erant prophetæ quando eam essent habituri.

Act. V. 14 C. cccclv. N. 12.

Ipsæ spectavi primum Bononiæ, deinde Romæ, Julium Pontificem Romanum, ejus nominis secundum, splendidissimos agentem triumphos, ac prorsus tales, ut cum Pompeianis aut Cæsarianis triumphis conferri possent. Verum quid illi ad Petri majestatem, non armis, non copiis, non machinis, non auro, sed sola fide totum orbem in sui miraculum convertentis? atque eadem magnificentia et hodie sequeretur Apostolorum successores, si pares essent spiritu.

Act. VI. 6. C. cccclix. N. 9.

Rabanus admonet hunc esse modum in conferendis sacris ordinibus, ut populus eligat, Episcopus ordinet. Ea certe consuetudo diutissime perseveravit in Ecclesia, verum ob tumultus populares recte mutata est.

Act.

Act. VII. 51. C. CCCCLXIV. N. 34.

Cæterum apparet orationem Stephani clamoribus obstrepentium Judæorum interruptam fuisse. Neque enim satis alioqui respondet hic finis tam alte repetito principio, præsertim cum in ea multa sint, quæ non ita multum pertinere videantur ad id quod instituit.

Act. X. 16. C. CCCCLXXIV. N. 16.

Per ter. Ἐπὶ τρις. Ex hoc solœcismo natus est, opinor, Apologus qui vulgo fertur non infestivus. Sacerdos quispiam rusticanæ plebis rusticior pastor, cum primum esset baptizaturus infantem, ac in libro unde solennia verba pronunciabat, minio adscriptum offenderet, *Salta per ter*, quibus verbis Librarius admonebat, tres retro paginas esse revolvendas, mox jussit, ut ædituus adduceret hastile, quo crux imposita circumfertur. Eo accepto, *Bene sit*, inquit, *antehac nunquam idem expertus sum, sed ita res postulat*: et hastili innixus, apsidem faxeam ter tranfiliit, atque ita, recepto codice, reliqua peregit.

Act. X. 38. C. CCCCLXXVI. N. 33.

The Apostles, says he, did not speak and write Greek correctly and politely. See Life of Erasmus, p. 142.

Act. XVIII. 34. C. DIII. N. 50.

Speaking of the works of Dionysius the Areopagite, a spurious and a ridiculous book, he says:

Ante complures annos, ut memini, vir incomparabilis Gulielmus Grocinus, ut Theologus summus, ita in nulla disciplina non exquisitè doctus et exercitatus, auspicaturus Londini in æde Divo Paulo sacra enarrationem cœlestis hierarchiæ, meditata præfatione multum asseveravit hoc opus esse Dionysii Areopagitæ, vehementer destomachans in eorum impudentiam, qui dissentirent. At idem priusquam operis dimidium confecisset, ubi gustum attentius cepisset, ingenue coram auditorio confessus est, sibi verò calculo non videri id opus esse Dionysii Areopagitæ.

Act. XIX, 18. C. DVII. N. 8.

Vel hinc colligi potest fuisse et antiquitus nonnullam confessionem male actæ vitæ, sed apertam, ut opinor, et in genere, quam nec ipsam legimus exactam abs quoquam. Cæterum quæ nunc recepta est clancularia, et in aurem fit, videtur ex consultationibus privatis esse

nata, quæ solent apud Episcopos fieri, si qui scrupulus urgeret animum.

Act. XX. 13. C. DXII. N. 13.

Per terram iter factururus. Πεζεύειν — *pedestri itinere venturus, sive pedibus iter factururus.* Interpres vitasse videtur, ne quis Paulum existimaret, non equis aut vehiculis, sed pedibus eo venisse. Atqui hoc ipsum accedebat ad Pauli gloriam, quod mallet iter laboriosius, modo majore cum fructu.

The old Interpreter translated it right. In our version it is, to go afoot. It should be, to go by land. πεζεύειν means to go by land; whether on foot, or on horseback, or in a waggon, it matters not. Cicero ad Attic. Ep. X. 4. Me tamen consilio juva, pedibusne Rhægium, an hinc statim in navem. Where see Grævius.

Act. XX. 35. C. DXIV. N. 33.

Beatum est dare potius quam accipere.

Utinam hunc animum Pauli tam excelsum et ab omni specie quæstus abhorrentem imitarentur nostri temporis concionatores. Fuit aliquis qui sibi in omnem vitam interdixit esum carniū, inveniuntur qui imitentur: fuit qui semper nudis incesse- rit pedibus, habet imitatores: fuit qui fune se cinxerit, non desunt qui studiose æmulentur: fuit qui semper pullatus incesse- rit, reperit æmulatores: solum hoc pulcherrimum exemplum Pauli non habet æmulos.

Act. XXI. 39. C. DXVIII. N. 23.

Porro quantumvis fuit celebris aliis nominibus Tarsus, nullo tamen insignior, quam quod illi Paulum debemus, usque adeo præcipuum Christianæ philosophiæ præconem ac propugnatorem, ut ni ille nobis divino munere contigisset, periculum fuisset futurum ne Christiani omnes in servilem illam et humilem Moysis legem relaberentur. Quamquam nunc quoque ratione magis quam numero ceremoniarum ab illis differimus: eo Christus progressu temporum recidit!

C. DXLVII.

This is a Dissertation on the scope of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans,

Rom.

Rom. I. 4. C. DLIV. N. 5.

He speaks handsomely of Thomas Aquinas :

Dictu mirum est, quam se torqueat hoc loco Thomas Aquinas, vir alioqui non suo tantum seculo magnus. Nam meo quidem animo nullus est recentium Theologorum, cui par sit diligentia, cui sanius ingenium, cui solidior eruditio : planeque dignus erat, cui linguarum quoque peritia, reliquaque bonarum literarum supellex contingeret, qui iis quæ per eam tempestatem dabantur tam dextre sit usus.

Rom. V. 12. C. DLXXXV. N. 14.

In a long note, he contends that *Original sin* is not to be proved from this passage. It is no wonder that these remarks of his gave offence ; for there is so very great a scarcity and poverty of texts to confirm this doctrine, that it is not at all convenient to yield up those, which are nothing to the purpose.

Rom. V. 14. C. DXCI. N. 17.

De infantibus non videtur agere Paulus, nec ea quæstio tunc movebatur, quum nondum esset receptum infantes baptizari.

Rom. IX. 5. C. DCX. N. 8.

Christus --- qui est super omnia Deus, &c.

Hic locus non est efficax ad revincendos Arianos, quando nihil vetat quo minus ad Patris personam referatur, &c.

Rom. XVI. 14. C. DCLIII. N. 16.

Herman. Origenes arbitratur hunc Hermen esse auctorem libri apocryphi, cui titulus *Pastor*. — Mira fuit in his Veterum vel credulitas vel civilitas, qui tantum tribuerint libris quos titulo Clementis habemus, quum in his tam manifestus appareat fucus hominis qui talia scripsit.

1 Cor. III. 8. C. DCLXX. N. 10.

Si divus Paulus ita stomachatur adversus Corinthios, quod ab his mutuarentur cognomina, a quibus baptismum acceperant, et Christi mysteriis primum erant initiati, quid diceret de nostræ tempestatis factionibus, qua mille cognomentis, mille cultibus, ceremoniis, regulis

lis inter sese diffident, qui vocantur religiosi? Quibus ex rebus quantum Christianæ concordiae nascatur inter hos, non libet hic commemorare.

I Cor. III. 12. C. DCLXXI. N. 14.

He will not allow that the doctrine of Purgatory can be collected from this passage.

I Cor. VII. 1. C. DCLXXXV. N. 3.

Ætate Pauli, quum inter innumeros Ethnicos perpauca essent Christiani, fortasse commodius erat abstinere a matrimonio: nunc mutatis rebus haud scio an magis expediat sanctum connubium, et immaculatum torum sancte pureque colere, etiam sacerdotibus, si qui non continent, quando horum tam ingens ubique numerus est, rursus tanta raritas caste viventium.

I Cor. VII. 39. C. DCXCII. N. 42.

This note contains a Dissertation concerning divorce, which he thought was too rigidly refused to some persons, who had a fair claim to it.

I Cor. VII. 39. C. DCXCVI. B.

In Actis Apostolorum, solenni celebrique Concilio decretum ac promulgatum est, ut qui ex Paganismo cooptarentur in Christianos, abstinere ab idolothytiis, a suffocato animante, a sanguine et a stupro. Conciliabulum dici non potest tam frequens coetus; acephalum dici non potest, ubi Petrus aderat ipse. Et tamen quod ibi decretum est, adeo est antiquatum ut nunc Judaizare crederetur, qui abhorreret a gallina suffocata, aut fartis sanguine distentis. Nec lædimus interim Apostolicam majestatem, tantum excusamus hoc ad tempus fuisse constitutum, ob placandos Judæorum animos. Paulus vetat Episcopum fieri qui neophytus sit, aut percussor, aut vinolentus. At hodie Romanus Pontifex vel heri baptizatum, vel piratam publicum admittet ad honorem Episcopalem, si videatur, nihil deterritus Paulina constitutione. In synaxi Transubstantiationem sero definivit Ecclesia: diu satis erat credere si sub pane consecrato, si quocumque modo adesse verum corpus Christi. Ubi rem propius contemplata est, ubi exactius expendit, certius præscripsit. Non erant hæretici qui olim credidissent Spiritum Sanctum a Patre duntaxat procedere, et haud scio, an maxima pars

pars Christianorum primitus ita crediderit. Expensa re, definiit Ecclesia, quod hodie sequimur. Idem videtur accidisse in conceptione beatæ Virginis, si tamen hoc Ecclesia sic definiit, ut hæreticus sit habendus qui dubitet: nam mihi nondum satis liquet, etiamsi sunt qui predicent hoc esse definitum in Concilio Basiliensi. Hic rursus oritur dubitatio gemina, an valeant omnia in eo Concilio acta, tum quibus verbis et quo animo hoc sit definitum. Quod si ut articulus fidei, quid fit et Dominicanis, quorum plerique persistunt in diversa sententia? Sunt hujus generis alia multa. Nemo Priscorum audebat clare pronunciare Spiritum Sanctum esse Patri Filioque *homusion*, ne tum quidem, quum quæstio de Filio tanta contentione per universum orbem ageretur. Quin in epinicio, quod post Arianos profligatos canere cœpit Ecclesia, quod tribuitur Filio, *Lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero*, non idem dilucide tribuitur Spiritui Sancto. Nunc audemus profiteri, Spiritum Sanctum *homusion* Patri et Filio, et Deum verum de Patre Deo vero, et de Filio Deo vero. &c.

1 Cor. XII. 3. C. DCCXIX. N. 4.

Ex hoc capite et proximo licet conjicere, quæ fuerint dotes illius veteris Ecclesiæ Christianæ, priusquam tot cæremoniis, opibus, imperiis, copiis, bellis, aliisque id genus esset onerata. Nunc fere tot præclarissima ad unam potestatem redacta sunt, hoc est, Christi titulo palliatam tyrannidem. Quid enim est aliud potestas, nisi adsit animus Apostolicus?

1 Cor. XIV. 19. C. DCCXXXI. N. 26.

Hac in re mirum, quam mutata sit Ecclesiæ consuetudo. Paulus mavult quinque verba in sensu, quam decem millia in spiritu. At nunc in nonnullis regionibus totos dies psallitur spiritu, nec modus, nec finis cantionum: quum vix intra sex menses audiatur concio salubris, adhortans ad veram pietatem: id enim Paulus vocat, *in sensu loqui*. Ut omittam interim hujusmodi musices genus inductum esse in cultum divinum, ut ne liceat quidem ullam vocem liquido percipere. Nec iis qui cantillant otium est attendendi quid canant. Tantum vocum tinnitus aures ferit, et mox peritura delectatiuncula mulcet. Ferendum et hoc, nisi vulgus Sacerdotum ac Monachorum in hujusmodi rebus summam constitueret pietatem, multum dissentiens a Paulo. Cur dubitat Ecclesia tantum auctorem sequi? Imo cur audet ab eo dissentire?

Quid

Quid aliud auditur in Monasteriis, in Collegiis, in Templis ferme omnibus, quam vocum strepitus? Atqui ætate Pauli non cantus erat, sed pronunciatio duntaxat. Vix a posterioribus receptus est cantus, sed talis ut nihil aliud esset, quam distincta modulataque pronunciatio, cuiusmodi superest etiamnum apud nos, qua sonamus in canone sacro Pre-cationem Dominicam: et linguam, qua hæc canebatur, vulgus adhuc promiscuum intelligebat, respondens Amen. Nunc vulgus quid aliud audit quam voces nihil significantes? et talis est fere pronunciatio, ut nec voces exaudiantur, sonitus tantum aures feriat. Atque hæc primum specie pietatis recepta, paulatim eo processerunt, ut Psalmorum, cantionum, sacrorum, mortualiorum neque modus sit ullus, neque finis, quod sentiamus hinc accrescere proventibus nostris. Quodque gravius est, ad hæc præstanda Sacerdotes adstringuntur arctioribus pene vinculis, quam ad ea quæ præcipit Christus. Ad hæc audienda cogitur populus, depulsus ab opera, qua liberos alit et uxorem, qua re quid esse potest sanctius? Habeant sane templa solennes cantus, sed moderatos. Ad eadem cogimur privatim occupati, et publicum chorum in navibus, in vehiculis, in pandochiis nobiscum circumferimus. Ex his observatis aut neglectis, pii aut impii judicamur. Est quispiam Crasso avarior, Zoilo maledicentior, vir tamen pius habetur, quod clara voce sonet eas preculas, etiamsi nihil intelligat. Obsecro quid sentiunt de Christo, qui credunt illum huiusmodi vocum strepitu delectari? Nec his contenti, operosam quandam ac theatricam musicam in sacras ædes induximus, tumultuosum diversarum vocum garritum, qualem non opinor in Græcorum aut Romanorum theatris unquam auditum fuisse. Omnia tubis, lituis, fistulis, ac sambucis perstreperunt, cumque his certant hominum voces. Audiuntur amatoriarum fœdæque cantilenæ, ad quas scorta mimique saltitant. In sacram ædem velut in theatrum concurritur ad deliniendas aures. Et in hunc usum magnis salariis aluntur organorum opifices, puerorum greges, quorum omnis ætas in perdiscendis huiusmodi gannitibus consumitur, nihil interim bonæ rei discentium. Alitur fordidorum ac levium, ut plerique sunt Dionysiaci, hominum colluvies, ac tantis sumptibus oneratur Ecclesia ob rem pestiferam etiam. Quæso te ut rationem ineas, quot pauperes de vita periclitantes poterant ali cantorum salariis? Hæc adeo placent, ut Monachi nihil aliud agant, præsertim apud Britannos; et quorum cantus debuit esse luctus, hi lascivis hinnitibus et mobili gutture Deum placari credunt. In hunc usum etiam in Benedictinorum Collegiis apud Britannos aluntur ephebi puerique

rique et vocum artifices, qui mane Virgini Matri modulatissimo vocum garritu ac musicis organis sacrum decantent. Hujusmodi choros Episcopi coguntur alere domi. Atque his rebus occupati, nec attingunt bonas literas, nec audiunt quibus in rebus sita sit vera religio. Jam qui crassiores sunt quam ut artem musicam queant perdiscere, non putant satisfieri festo diei, nisi depravatum quoddam cantus genus adhibeant, quod illi *Fauburdum* appellant. Id nec thema præscriptum reddit, nec artis harmonias observat. Ad hæc quum in hoc recepta sit in Ecclesiam musica sobria, quo verborum sensus efficacius influant in animos auditorum, quibusdam hoc quoque pulchrum videtur, si unus aut alter cæteris admixtus ingenti boatu vocis efficiat, ne verbum ullum percipiatur. In hoc indulgetur stultorum affectibus, et ventri consulitur. Cur hæc nobis sola placent, quæ Paulus ceu parvulorum infantiam parcissime vult adhiberi, imo quæ nullo pacto laturus fuerat? Siquidem de sacra lectione loquitur ille, non de theatricis cantiunculis. Psallamus spiritu, sed psallamus Christiane: psallamus parce, magis autem psallamus mente. Loquamur linguis, sed parcius: prophetemus studiofius. Audiatur in primis Prophetæ vox, quæ redarguat impii conscientiam, quæ consoletur dejectos, quæ exstimulet dormitantes, quæ mysteria divini Spiritus proferat: et in hunc usum potius instituatur ætas tenera. Sed satius, opinor, quod institutum est persequi, quam hæc deplorare, haud scio an frustra.

2 Cor. II. 10. C. DCCCLVII. N. 9.

Animadvertendum autem quam paucos Paulus tradiderit Satanæ, et quanto affectu hunc suis commendet, quum nos *ob tres drachmas* effulminemus passim. Nec tamen hunc tradidit Satanæ privata sua auctoritate, sed publico omnium judicio, qui apud nos recta in ignem conjiceretur, &c.

Galat. V. 12. C. DCCCXXIII.

"Οφελον καὶ ἀπόκοψονταί — *I would they were cut off.*

Instead of making remarks on Erasmus and other Commentators, I shall only observe, in three words, that ἀπόκοψονταί may be taken in the reciprocal sense: *Utinam se etiam absciderent.* --- I wish these *circumcisers* would also *cut themselves quite off* from your communion, and leave the Christian Church, where they do more harm than good to themselves and to others.

A learned friend shewed me the same interpretation lately proposed in some foreign Journal.

Ephes. V. 4. C. DCCCL. N. 4.

Scurrilitas. Equidem ut jocos utcunque tolero, modo docti sint et sale conditi: ita non fero quosdam, qui quoties urbani videri volunt, e divinis Literis ad suas ineptias detorquent aliquid. Quod infestivum festivitatis genus impense video placere Monachis quibusdam, ac Sacerdotibus etiam nonnullis, qui si cupiant vel insectari quempiam, Canticum Mariæ, vulgo dictum *Magnificat*, aut Canticum vulgo dictum *Te Deum*, commutatis aliquot verbis, detorquent ad virulentiam. Hujusmodi sales illis merito placent, quibus placet *Catholicon*, *Mammætractus*, et id genus insulsißima glossæmata; quibus arrident frigidissimæ quæstiunculæ, ut ubique sui sint similes, non minus ridiculi dum jocantur, hoc est, dum camelus saltat, quam dum res serias agunt.

The Italians have been much given to this sort of buffoonry, to burlesquing the Scriptures; and the *Pasquinades* are generally of this kind.

Ad Coloss. III. 23. C. DCCCXCIII. N. 42.

— *Sentit* de iis, qui superstitione lacerabant aut mutilabant corpus suum, aut immoderatis jejuniis conficiebant. Manent hujus rei nonnullæ reliquiæ hodieque apud Italos in *Flagellatoribus*, cujusmodi multa commemorat Apuleius in *Asino* suo.

I Ad Tim. I. 6. C. DCCCCXXVI. N. 13.

He gives an excellent specimen of the questions agitated and determined by the School-men:

In vaniloquium. Quantum ad pronunciationem attinet, *Matæologia* non multum abest a *Theologia*, cum res inter se plurimum discrepent. Proinde nobis quoque cavendum est, ne sic sectemur Theologiam, ut in matæologiam incidamus, de frivolis nugis sine fine digladiantes. Ea potius tractemus, quæ nos transforment in Christum, et cælo dignos reddant. Quorsum enim attinet decertare, quot modis accipiatur peccatum, privatio duntaxat sit, an macula inhærens animæ? Hoc potius agat Theologus, ut omnes horreant oderintque peccatum. Totis seculis disputamus, an gratia, qua Deus nos diligit ac trahit, et qua nos illum vicissim diligimus, eadem sit gratia, et an sit aliquid creatum an

an increatum. Illud potius agamus, puris precibus, innocentia vitæ, piis factis, ut eo munere nos dignetur Deus. Digladiamur sine fine, quid distinguat Patrem a Filio, et utrumque a Spiritu Sancto, res, an relatio, et quæ consistat, tres dici, quorum nullus sit qui alius, cum sint una essentia. Quanto magis ad rem pertinet hoc modis omnibus agere, ut ternionem illum, cujus majestatem scrutari fas non est, pie sancteque colamus et adoremus, illiusque concordiam ineffabilem nostra concordia quoad licet exprimamus, quo contingat aliquando et in illius adscisci consortium. Disputamus qui fieri possit, ut ignis, quo cruciabuntur impiorum animæ, cum sit materialis, agat in rem incorpoream. Quanto magis referebat, huc totis viribus eniti, ne quid in nobis reperiat ignis ille, qualis qualis est, quod exurat? Atque hæc si vel animi laxandi gratia, vel citra contentionem agitentur, ferri poterant. Nunc quibusdam tota ætas in hujusmodi quæstionibus consumitur, et res usque ad clamorem, usque ad vera diffidia, usque ad convicia, nonnunquam usque ad pugnos procedit. Quot quæstionum examina suscitamus circa baptismum, circa synaxim, circa pœnitentiæ sacramentum, quorum nonnulla sunt ejusmodi, ut nec scire magnopere referat, et ut asseverari possunt, ita nec refelli, nec probari? Illud magis ad rem pertinebat, in hoc incumbere, ad hoc nos invicem adhortari, ut vita Christo digna baptismi sacramento respondeamus, ut ad sacras illas epulas frequenter ac pure accedamus, ut non multum sit in vita, quod pœnitentiæ cauterio sit exurendum. Quid autem nunc loquar de quæstiunculis non solum supervacaneis, sed pene dixerim impiis, quas movemus de potestate Dei, de potestate Romani Pontificis? An Deus possit quodvis malum, etiam odium sui præcipere, et omne bonum prohibere, etiam amorem et cultum sui. An possit actu infinitum secundum omnem dimensionem producere. An potuerit hunc mundum etiam ab æterno meliorem facere quam fecit. An possit producere hominem, qui peccare nullo modo queat. An revelare possit alicui suum futurum peccatum, aut damnationem. Num possit aliqua distincte intelligere, si ad illa non habeat distinctas relationes rationis. An possit respectum producere sine fundamento et termino. An possit naturam universalem producere et conservare sine singularibus. An possit aliquo prædicamento contineri. An potestatem creandi possit communicare creaturæ. An possit ex facto facere infectum: ac per hoc ex meretrice facere virginem. An quælibet persona divina possit quamlibet naturam assumere, quomodo Verbum humanam assumpsit. An tres personæ possint simul eandem

naturam assumere. An unum suppositum creatum possit alteram naturam creatam assumere. An hæc propositio, Deus est scarabæus, aut cucurbita, tam possibilis sit, quam hæc, Deus est homo. An Deus assumerit individuum humanum, an speciem. An potius conveniat Deo, non posse facere impossibile, an impossibile non posse fieri a Deo. Utrum prius conveniat Deo posse producere, an creaturæ posse produci. An in mente divina sint omnium rerum ideæ, et illæ practicæne sint, an speculativæ. An doctrinæ Aristotelicæ et naturali rationi sit consentaneum; denique an ipsa res cogat fateri aliquem esse respectum ab omnibus rebus absolute distinctum. An Deus aliquo ab ipso distincto sit unus. An personæ divinæ vero numero dicantur tres. An numerus personarum in divinis pertineat ad substantiam, an relationem. Et an ad primam intentionem, an secundam. An per relationes et distinguantur et constituentur. An Pater producat Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, ratione intellectus, an voluntatis. Item an ratione essentiæ, an attributi, naturaliter an libere. An essentia in Patre sit principium generativum Filii, et an sit terminus paternæ generationis. An Deus generet Deum. An Pater prius origine producat Spiritum Sanctum quam Filium. An in Deo sit intellectus agens et possibilis. An Spiritus Sanctus procedens a Patre et Filio, ab uno principio proficiscatur, an a duobus. An hæc propositio sit possibilis, Pater Deus odit Filium Deum. An anima Christi potuerit falli, an fallere, an mentiri.

Jam vero de Romani Pontificis potestate pene negotiosius disputatur quam de potestate Dei, dum quærimus de duplici illius potestate, et an possit abrogare quod scriptis Apostolicis decretum est. An possit aliquid statuere, quod pugnet cum doctrina Evangelica. An possit novum articulum condere in fidei Symbolo. Utrum majorem habeat potestatem quam Petrus, an parem. An possit præcipere Angelis. An possit universum Purgatorium, quod vocant, tollere. Utrum simplex homo sit, an quasi Deus, an participet utramque naturam cum Christo. An clementior sit quam fuerit Christus, cum is non legatur quemquam a purgatoriis pœnis revocasse. An solus omnium non possit errare. Sexcenta id genus disputantur magnis editis voluminibus, idque a magnis Theologis, præsertim professione religionis insignibus. Atque hæc fiunt non sine manifesta suspitione adulationis, nec sine injuria Christi, ad quem collati Principes, quantumvis magni, quid aliud sunt quam vermiculi? An putant hæc placere Leoni nostro, germano veroque

roque Christi vicario, qui tanquam verus pastor nihil habet antiquius salute gregis Christiani, ut verus Christi vicarius nihil habet charius gloria principis sui Christi? Et tamen hujusmodi quæstiunculis serio occupantur quorundam Theologorum Scholæ. His ætas rerum omnium fugacissima conteritur, cum pleraque sint ejus generis, ut doctius nesciantur quam sciantur, ut ridicule quærantur, temere definiantur. Breve tempus est, et arduum est negotium agere vere Christianum. Quin igitur omnis rebus supervacaneis, ea potissimum spectamus, quæ Christus nos scire voluit, quæ prodiderunt Apostoli, quæ proprie ad charitatem faciunt, de corde puro, et conscientia bona, et fide non ficta, quam unam Paulus appellat finem et perfectionem totius Legis. Tot jam annis cavillamur in Scholis, quibus verbis sit loquendum de Christo. An hæc propositio sit vera, Christus fuit ab æterno; an recte dicatur compositus ex utraque natura an constare; an conflatus, an commixtus; an conglutinator, an coagmentatus; an ferruminatus, an copulatus. Nihil horum placet, tantum placet *unitus*, novum verbum, cum nihil minus significet, quam hoc cui significando repertum est. Porro si quæreretur, an pie dicamus naturam humanam unitam divinæ, fatentur pie dici. Rursus, an pie dicatur divina unita humanæ, ambigunt. Si hæc essent colloquia pomeridiana Christianorum, probarem hujusmodi sermonibus excludi fabulas ineptas. Nunc hæc videntur fidei nostræ præsidia. Quærimus ea, quæ nec scire possumus, nec scire jubemur. Illa negligimus, quæ sola fuerant meditanda. Sunt autem quædam hoc ipso perniciose, quod obscuritate sua remorantur ac fatigant ingenium, melioribus alioqui rebus occupandum. Talem opinor fuisse philosophiam Pythagoræ. Et hoc nomine taxantur et ab Ethnicis Heracliti libri, in quibus Socrates jocabatur, *Opus est natatore Delio*. Certe hoc nomine Chrysostomus damnat philosophiam Platonis, quod numeris et ænigmatibus sit involuta; non aliter perniciose, quam foret tabula quæpiam elegans, quæ fugientem e prælio remoraretur. Atqui talia ferme sunt, quæ traduntur ab his qui se jactant scientia subtilis Theologiæ: qui etiamsi vera prædicarent, tamen ea explicant verbis non modo sordidis, sed adeo obscuris et involutis, ut tanti non sit sic discere. Quod genus sunt, cum disputant de quatuor instantibus naturæ. Item cum differunt, quod persona non dicit relationem originis, nec communem, sed duplicem negationem communicabilitatis in genere, non extra genus, et connotat aliquid positivum, et est nomen primæ intentionis, non secundæ. Item cum aiunt personas in divinis esse in se invicem per circumincessionem, circum-

circuminceffionem vero vocem novam nove definiunt: Circuminceffio, inquiunt, est subsistentis in subsistente realiter distincto, mutua præsentialitatis assistentia in eadem essentia. Rursus cum definiunt, unio personalis, sive hypostatica, est relatio disquiparantiæ realis quidem in uno extremo cui in altero nulla realis relatio respondet. Item unio Verbi in Christo est relatio extrinsecus adveniens, terminata ad Verbum et fundata in assumpta humanitate, et est ista relatio non dependentis ad causam effectivam, sed sustentificati ad sustentificans. Huiusmodi triarum apud istos plena sunt omnia. Et in hac Theologia tam non simplici vitam omnem consumunt, qui simplicem et Apostolicam profitentur. Et qui ipso cognomine summam modestiam profitentur, huiusmodi philosophiæ professione tollunt cristas. Qui congruit Apostolicæ vitæ professio cum Ethnicæ philosophiæ tanto tamque curioso studio? Os consecratum est Evangelio, et nihil crepat nisi Averroem et Aristotelem. Horretur pecuniæ contactus, et in blasphemi Philosophi libris tota ducitur ætas. Veteres, qui in Paganismo aut per ætatis inscitiam talia didicerant, ex his quædam decerpebant ad eruditionem Christianam. Nunc qui Christi simplicitatem profitentur, et aluntur prædicando Evangelio, talia coguntur perdiscere. Novi quendam Theologum, qui negabat annos novem sufficere ad intelligenda quæ Scotus scripsit tantum in præfationem Petri Lombardi. Audivi rursus alium, qui prædicabat fieri non posse, ut quis intelligeret unam propositionem in toto Scoto, nisi metaphysicam ipsius universam teneret memoria. Huiusmodi labyrinthis Basilides, Valentinus, et Marcion captabant animos simplicium. Denique fingamus hæc esse frugifera, quanta hic occurrit opinionum pugna? Fingamus rursus omnia convenire, quam multa frustra quærentur, quam multa temere definiuntur? Et prætexunt has argutias ad revincendos Ethnicos et Hæreticos esse necessarias: quum illa nusquam sint usui, nisi inter ejusdem Scholæ sodales. Non hæc eo spectant, ut suadeam esse damnandam Dialecticam ac Philosophiam, quæ traduntur in Scholis: immodicum in frivolis studium improbo. Neque minus peccant qui nobis objiciunt fumos Cabalisticos et Talmudicos. Simile est illorum studium, qui philosophiam omnem revocant ad numeros. *Tempus in collecto est*, inquit Paulus, et ingens agitur negotium. Cur placent ista dispendia? Tradantur optima, idque quantum licet compendio; resecentur supervacanea. Quod utinam facerent et Jureconsulti. Quin illud potius agimus, quibus rebus transformemur in Christum. Id fiet, si meditemur pro viribus illius innocentiam, abstinentes ab omni flagitio, si, quantum in nobis est, æmulemur

lemur illius charitatem, de omnibus bene merentes, si imitemur patientiam, adeo non retaliantes injuriam, ut etiam pro malefactis rependamus benefacta.

Such is the *Scholastic Theology*, and such are the *School-men*, whom Erasmus held in contempt, but who still have their friends and admirers; for it is not to be expected that mystical or metaphysical jargon should ever go quite out of fashion. It is a trade which a man may set up at a small expence.

I Tim. II. 9. C. DCCCCXXXII. N. 14.

Amictu modesto. Non satis tutum est hoc præcipere mulierculis, præcipue Britannicis, aut etiam Italis, quæ sua sponte satis comuntur.

I Tim. III. 2. C. DCCCCXXXIII. N. 4.

Unius uxoris virum. — At nunc non solum a tot Presbyteris exigitur castitas, verum etiam matrimonium ab Hypodiaconis contractum dirimitur. Quin id quoque vehementer adstringunt, quod eo seculo, quo summa erat Sacerdotum raritas, instituit Paulus servandum in Episcopis, ut non adiret hunc honorem digamus. Jam enim, cum tot sint Sacerdotum ubique millia, excluduntur a Sacerdotio, qui vel imprudentes duxerint corruptam; imo qui ante baptismum habuerit uxorem, et a baptismo duxerit alteram priore defuncta, arcetur a Sacerdotio, licet hac in parte gnaviter reclamante Hieronymo. Quin illud magis mirum, cum tot egregias dotes requirat Paulus in Episcopo, cæteris prætermiſſis, solius uxoris habetur ratio. Admittitur incestus, admittitur homicida, admittitur pirata, admittitur Sodomita, sacrilegus, parricida, denique quis non? Solus digamus excluditur ab hoc honore, qui solus nihil admisit. Mirum est autem ut quædam urgeamus ac plusquam mordicus teneamus, ad quædam prorsus conniventes. Si quis perpendat horum temporum statum, quotam hominum portionem Monachorum greges occupent, quotam Sacerdotum et Clericorum collegia; deinde perpendat, quam pauci e tanto numero vere servant vitæ castimoniam, tum in quæ libidinum genera quam innumeri devertant, quanto cum probro complures palam incesti sint et impudici, fortassis judicabit magis expedire, ut iis, qui prorsus non continent, jus fiat publici matrimonii, quod absque mala fama, pure sancteque colant, potius quam infeliciter ac turpiter libidinentur. Nunc cœlibes habet mundus quam plurimos, castos perpaucos: quanquam nec is castus est, qui Venerem non attingit, quia non licet. Sed etiam atque etiam vereor, ne
census

census Ecclesiastici castrent hodie Clericos verius quam pietas, dum metuimus, ne quod tenemus intercipiatur, aut certe nihil accedat.

1 Tim. III. 16. C. DCCCCXXXVI. N. 27.

Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη. --- Mihi subolet *Deum* additum fuisse adversus hæreticos Arianos, &c.

The true reading seems to be *μυσήριον*. Ὁ ἐφανερώθη, &c. *Id quod. That which was manifested, &c.*

1 Tim. IV. 14. C. DCCCCXXXVIII. N. 22.

Antiquitus nihil intererat inter Presbyterum, Sacerdotem, et Episcopum, ut testatur et divus Hieronymus. Deinde, propter schisma, e multis delectus est Episcopus.

1 Tim. V. 8. C. DCCCCXL. N. 13.

--- *At* hodie iudicio quorundam summa habetur pietas, si quis, domi relictis liberis et uxore, aut etiam grandævis parentibus, vel Hierosolymas abeat, vel in Monasterium abdat sese, sibi victurus, aut fortassis etiam ventri.

2 Tim. II. 15. C. DCCCCLV. N. 24.

Collatio (inquit Ambrosius) *inter Dei servos esse debet, non altercatio*. --- A qua quidem regula quantum absunt, qui hodie virulentis libellis ac linguis sese lacerant, tam impie crudeles in proximum, quam turpiter adulantes erga Principes, viderint alii.

2 Tim. III. 2. C. DCCCCLVIII. N. 2.

Φίλοι. *Sui amantes*. --- Hugo Carrensis plane Theologice explicuit hanc vocem; cujus equidem verba cum suo flore subscribam: *Sicut, inquit, solet dici de ribaldo, qui, quando magnum frigus est, amplectitur se brachiis, ut sic calefaciat se quoquo modo, et dicitur derisorie, Iste ribaldus multum diligit se, qui sic se amplectitur brachiis*. An non flagitium fustuario dignum, sic nugari in adorandis literis, idque tam indocte, non solum impie? Et tamen hæc legunt attoniti, qui *Moriæ* lusum ferre non possunt. Saltem qui tam impense favent Carrensi, negent hæc ab ipso scripta, sed ab illius sodalibus parum sobriis addita.

2 Tim.

2 Tim. IV. 13. C. DCCCCLXII. N. 21.

O supelleſtilem Apoſtolicam! penulam quæ defendat ab imbribus, et libros aliquot, haud dubie ſacros. Nunc quantum eſt caballorum, quantum bombardarum, quantum aliarum rerum, quas referre non libet.

Tit. III. 10. C. DCCCCLXXIII. N. 14.

Hæreticum devita. Hic locus eſt, quem ſenex quidam Theologus, et in primis ſeverus, in Concilio produxit. Cum veniſſet in quæſtionem, num quis eſſet locus in literis canonicis, qui juberet hæreticum affici ſupplicio capitis, *Devita, devita*, inquit, putans *devitare* Latinis eſſe de vita tollere. Id ne quis ſuſpicietur meum eſſe commentum, accepi ex Joanne Coletto, viro ſpectatæ integritatis, quo præſidente res acta eſt. Eamus nunc et negemus periculolum eſſe errare in verbis. Sic Jureconſulti furem ſuſpendunt, quod lex latronem plecti capite jubet, et Gallorum vulgus furem latronem appellat. Sic Medici frequenter errant, magno capitis noſtri periculo, dum ob inſcitiam vocabulorum venenum porrigunt pro remedio.

Hebr. XI. 1. C. MXII. N. 1.

— *Deblaterat* et alia ferme hujus generis vulgatiffimum Gloſſema in caput De ſumma Trinitate et fide catholica. Quorum eſt illud: *Symbolum dicitur a ſyn, quod eſt ſimul, et bolus morſus: quod ſinguli Apoſtolorum attulerint morſellum ſuum.*

Hebr. XI. 37. C. MXVII. N. 45.

Ἐν μηλώταις, &c.

A French Dominican, who hath written a book on the Antiquities of the Monastic State, hath made ſome remarks on the note of Erasmus upon this verſe. He obſerves that a badger is called *Meles* or *Melis*, and ſometimes *Taxus* by Latin Writers. But the word *Taxus*, in this ſenſe, ſeems to be of recent date. See *Harduin's Pliny*, i. 462. and *Act. Erudit.* XXI. 73.

Hebr. XIII. 24. C. MXXIII. N. 18.

Optime Lector, nihilo minoris velim eſſe tibi hanc Epistolam, quod a multis dubitatum ſit Pauli eſſet, an alterius. Certe cujuſcunque eſt, multis nominibus digna eſt quæ legatur a Chriſtianis. Et ut a ſtylo

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Pauli,

Pauli, quod ad phrasim attinet, longe lateque discrepat : ita ad spiritum ac pectus Paulinum vehementer accedit, &c.

I Pet. V. 3. C. MLV. N. 8.

Præceptum Apostolorum principis in omnibus omnium Episcoporum aulis vel aureis literis oportebat inscribi : Pascite, inquit, gregem ; non opprimite, non expilate : idque non coacte, velut ex officio, sed ex sincero affectu, tanquam patres, neque turpis lucri gratia, quasi præsentiens Ecclesiæ pestem hinc orituram. Denique non dominantes more regum, sed exemplo pascite, benefactis vincite. Nunc Episcoporum vulgus nihil audit ab assentatoribus doctis, nisi dominia, ditiones, gladios, claves, potestates : atque hinc fastus quorundam plusquam regius, sævitia plusquam tyrannica.

So it was, it seems, in the days of Erasmus : but things are altered for the better, not only in our country, but, I believe, in other regions also.

I Joh. V. 7. C. MLXXIX. N. 3.

This text of the *three witnesses in heaven*, was omitted by Erasmus in his first and second edition ; but inserted afterwards, upon the authority of one MS. which is called by him *Codex Britannicus*. But Erasmus suspected that this MS. had been accommodated by the Transcriber to the Latin Version.

This *Codex Britannicus* (which is the *Codex Montfortii*, and the *Manuscript of Dublin*) hath the passage, in the following manner, as I have transcribed it from a manuscript * letter of John Ycard, Dean of Killala :

Οὗτ' ἐσὶν ὁ ἐλθὼν δι' ὕδατος, καὶ αἵματος καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου ἰς χάριν. οὐχ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι μόνον ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ὕδατι καὶ αἵματι. Καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἐστὶ τὸ μαρτυροῦν ὅτι ὁ Χρὶς ἐστὶ ἀλήθεια. ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐνῳ, πῆρ, λόγος καὶ πᾶν ἅγιον, καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς, ἓν εἰσὶ. Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ, πᾶν, ὕδωρ, καὶ αἷμα, εἰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῶν ἀνῶν λαμβάνομεν, ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ θυ μείζων ἐστίν.

* Written August 5. 1720. to the Bishop of Meath ; and sent by the Bishop to Dr. S. Clarke. It is in the hands of Mr. Emlyn.

Concerning

Concerning this contested passage, see Erasmus and Wettstein on the place, and Wettst. *Prolegom.* p. 52. 182. T. Emlyn's works, vol. ii. two letters of Sir I. Newton, printed in 1754. Le Clerc's *Bibl. A. and M.* xviii. p. 404. and Mr. de Missy's Remarks in Dr. Maty's *Journal*, tom. viii. 194. ix. 66. xv. 148.

Simon in his *Dissert. Crit. sur les MSS. du N. T.* hath confuted the silly arguments of Arnauld in defence of this text. This Arnauld had the good luck to be cried up by a Party, and to be esteemed far beyond his literary merits, as it is usual on such occasions.

Maittaire in his *Annal. Typ.* hath also defended this text; but he says nothing that deserves the least notice and regard.

Longerue composed a Dissertation to shew that this passage is spurious: whether he published it, I know not.

C. MCXXIII.

The notes of Erasmus on the Apocalypse are short and slight. He suspected that it was not the work of St. John. See his last note, C. MCXXIII.

DE QUINQUE EDITIONIBUS ERASMI.

LICET Editio N. T. Complutensis Erasmanam integro biennio anteverterit, ejus tamen exemplaria non nisi multis annis postea publicari cœperunt, cum Cardinalis Ximenius ea distrahi nollet, priusquam totius operis Biblici impressio ad finem perducta esset, quod contigit A. 1517. Ulteriore remoram dein iniecit ipse Papa Leo X. qui demum A. 1520. permisit, ut exemplaria venderentur, cui accesserunt et alia, ita ut anno demum 1522. hoc est, post tertiam Erasmanam Editionem ista Complutensis in manus Erasmi perveniret. Cum vero Erasmus non solum edito N. T. magnam sibi simul et laudem et invidiam pepererit, verum etiam cum ejus Editio diu pro norma, tantum non unica, genuini Textus habita fuerit, operæ pretium esse puto, si paulo accuratius examinaverimus, quomodo sese in toto eo negotio vir ille magnus gesserit.

Codex ejus primum prodiit A. 1516. Calendis Martii. Ad hanc Editionem adornandam adhibuit quinque codices, præter eos, qui, ubi ad

7 Wettstenius, *Proleg.* ad N. T.

Acta et Epistolas ventum fuerit, describentur. Operis Typographicis una cum ipso intendit animum Joannes Oecolampadius, cujus hoc ad calcem libri exstat testimonium: *Ego vero, cui hac hieme Theologiæ alioquin apud Basilienses vacaturo felicissima magni Erasmi consuetudo contigit, non possum non testari infatigabilem hominis strenuitatem, vix credendam in tractando fidem. — Admirabile enim spectaculum mihi erat --- dicentem recognoscentemque, quantum tria præla exciperent, videre, ac nihilo secius interim Græca Latinaque exemplaria, eaque varia et vetustissima consulentem, Græcos Latinosque interpretes conferentem, priscos ac recentiores primæ simul ac infimæ classis Scriptores perpendentem. Hinc est quod non sensa modo aperuerit, sed nec verbula minima, articulosque ipsos, et apiculos minutissimos præterierit. --- Suarum etiam laudum partem in alios rejicit, quale et illud exemplum, cum me, subsidiariam solum in castigandis formulis operam, accersitum a Frobenio calcographorum omnium diligentissimo, perinde ac non asymbolum, Thesea etiam suum vocare dignatus est.*

Hæc ipsa Editio, ne exceptis quidem erroribus Typographicis, repetita est Venetiis ab Andrea Asulano, Aldi socero, A. 1518. mense Februario, atque Erasmo, ut par erat, inscripta. Millius tamen observavit, in centum circiter locis Textum Erasmicum in hac editione emendatum fuisse, ac totidem fere locis vitiatum. Quod vero Asulanus, in Præfatione integro Bibliorum volumini a se edito præfixa: *Ego, inquit, multis vetustissimis exemplaribus collatis, adhibita etiam quorundam eruditissimorum hominum cura, Biblia, ut vulgo appellant, Græce cuncta descripsi, atque in unum volumen reponenda curavi; id minima ex parte ad N. T. magis autem ad V. T. pertinere existimo.*

Postquam Erasmus in Belgium, atque inde in Angliam iter fecisset, ex eo itinere redux secundam Editionem procuravit, quæ ipso absente prodiit Basileæ, mense Martio, 1519. ut Titulus præfert: *N. T. multo quam antebac diligentius recognitum, emendatum, ac translatum. Inter Patres numerat Athanasium, Nazianzenum, Theophylactum, quem in superiori Editione Vulgarium vocaverat. De ea ita Frobenius ad Lectorem: Quemadmodum hanc posteriorem Editionem accuratius multo recognovit et copiosius locupletavit Erasmus: sic et nos operam dedimus, ut castigatior et nitidior in lucem prodiret, ac quantum ad nos etiam attinet, priorem longe vinceret. Sed enim fuit illi soli quicquid laboris erat exhauriendum, inspiciendi veterum Interpretum codices, exemplaria Græca conferenda, annotanda multa, mutanda quædam, adjicienda plurima. A priori Editione*

Editione recessit, Millio numerante, locis quadringentis. De hac secunda Editione ita scribit Bilibaldo Basileæ, A. 1518. *N. T. rursus novatum exhibit brevi satis elaboratum, sed aliquanto minus etiam, quam vellem, ob valetudinis adversitatem.* Ep. 374.

Tertia Editio est Anni 1522. — In hac primum Editione locum 1 Joh. v. 7. inseruit.

Quarta Editio apparuit A. 1527. Titulus ex parte ita se habet: *Joannes Frobenius candido Lectori S. D. En N. T. ex Erasmi Rot. recognitione jam quartum damus, studiose Lector.* — In Annotationibus, præterquam quod auctor exactiora reddidit omnia, magnam accessionem adjunxit ex Græcorum Voluminibus, eque vetustissimis exemplaribus Latinis, quæ nuper est nactus. In hac quarta, ut ipse Erasmus in Apologia fatetur, præsto fuit et Hispaniensis Editio. Plus centies a præcedentibus Editionibus recedit, teste Millio, sequiturque Complutensem; in sola Apocalypsi nonagies.

Quinta eaque ultima Editio, observante Millio, nonnisi quatuor in locis a præcedenti recedit.

Summam fine dubio laudem meretur Erasmus, quod N. T. Græcum primus typis publicavit, quod plurima loca illustravit, quod mira sagacitate et improbo labore genuinam Lectionem investigavit; ne alia adjiciam, quæ omnia prolixè prædicare superfluum esse puto. et fortassis otio lectoris abuti videar. Nihilominus haud pauca sunt, quæ in ista Erasmi opera jure desideramus, nollemusque factum, ut Stephanus et Beza, omnesque Editores, qui hos exceperunt, auctoritatem Erasmi omnibus Codicibus MSS. præponerent.

Primum quod in Erasmo merito reprehendi posse putem, unde reliqua omnia profluxerunt, istud est, quod nimis festinanter tale ac tantum negotium susceptum gesserit. Id amicis ultro fassus est, &c.

Hæc omnia licet non ignoraret Millius, nescio quomodo ad turpem tamen contradictionem delapsus est, autoremque Bibliothecæ S. post se traxit, affirmando, *Erasmum ad Editionem Novi fæderis se accinxisse circa Calendas Octobres Anni 1513. — ad finem perductum esse opus intra menses ferme quinque, et in lucem prodixisse mense Februario Ann. 1516.* prol. 1116. Si enim numeri recte essent positi, sequeretur non quinque menses, sed biennium et quinque menses huic operi Erasmus insudasse. Non animadvertit nimirum Millius, in Epistola *Append. iii.* ad Ammonium, quam citat, errorem typographi 1513. pro 1515. edentis. Mentio enim ibi fit prælii Helvetiorum cum Gallis ad Marignanum.

d. 13. Septemb. 1515. commissi, mentio fit Editionis Hieronymi, anno demum 1515. et 1516. procuratæ, et Epistola data est Basileæ, quo Erasmus non nisi post mediam partem exactam Anni 1514. primum appulerat, &c.

Tanta festinatio ista plurimis erroribus causam præbuit. Ut jam nihil dicam de insignibus omissionibus et mendis typographicis, ut quando *Apoc.* ii. 10. legitur *παράθῃτε* pro *πειραθῃτε*, et *γῆς* pro *ζωῆς*, &c. (quod postremum tamen erratum in calce libri emendatur) quibus, Millio teste prol. 1121. scaturit Erasmi editio prima; hinc factum est, ut frequenter Versio Latina a Textu Græco, et annotationes ab utrisque dissentirent, cujus generis octodecim exempla Erasmo objicit Edovardus Leus, *in quibus citat Græce sic esse, cum sic non sit in exemplari suo: et citat sic non esse Græce, cum sic sit in exemplari suo.*

Quam festinanter omnia gesserit Erasmus, imprimis patet ex Theophylacto, quem ad manus habuit. Ille cum in fronte hunc titulum gerat: *Τῷ Θεοφιλεστάτῃ ἀρχιεπισκόπῃ Βουλγαρίας κυρίῃ Θεοφυλάκῃ ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Ἐυαγγέλιον* Erasmus vocem *Θεοφυλάκῃ* pro epitheto habuit; pro regione Bulgariae autem, et in præfatione Græca Matthæo præfixa, 2, 3, 4, et 5. Editionis, *Βουλγαρίας* perperam legit, et in annotationibus primæ ac secundæ Editionis *Vulgarium* nescio quem substituit manifesto paroramate. Pejori errore in Marc. i. 10. dicit: *Sanctum non additur in Græcis, præterquam apud Vulgarium*: quod omnino falsum est, Theophylactus enim revera cum Græcis consentit, unde in posterioribus Editionibus ejus mentio ad istum locum omittitur. Gravissimum denique illud est, quod in Lucæ xi. 53. scripsit, et in omnibus Editionibus retinuit: *Quod si quis, inquit, mihi fortasse parum habet fidei, ipsius Vulgarii (i. e. Theophylacti) verba adscribam*: *γίνεσθαι γὰρ τὸ ἀποσομίζεῖν ὅταν πλείονες ἐρωτῶσιν ἓνα πρὸς ἄλλων ἢ ἄλλων ὑποθέσειν, τότε γὰρ μὴ δυνάμειται ἀποκρίνεσθαι ἑμφασι δίδωσι τῷ ἀνοήτῃ ἐξαπορηθῆναι.* Versionem deinde subjungit, quam nos, quia tantum non impia videtur, consulto omittimus. In MS. autem Theophylacti, quo Erasmus usus est, manifestissime post *δυνάμειται* additur *πάντων*, et pro *τῷ ἀνοήτῃ ἐξαπορηθῆναι*, quod ne quidem Græcum est, legitur *τοῖς ἀνοήτοις τῷ ἐξαπορηθῆναι*, unde sensus oritur longe luculentior et ad scopum autoris accommodatior: *Fit enim τὸ ἀποσομίζεῖν, cum plures interrogant unum de aliis atque aliis rebus; tunc enim cum non possit omnibus respondere, speciem præbet simplicioribus quasi hærentis et impediti.*

Illud

Illud denique in Erasmo minime ferendum est, quod sæpe excusationibus parum idoneis nec satis honestis uti, quam erroris culpam simpliciter fateri maluerit. Causatur festinationem. At quomodo ipsam festinationem excusabit, aut quis ipsum eo adegit, ut festinaret?

Alias causam conjicit in typothetas et correctores, ubi quid offensum est, &c.

Alibi ad codices provocat, qui nusquam existant, &c.

Paucorum suorum Codicum ætatem et fidem nimium extollit, alios autem omnes corruptionis immerito suspectos reddere conatur, &c.

Cumque hæc duo postrema accusationis capita ipsi ab adversariis objecta essent, simpliciter negando ac in illos retorquendo, sese magis oneravit quam liberavit, &c.

Errorem in Theophylacti appellatione commissum ita palliare conatur contra Stunic. in Joh. i. *Aderant, inquit, Commentarii Græci Theophylacti, quem nos toties adduximus nomine Vulgarii, quod Theophylacti vocabulum ob literas detritas vix legi posset.* Cum tamen Theophylacti nomen in hoc MS. oculis legentium apertius pateat expressum quam Vulgarii.

Textum a se formatum auctoritate Editionis Aldinæ tueri solet, responsione ad notationes Eduardi Lei sapissime, cum minime ignoraret, hanc esse ex prima ipsius Editione, ut supra indicavimus expressam. Ne jam dicam, quod auctoritatem Editionis Complutensis nimis extulerit, et præstantiam atque ætatem Codicum, ad quos expressa sit, ex ingenio confinxerit, quod causæ nimirum suæ favere videbat.

In Apocalypsi deerant quædam capite xxii. quæ Erasmus ex Latinis male Græca fecit. *Quanquam* (inquit in Annot. Edit. 1.) *in calce hujus libri nonnulla verba reperi apud nostros, quæ aberant in Græcis exemplaribus, ea tamen ex Latinis adjecimus.* Quæ contra Leum, § 243. prolixius ita narrat: *Quoniam Græcis nunquam magnopere placuit liber Apocalypseos, rarus habetur apud illos. Itaque quum cuperemus nihil abesse nostræ Editioni, ægre extorsimus ab inclyto viro Joanne Capnione vetustissimum codicem, commentarium habentem in hoc opus. Ex eo contextus verba describenda curavimus, in calce vero, scribarum incuria, deerant hæc:* Et si quis diminuerit de verbis libri Prophetiæ hujus, auferet Deus partem ejus de libro Vitæ, et de civitate sancta, et de his, quæ scripta sunt in libro isto. *Sensimus autem scribam per eam occasionem errasse, quod quum bis ponatur: in libro isto, ille ad posterius oculos deflexerit, relictis quæ sunt in medio. Siquidem ad nullum lapidem frequentius impingunt librarii.*

librarii. Dubium non erat, quin essent omissa, et erant perpauca. Proinde nos, ne hiaret lacuna, ex nostris Latinis supplevimus Græca. Quod ipsum tamen nolimus latere lectorem, fassi in Annotationibus, quid a nobis esset factum, ut si quid dissiderent verba nostra ab his, quæ posuisset autor hujus operis, lector nactus exemplar restitueret. Et clarius in Apologia ad Leum: In calce Apocalypsis in exemplari, quod tum nobis erat unicum, nam is liber apud Græcos rarus est inventu, deerat unus atque alter versus. Eos nos addidimus secuti Latinos codices. Et erant ejusmodi, ut ex his, quæ præcesserant possent reponi. Cum igitur Basileam mitterem recognitum exemplar, scripsi amicis, ut ex editione Aldina restituerent eum locum. Nam mihi nondum emtum erat hoc opus. Id ita, ut jussi, factum est.

Accuratius tamen omnia rimanti satis constat, non ut Erasmus scribit, *perpauca* fuisse, quæ ipse ex Latinis utcunque et festinanter Græce reddidit, sed a vers. 16. ad finem libri sex integros versus. In istis enim omnibus Erasmi Editio abit a Codicibus MSS. et ita quidem, ut Græca ipsius non obscurum sit ex Latinis fuisse conversa. Hinc enim profecta est perpetua illa omissio articulorum vers. 16. $\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\alpha$ pro $\eta\ \rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\alpha$, $\lambda\alpha\mu\pi\rho\acute{o}s$ pro $\acute{o}\ \lambda\alpha\mu\pi\rho\acute{o}s$, vers. 18. $\pi\rho\omicron\phi\eta\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\ \beta\iota\beta\lambda\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ pro $\tau\eta\varsigma\ \pi\rho\omicron\phi\eta\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\ \tau\grave{\epsilon}\ \beta\iota\beta\lambda\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, $\zeta\omega\eta\varsigma$ pro $\tau\eta\varsigma\ \zeta\omega\eta\varsigma$, $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ pro $\tau\eta\varsigma\ \pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$. Hinc est quod $\sigma\upsilon\mu\mu\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\upsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\iota$ inepte posuit pro $\mu\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\upsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\iota$, quia in Latina Versione legerat *contestor*; quomodo iste interpretes solet simplex $\mu\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\upsilon\rho\acute{\omega}$ vertere. — Hinc etiam est, quod ubi ipsi Latini codices variant, eam lectionem imprudens sequitur, quæ ab omnibus Græcis diffidet; quod denique $\acute{o}\rho\theta\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\textcircled{\text{C}}$ pro $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\iota\upsilon\textcircled{\text{C}}$, $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\theta\epsilon$ bis pro $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\chi\epsilon$, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ bis pro $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\upsilon$, et $\acute{\alpha}\phi\alpha\iota\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota$ pro $\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota$. Uno verbo, hæc interpretatio ex Latino in Græcum Erasmo adeo infeliciter cessit, ut Græca ipsius a Græcis Codicum in tam brevi pericopa minimum tricies aberrant. Quin etiam existimo, quod ex parte etiam suspicatus est Bengelius, alibi passim in hoc Codice Erasmano Commentariorum Andreæ, verba sacri contextus, quæ aut revera, ut fit, aut Erasmi saltem judicio, non integra ab Andrea adscripta fuerant, ab Erasmo ex Latinæ Versionis mendoso codice fuisse addita. Ita cap. v. 14. post verbum $\pi\rho\sigma\epsilon\kappa\acute{\iota}\nu\eta\sigma\alpha\upsilon$ addit $\zeta\omega\eta\iota\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \tau\grave{\epsilon}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\iota\omega\upsilon\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\iota\omega\upsilon\omega\upsilon\varsigma$, contra omnes Codices Græcos, et contra indolem Græci sermonis, quæ articulum $\tau\acute{\omega}$ ante $\zeta\omega\eta\iota$ requirebat, ex Versione Vulgata, quæ habet *adoraverunt viventem in secula seculorum*; repugnantibus plurimis, iisque vetustissimis Codicibus Latinis. xvii. 4. $\mu\epsilon\varsigma\acute{o}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\eta\textcircled{\text{C}}$,

τῆς, iterum contra omnes Codices Græcos vocem nihili ἀναβάτης con-
finxit, ad Versionem Vulgatam, quæ legit, *plenum abominatione*; ubi
tamen codices magno consensu habent, ut Græci et Beda, *plenum abo-
minationum*. XXII. II. ὁ ῥυπῶν ῥυπωσάτω ἔτι, καὶ ὁ δίκαιος δικαιωθήτω ἔτι,
ut Versio Vulgata: *qui in sordibus est, sordescat adhuc, et qui justus est,
iustificetur adhuc*: contra scriptos omnes Codices Græcos, et plurimos
Latinos.

Illud vero miror, cur Erasmus nactus Editionem Complutensem,
cujus MSS. fidem alias tantopere prædicat, ista non, ut promiserat, res-
tituerit, sed corruperit potius. Cum enim ipse in prioribus Editionibus
Latinum *si* bis vertisset per *ei*, postea in Complutensi reperta conjunctio-
ne *ἐάν*, non istam illi substituit, sed in quarta et quinta Edit. absurde
utrumque posuit *ἐάν ei*, reliqua vero retinuit, præcipue suum ἀφαιρήσει,
quod in libris sacris plane inusitatum est.

Quid, quod Colinæus, Stephanus, Haultinus, Beza, et cum Elzevirio
plerique omnes typographi sequentes non lectionem codicum MSS. et
verba auctoris, sed verba Erasmi ex Latino versa pro genuino textu repræ-
sentaverint? quæ sane supina est negligentia, et illis, qui de Græcis fon-
tibus adeo gloriantur, Versionemque Latinam contemnunt, minime
condonanda.

Ut jam non repetam, quod Erasmus lectionem eorum quos habebat
codicum Evangeliorum, Actorum, et Epistolarum aliquoties temere
mutaverit, cujus rei vestigia adhucdum in ipsis codicibus manifesta con-
spiciuntur. — Quin neque ipse diffitetur, ultro ad amicos scribens, *se
codices suos præcastigasse*. Wetsten. *proleg.* ad N. T.

Codicem Vaticanum esse vetustissimum et spectatæ fidei, et Editores
Complutenses eo fuisse usos, affirmavit, et postea negavit Erasmus.
Proleg. p. 5.

Codex Basiliensis B. vi. 27. Erasmo videtur ad Vulgatam Latinorum
et recentem lectionem emendatus. Ab hac Erasmi sententia discessi,
fateor, — at re postea accuratius examinata, non dubito Erasmo
assentiri, &c. p. 44.

— Si vero aberratio librarii Erasmo jure visa est ridicula, dubito quo
nomine appellem vel factum vel excusationem Erasmi ipsius; cum enim
secundæ Editionis N. T. p. 98. et 99. loco alieno imago Trinitatis, *i. e.*
columba capiti Christi, gremio Dei Patris impositi, insidens fuisset ex
hoc codice expressa, una cum confessione Græca fidei Christianæ; Ed-
wardus vero Leus hanc confessionem obscuram et heterodoxiæ suspectam

pronuntiasset, Erasmus in Apologiæ contra Leum libello primo hæc respondit: *In exemplari, quod nobis commodavit honorabile Collegium Corfendoncense, inter varias picturas habebatur et hæc divina Tejas cum ambientibus Angelorum choris. Sub hac aureis literis habebantur distincta, quæ sic tribuuntur personis divinis, ut eadem sint omnium: rursus quæ numero multitudinis illis attribuuntur. Deinde fidei Symbolum, sub quo pictus erat homo, nonnihil sublatus a terra, jamque ceu fidei alis tendens in cælum. Hac pictura delectatus Frobenius, ut opinor, absente atque inscio me, quod illic viderat addidit suo volumini. Ejus facti invidiam Leus impingit mihi.* — p. 45.

Tandem Erasmus omnium doctorum, et præcipue omnium Protestantium, judicio vicit causam suam, ita ut studium hoc, quod in colligendis atque examinandis variis lectionibus Novi Testamenti Latinis vel Græcis ponimus, certatim doctis commendaretur, neque quisquam, qui existimationi suæ consultum cupiebat, per duo inde elapsa secula illud aperte oppugnare auderet. p. 105.

Inter duas Graecorum codicum variantes lectiones, ea quæ cum antiquis Versionibus consentit, non est alteri facile postponenda.

Contra hanc regulam sæpius peccavit Erasmus, cui cum Versio Latina tanquam semibarbara valde displiceret, hoc fastidio abreptus, quam potuit sæpissime ab ea recedendum sibi putavit, quem postea omnes fere, qui ab Ecclesia Latina dissentiant, certatim secuti sunt. At vero meminisse oportebat, Versionem hanc non esse Doctoris alicujus Pontificii, sed Hieronymi, qui eam adornavit, Codicum Græcorum emendatam collatione; sed veterum; quod de iis, qui primi Novum Testamentum Græcum typis ediderunt, vere prædicare non possumus. Adhibenda tamen hic est cautio, de qua monui. T. ii. p. 867. *Wetstenius.*

IN the second Edition of the N. T. of Erasmus, the Nicene Creed is prefixed, with a Diagram containing a declaration of the Christian faith with respect to the Trinity, and also a picture representing the Three Divine Persons. See *Maittaire* ii. 7.

Miles Coverdale published an English translation of the Bible in 1550. and dedicated it to Edward VI. In his Preface he reckons *Vulgarius* amongst the Fathers of the Church. *Maittaire* iii. 585. makes mention of this edition, and declares himself quite at a loss, and unable to guess who this *Vulgarius* should be. He knew nothing, it seems, of the history of this blunder. Erasmus, by a strange mistake, gave the name of *Vulgarius* to *Theophylact*. Being censured for this, he made a shuf-

a shuffling excuse; but was sensible of his error, and afterwards called him by his true name, Theophylact, in the ² second, and the following editions of the New Testament. Coverdale then was misled by Erasmus, which is somewhat strange, since Erasmus had corrected the mistake in his notes. But there is another error about Theophylact, which runs through all the editions of the New Testament of Erasmus, even that of Basil 1540. and that of Leyden 1705. It is in the title to the Preface of Theophylact upon Matthew. In the manuscript from which Erasmus took it, it was :

Τὸ Θεοφιλεστάτῃ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Βαλλαρίας κυρίῳ Θεοφυλάκῳ ἐξηγή-
σις. —

but in the editions of Erasmus it is Βαλλαρίῳ, by a mistake of Erasmus:

See Wetstein's *Prolegomena*, who in p. 124. l. 1. says — Βαλλαρίον perperam legit [Erasmus.] But this is a fault of the press, in Wetstein, for Βαλλαρίῳ.

^a *De secunda Editione Novi Testamenti per Erasmus curata.*

— Secunda N. T. editio ex officina Frobeniana, A. 1519. mense Martio prodiit. Quinque magnus ille scientiarum atque literaturæ polioris vindex et instaurator, dum viveret, emisit N. T. editiones A. 1516. 1519. 1522. 1527. et 1535. in singulis nova diligentia usus. Omnium vero rarissimæ sunt prima et secunda. In laudanda ex merito prima multus est vir celeberrimus, et de Erasmi manibus optime meritus Hermannus von der Hardt, in *Historia Literaria Reformationis* P. 1. passim, præcipue p. 33. seqq. — Idem deinde elogia primæ editioni, cum vix e prelo exiisset, tributa, historiam liticulæ, a Budæo motæ Erasmo, ejus conflictationem cum Fabro Stapulensi, et varias variorum in nostrum calumnias, ab ipso explosas, curate persequitur: denique, p. 101. de secunda editione paucis ita differit, ut plenius de ea aliquando se dicturum spondeat. Id an a viro literatissimo præstitum jam sit, me quidem fugit. Interim tenues ego ducturus lineas, brevem ejus recensum instituam, strictim simul illa, quæ ad hujus editionis historiam

² Wetstein says the *third*; but Erasmus corrected it in his *second* edition.

^a *Amænit. Literar.* by Schelhorne, I. 222.

pertinent, enarraturus, cum ejus præsertim et Jacobus le Long, in ipsa etiam recentissima Bibliothecæ Sacræ editione Parisiensi, paucissimis duntaxat meminerit. Post breve igitur, quod vocant, Leonis X. quo laudantur Erasmi in N. T. lucubrationes, et dedicationem ad Leonem, comparat editoris paraclesis ad Lectorem, &c. — Post hæc exhibet Erasmus varia, quæ in vulgato potissimum Interprete, ipso judice, censuram merentur, per certas classes disposita. I. Notantur solæcismi ab interprete commissi manifestarii et inexcusabiles, e plurimis pauci decerpti. II. Loca obscura, et in quibus lapsi sint magni nominis interpretes, ex innumeris pauca. III. Loca manifeste depravata, ex infinitis, ut occurrebant, pauca. IV. Ad placandos eos, qui putant in S. S. Literis nihil neque superesse, neque deesse, quædam excerpta, quæ manifestius depravata sunt in hoc genere, quam ut negari possit. V. Quæ sint addita in nostris exemplaribus. VI. Quæ per Interpretem commissa. VII. Ubi Interpres ausus sit aliquid ^b immutare de verbis Apostolorum aut Evangelistarum. Post illa conspicitur figura ligno incisa, tres divinæ essentiae personas, angelorum choro stipatas, ^c rudi tamen delineatione adumbrans, cui decem piæ antiquitatis aphorismi Græci de S. S. Triade subjiciuntur, addito etiam eadem lingua Symbolo Nicæno. Hisce Arianiismi suspitione levare se voluisse Erasmus credo. — Ad latus textus originalis semper posita est Erasmi versio Latina: margini Evangeliorum adscriptæ divisiones Ammoniacæ, cum tabulis Canonis Eusebiani collatæ: superiorem vero foliorum oram ornant majora κεφάλαια, in quæ olim divisa erant Evangelia. In Epistolis ad Romanos et Corinthios ad marginem interiorem notatæ sunt, negligenter admodum, judice Millio, literis numeralibus κεφάλαια, five sectiones, in quas divisas voluit quispiam (fortasse Theophylactus, ut idem suspicatur Millius) has epistolas. Textus integer continuo filo nexus sine capitum spatiis aut intervallis conspicitur, numero capitum ad marginem duntaxat Latinæ versionis adpicto: quod institutum summopere probatur Hermanno von der Hardt. Hæc editio, censente Millio, priore longe emaculatiores et castigatiores, veram et genuinam lectionem in priori depravatam locis.

^b Sed hoc ipso, quam parum ipsi perspecta fuerit translationis vulgatæ natura atque indoles, ostendisse Erasmus monet Millius in Prolegomenis Novi Testamenti num. 1125. p. 113. atque multa, in hisce septem classibus observata, censoria virgula notat.

^c Seorsim quoque adjecta est imaguncula viri per nubes ambulantis. Hæ figuræ in tertia jam editione omissæ sunt. See above, p. 233.

amplius

amplius 230 restituit; sed et ab ea recedit locis circiter 70 in lectiones interpolatas et minime probandas.

Notum est, in ea non comparere locum 1 Joh. v. 7. quem in Græcis codicibus haud invenisse se monuit in Annotationibus Erasmus. — Quanti vero hoc in opere Erasmo fuerint exantlandi labores, quantæ molestiæ devorandæ, quot convitia et criminationes, quibus consilium hoc laude dignissimum perstrinxere insulsi ignorantiae fratres, tolerandæ, ipse passim, in epistolis potissimum suis, meminit. — Prima N. T. editione in se concitaverat bilem rabiemque elegantioris literaturæ et cœlestis veritatis hostium, quorum intererat, ut orbis spissis illis inscitiae tenebris septus quovis modo detineretur. Fuere tamen quoque, qui avidissime divina illa munera Erasmi exceperunt. Horum in gratiam hunc lapidem ulterius movere, et, quod semel cœperat, opus sensim sensimque summa adhibita industria ad maturitatem perducere statuit. Hinc nova erat paranda editio, fœtus lambendus et relambendus, initiisque egregia adjicienda incrementa. Ad os vero sycophantis obturandum conducibile sibi fore duxit Breve Papæ, quo opus hoc ipsi gratum esse testetur. — Nondum tamen irarum rabidi ita requievere fluctus. Satis enim causæ fuit et posthac Desiderio nostro, de obtrectatorum invidia acriter conquerendi, plumbeosque et infrunitos adversarios, prout digni erant, false exagitandi. — Cum hanc editionem adhuc parturiret, erant, qui ipsi vitio verterunt, quod prima vix in lucem egressa novum statim moliretur opus, atque ita primum laborem sibimetipsum displicere testatum faceret. — Præcipue insulsus homo, Nicolaus Egmondanus, juratus Erasmi hostis, qui primam jam editionem conviciis proscindere laboraverat, in eum fingere opprobria, rabidoque ore famam ejus vulnerare nunquam destitit. — Nactus est adversarios, qui libris eum impetiere, Jac. Lop. Stunicam, Edvardum Leum, Sutorem, Natalem Bedam, alios, non omnes prorsus illiteratos. Cum primis in Stunica insignis linguarum orientalium peritia laudatur, qui ad opus Biblicum Complutense inter cæteros a Card. Ximenio adhiberi meruit. Hujus annotationes contra Erasmus, tom. vii. Criticorum SS. p. 1229. sqq. cum nostri Apologia insertæ sunt. — De cæteris nihil addo, nisi hoc unum Edvardi Lei librum, adversus Erasmus scriptum, a Germano quodam, in Bibliotheca Minoritarum Lovaniensium, in autoris contumeliam stercore fuisse oblitum; de quo lepido facinore extant Conradi Goclenii epigrammata. —

Nobis

Nobis eo charior debet esse hæc editio, quod ipsa cum prima (quam hac secunda potissimum, utpote emaculatiore) et Aldina, in concinnanda Novi Testamenti versione Germanica, noster Lutherus usus fuisse videtur: quod haud ita pridem luculenter evicisse arbitror Boyse-
nium in Diff. Critico-Theol. de Codice Græco Novi Testamenti, et consilio, quo usus est B. Lutherus in conficienda interpretatione Germanica. Huic scripto occasionem præbuerunt Tobiaë Eckardi conjecturæ de codice Græco N. T. quo usus est Lutherus in conficienda Germanica interpretatione, qui Nicolai Gerbelii Hagenoensem, A. 1521. editionem B. virum secutum fuisse suspicatus erat. Idem deinde Boysenio Epistolam opposuit, qua suas conjecturas erudite, et, quod majorem laudem meretur, modeste illustrare annisus est.

Cæterum Erasmi annotationes in hac secunda editione auctæ insigniter et locupletatæ sunt. Quam vero eruditæ elegantesque eæ sint, quantaque utilissimarum rerum copia refertæ, neminem paulo humaniorem latere potest. — Erasmus certe hic ubique est vere *εργασμιος*; licet enim haud raro excursus instituat prolixiores, qui ab annotationibus exegeticis alieni videri possunt, ii tamen semper sunt eruditi, ac dulcedine mira, animum jucunde afficiente, repleti. Sive monita inspergat, sive errores castiget, sive temporum calamitatem deploret, sive arrogantis inscitiae dominatum evertere conetur, sive adversarios refellat, sive disputationes immisceat, ubique et simul delectat et prodest. Acerbe, fateor, interdum invehitur in eorum scripta, quos Monachorum greges tum oraculorum instar venerabantur. Scilicet ægre tulit vir laudatissimus et bono publico natus, methodicam illam, aridam, mortuam, ligneam, stramineam, artificiosam, et φιλοσοφοῦ χυνοδιαλεκτικὴν θεολογικὴν theologiam hæctenus unice tyrannidem et dominatum exercuisse, posthabitis ac rejectis veris divinæ sapientiæ fontibus. Quid igitur mirum, quod libertate sua atque candore irritaverit crabrones? Nec inficias eundem est, quosdam etiam viros, alias cordatos et sinceros, nugarumque, quæ nimium diu jam regnaverant, pertæsos, sed præjudiciis antiquitatis et autoritatis nondum prorsus liberatos, dentatis Erasmi invektivis fuisse offensos; qualis fuit Paulus Langius, Ordinis Benedicti Monachus, vir certe egregius, et veritatis testibus alias jure suo accensendus, cujus de Desiderii nostri annotationibus judicium ex Chronico Citizenfi libentius nunc recito, quod non facile inibi illud quæsieris. Male nimirum habuit eum, quod Hugonis Cardinalis errores nugasque subinde aculeato confutaverit stylo. En ejus verba:

“ Hugo

“ *Hugo* primus postillator extitit totius Bibliæ, adeo pure et fideliter textum quadruplici sensu exponendo, ut eatenus vix habuerit secundum; licet Erasmus, novus Scripturarum interpres, eum ob Atticæ linguæ inscitiam, et exin ob dissonam ineptamque quorundam e Græca Græcanicarum dictionum expositionem plerumque reprehendat irrideatque, cum sapientius tanto viro condoluisset, quam exprobrando taxaret, quem in ea tempora incidisse noverat, quæ politiores literas, præcipue Græcas, totam et per Galliam et per Germaniam prorsus incompertas et inauditas habuerant. Veruntamen plurimum laudandus est iste venerabilis Hugo, quoniam non per philosophorum et poëtarum dicta, non per Aristotelis, non per Averrois sophismata divinam probat, ne dicam contaminat Scripturam, sed verba legis per legem explanat, &c.” —

Idem tamen Langius deinde Erasmus divinarum literarum summum et consummatum interpretem nominat. Forte æquis rerum æstimatoribus dandum hic aliquid esse magni nostri Desiderii ingenio, ad jocos et irrisiones aliquantum procliviori, videbitur, si consideraverint, quam inique, quam atrociter ipse vicissim exceptus fuerit ab inimicis, qui omnem suam sapientiam ex istiusmodi libris hauserant, summoque nisu literis paulatim resurgentibus adversabantur. Præterea adeo frigida, ineptæ, atque insulsæ sæpius erant istæ, quas refellit, exegetes, ut vel Heraclito risum extorquere — potuisse credendum sit. Ut ex solo Hugone capiamus exempla quædam, inspicere sodes Erasmi annotationes in Matt. v. 16. xix. 2. Joann. v. 2. Actor. xxvii. 12. 2 Tim. iii. 2. Tit. i. 7. 1 Pet. ii. 24. &c. ac judica, num Cardinalem istum his in locis injuria castigaverit noster. ———

T O M U S V I I .

P A R A P H R A S E S I N N O V U M T E S T A M E N T U M .

P R Æ F A T I O J O A N N I S C L E R I C I .

HOC septimo summi viri Des. Erasmi Operum Volumine, opus continetur, quod inter omnes ejus lucubrationes multis maxime placuit, atque Auctori minimam invidiam creavit. In hisce certe Paraphrasibus, elucet summum acumen, et dexteritas singularis Erasmi, qui sensus abditos, et paucitate verborum involutos copiosiore oratione feliciter evolvit, nexumque et seriem orationis obscuriorem ingeniose illustra-

illustravit ; quod in Epistolis Pauli Apostoli, ubi ejusmodi Cynosura plerique indigent, potissimum videre est. Quin etiam ubi traduntur Evangelica Myſteria, obscurioribus verbis, ex quibus unum certum sensum, pluribus animo pariter sese offerentibus, elicere certo non licet, magna industria, SS. Patrum, præstantissimorumque Interpretum sententias intertextit ; ex quibus Lector eam eligere queat, quæ maxime animo ejus arridebit. Sed laudare ejusmodi opus, et verbis ornare, perinde est ac meridiano soli lucem addere velle. Novimus equidem a temporibus, quibus Erasmus illustrandis Sacris Literis incubuit, multos exortos esse præstantissimos viros, Linguae Hebraicæ accuratiore peritia, aliisque subsidiis necessariis instructiores, quia dies diem docet, qui sensus eruerint summo Viro ignotos. Verum non tantum ejus ævo nemo hac in re fuit ei æquiparandus, sed ad maximam partem Novi Testamenti quod attinet, nemo ne nunc quidem, felicius sensum ejus expedit.

Fuit hujus Operis Editio quædam Hanoveræ anno 1668. procurata in *quarto*, sed adeo turpis et vitiosa, ut non modo singulæ voces passim essent foede corruptæ, sed et integri versus omiſsi ; quæ menda diligentissime hic emendata sunt. Accepi etiam a fide dignis, cum primum prodiret ea Editio, nemini eam obtrudi potuisse ; quamobrem Bibliopola aliquamdiu postea titulum recudi curavit, quasi esset alia Editio ; quæ fraus primum ei male cessit, sed paucis post annis iterum tentata, nescio quo errore hominum, effecit ut in Anglia, millia aliquot exemplarium vitiosissimæ Editionis vendita fuerint. Utantur vero potius hac studiosi ; quæ et castigatior et elegantior multo est.

Quam ut exornaret Bibliopola, curavit commata ad marginem diligenter numeris notari, ut Lectoribus interpretationes Erasmi quærentibus laborem minueret. Imo vero et textum integrum Vulgatæ Versionis in margine a capite octavo Matthæi exprimi curavit, ut Lectores cum eo possent Erasmi Paraphrases facilius conferre ; nam principium tantum versuum in prioribus Editionibus erat, quo factum est ut hujus rei ab initio in mentem non venerit. Editio etiam Frobeniana anni 1540. est cum duabus aliis Editionibus recentioribus collata a viro erudito, qui correctioni præfuit, et qui varias nonnullas lectiones, si quæ essent memoratu dignæ, sub ima paginarum ora addidit. Idem quoque singulis Capitibus disticha dudum edita, quæ complectuntur quod iis continetur, præfixit. Si minus boni sint versus, mirum sane non erit, cum tam paucis verbis non possit commode copiosum argumentum

tum coëceri. Interea alicui usui esse queunt quærentibus quidpiam, nec interdum satis accurate tenentibus quonam capite inveniatur; mo-
nent enim uno verbo Lectorem. Hæc erant quæ te, Benigne Lector,
non ignorare volebat Bibliopola. Vale.

^a *A Dedication of the Paraphrase of St. Matthew to Charles V. A. 1522.*

He closes his dedication with an excellent admonition to this young
Emperor:

*Det tibi, Cæsar Augustissime, cœlestis ille Princeps ea velle conari-
que, quæ sunt optima, atque idem tuos conatus bene fortunet, ut
amplissimum imperium, quod citra sanguinis humani jacturam hæte-
nus contigit, possis itidem vel propagare, vel tueri. Illud interim sem-
per meminerit tua clementia, nullum bellum, neque tam justis de
causis suscipi, neque tam moderate geri, quod non ingens et scelerum
et calamitatum agmen secum trahat: tum maximam malorum partem
ad innoxios et indignos recidere.*

Pio Lectori.

In this Preface he exhorts the Laity and the common people to read
and study the Scriptures, which ought, as he says, to lie open to all
well-disposed people, and to be translated into all modern languages.

C. 147.

The Paraphrase of St. Matthew is closed with an Epistle *Matthæo
Cardinali Sedunensi*, A. 1521.

C. 150.

A Dedication of the Paraphrase of St. Mark to Francis I. A. 1533.

In this Dedication, as in that of St. Matthew, he exhorts Christian
Princes to peace and pacific dispositions. It is a bold, free, and most
excellent dissertation.

He observes with pleasure what a demand there was for the New
Testament, and how many thousand copies were sold every year.

He concludes his dedication with a noble spirit:

*Hæc affectu puro scribo, Franciscæ Rex Christianissime, neque per-
stringens quenquam, quum omnibus bene velim: neque blandiens cui-
quam, quum a nullo quicquam ambiam.*

^d See Burigni. tom. i. p. 463.

"*Thomas Key* translated into English The Paraphrase of St. Mark, by Erasmus, being desired to do it by Queen Catharine Parre." *Wood*, vol. i. C. 174.

C. 271.

A Dedication of the Paraphrase of St. Luke to Henry VIII. A. 1523.

He tells the King, that Charles V. and Ferdinand, and Christiern of Denmark, and Queen Catharine, were readers of the Holy Scriptures.

He draws an argument for the truth of Christianity from its successful propagation, and its salutary effects.

Udal translated into English this Paraphrase of St. Luke. *Strype's Memorials*, vol. i. p. 406. ii. 28.

C. 490.

A Dedication of the Paraphrase of St. John to Ferdinand, brother of Charles V. A. 1523.

He gives Ferdinand a great character, and with much sincerity, for he highly esteemed and loved this young Prince; and he exhorts him to persevere in his good dispositions, and offers him excellent advice.

C. 645.

Joan. XX. 28. *Thomas* ubi vidisset et contrectasset, &c.

But it appears not, from the words of St. John, that Thomas accepted the offer made to him by our Lord, and handled his body. It seems most probable that he did not.

C. 650.

At the end of this Paraphrase there is an Epistle to the Reader, recommending to him piety, and dissuading him from superstition.

Franc. Mallet translated into English this Paraphrase of St. John. *Wood*, vol. i. C. 688.

C. 651.

A Dedication of the Paraphrase of the Acts of the Apostles to Clemens VII. A. 1524.

C. 654.

Peregrinatio Petri et Pauli, cum ratione temporum.

C. 714.

C. 714.

Act. XII. 1.

In this chapter, Erasmus confounds Herod Agrippa with Herod the Tetrarch.

C. 716.

Act. XII. 19.

Herod commanded the Keepers ἀπαχθῆναι, *to be put to death.*

Erasmus in his N. T. doubts whether they were put to death, or only sent to prison. In his Paraphrase he affirms that they were only imprisoned, and that they escaped Herod's rage. Learned men are of the contrary opinion.

C. 728.

Acts XV. 20.

He judges very well that the Precepts of abstaining from things strangled and from blood, were temporary, and given in compliance with the scrupulous Jews. To think otherwise, is to judge amiss of the spirit and genius of the Gospel.

C. 744.

Acts XIX. 35.

Cum Scriba — silentium impetrasset --- dixit *Alexander*: Viri, &c.

The word *Alexander* should be struck out; for it was not Alexander, but the Town-Clerk, who spake to the people.

C. 771.

A Dedication of the Paraphrase of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. Dominico Cardinali Grimano, Veneto, titulo Sancti Marci, A. 1517.

He justly observes how difficult it was to paraphrase such a writer as St. Paul; and such an Epistle as that to the Romans.

Non hic attollam verbis, quanti mihi constiterit hoc quicquid est opusculi, quod id sciam nemini proclive vel æstimare vel credere, nisi qui ipse periculum in simili negotio fecerit, quid sit hiantia committere, abrupta mollire, confusa digerere, involuta evolvere, nodosa explicare, obscuris lucem addere, Hebraïsmum Romana civitate donare, &c.

He proceeds to describe the happy state of Rome Christian, under Leo, in expressions, which have more politeness than truth; and he concludes with compliments to Grimani, which seem to be better found-

ed, and which that courteous Cardinal might perhaps deserve well enough.

C. 820.

Of the forms of civil governments, and of Civil Laws, he says :

Has Christus ut non sanxit, ita nec reprobavit, sed velut ignoravit, nimirum aliud agens.

C. 850.

A Dedication of the Paraphrase of St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians. Clariss. Principi, et eidem Reverendiss. Præsuli Leodienfi, D. Erardo De Marca, nunc Cardinali, A. 1519.

After giving a great character to this Prince, he recommends these Epistles of St. Paul to him ; he wishes that the Apostle had treated more copiously of some important subjects, as of the Eucharist, and the intermediate state of the righteous and the wicked ; he speaks of Excommunication as of a discipline which was horribly abused, and inflicted most severely where the *pence* were concerned, *cum de pecunia la periclitatur* ; he censures Indulgences, and dislikes the Ecclesiastical decrees concerning fasting and abstinence ; he throws out many hints about the corrupted state of the Church, and the scandalous vices of the Clergy ; and he concludes with a pretty character of St. Paul.

It is an excellent Epistle, but a very free one, which could not fail to give offence to dishonest and worldly-minded people.

C. 867.

Ego sum Pauli : ego Apollo, &c. 1 Cor. III. 4.

--- *Quis ferat, si adscitis hominum qualiumcunque, fortasse Pseudapostolorum, cognominibus, salutis ac religionis auctoritatem uni Christo debitam, homunculis tribuatis ? Veluti si Frangilius quispiam, aut Benotius, aut Augulius aut Carmilius, aut alius quocunque nomine (nam sint hæc exempli gratia dicta) commentus sit aliquod humanum vitæ institutum, an protinus horum cognomentis elati, sædum certamen inter vos suscipietis, et oblitterato Christi nomine, veræ religionis, cujus unus auctor est Christus, facietis homines auctores ?*

This is levelled against the *Franciscans*, *Benedictins*, and *Augustinians* ; and perhaps against the *Carthusians* and *Carmelites*, though these do not take their denomination from their *Founders*. His paraphrase of this
and

C. 943.

The Paraphrase of St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians.

C. 967.

The Paraphrase of St. Paul's Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians.

Dedicated to Cardinal Campegius, A. 1519.

Of this Dedication we have given an account in the Life of Erasmus, p. 214.

C. 1031.

A Dedication of the Paraphrase of St. Paul's Epistles to Timothy, to Titus, and to Philemon. Præfati et Principi Trajectensi, Philippo a Burgundia, A. 1519.

He speaks of the difficulties and duties of the Episcopal function.

C. 1079.

The Paraphrase of the Epistles of St. Peter, and of St. Jude.

Dedicated to Cardinal Wolsey.

He compliments the Cardinal, and makes some critical remarks upon these three Epistles. He informs him that he hath no favours to beg for himself, besides the Cardinal's countenance and approbation.

C. 1114.

The Paraphrase of the Epistles of St. James and St. John, and of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Matthæo Cardinali Sedunensi, A. 1520.

He declares his opinion that the Epistle to the Hebrews was not written by St. Paul. He commends this Cardinal, who had exhorted him to undertake the Paraphrase of the above-mentioned Epistles; and he makes some complaints of his malicious enemies.

TOMUS VIII.

VERSA E PATRIBUS GRÆCIS.

PRÆFATIO JOANNIS CLERICI.

NIHI L est cur te, Lector, multis moremur, initio hujus octavi Voluminis Operum Des. Erasmi. Maxima quidem sui parte egregium diligentiae ejus et laborum indefefforum, ne de eruditione loquar, monumentum complectitur; cum libros Chrysoftomi, Athanasii, Origenis, et Basilii, ex Græca lingua in Latinam translatos, contineat; verum hæc aliena sunt, nec quidquam Erasmo debent, præter Latinam togam. Possent æque commode quæri in editionibus antiquioribus eorum Patrum Græco-Latinis, in quas ex hoc Volumine merito sunt ab Editoribus desumptæ; sed cum facerent lucubrationum ejus octavam partem, nec in quibusvis Editionibus occurrant, religioni duximus vel eorum apicem ullum omittere. Imo operam dedimus, ut quæcumque oportebat Italico charactere, ut Typothetæ loquuntur, legi, qualia sunt Scripturæ Sacræ loca, eo describerentur; utque etiam, quatenus licuit, oratio in certa capita divideretur, inchoato, ubi oportuit, novo versu, cum una serie antea essent edita. Cætera etiam, pro more hodierno cultioris typographiæ, sunt decentius et elegantius disposita. Digna sane erat hæc quoque pars laborum magni viri, quæ hic conservaretur; vel hac de causa, quod in Editionibus SS. Patrum, quæ in dies novæ prodeunt, aliæ aut interpolatæ inveniantur translationes; quibus minime cedunt hæ Erasmiæ, quas non adolescens, ut alia multa e Græco versa, sed senex demum elaboravit. Possunt enim et de vera lectione loci cujuspiam Opusculorum illorum Chrysoftomi, Athanasii, Origenis et Basilii, aut vera etiam sententia, controversiæ inter Eruditos interdum oriri, quæ Erasmi auctoritate optime componantur.

Cæterum cum hoc Volumen aliorum molem non æquaret, commodum in manus Bibliopolæ incidit MS. Codex, qui fuerat Petri Opmeri, Amstelodamensis, qui sub finem decimi quinti sæculi obiit. In eo, inter varia opuscula Erasmi, erant duæ ejus orationes, numquam antea editæ, quarum altera est *De Pace et Discordia contra factiosos, ad Cornelium Goudanum*; altera Oratio Funebris *in funere Bertæ de Heyen Goudanæ viduæ, ad filias ejus superstites, Moniales in eodem oppido*. Hæ quidem

dem Orationes ab adolescentulo Erasmo scriptæ sunt, sed tanta in illis elucet vis ingenii, tanta rerum et sententiarum ubertas, et tam acutum iudicium, pro illa ætate, ut non sint indignæ, quæ cum senilibus ejus Operibus legantur. Itaque huic Volumini, cum nullus, cæteris jam editis, commodior locus superesset, merito subjunctæ sunt. Ex eodem Volumine MS. Opmeri editus fuit *Conflictus Thaliæ et Barbariei*, quem invenies ad calcem Colloquiorum, Tom. i. C. 889.

Idem dixeris de Carminibus ineditis, quæ inventa sunt in MS. Codice, qui fuit Petri Scriverii, viri doctissimi, et ejusmodi deliciarum olim amantissimi, ac curiosissimi indagatoris. Quamvis sint carmina pueri, aut adolescentuli, grata erunt omnibus Erasmani ingenii amantibus; qui, si de aliis ex me judicare licet, libentissime primos illos fœcundissimi, ut sic dicam, agri flores olfaciendos lectione decerpent, etiam postquam fructibus maturis et plenis sese satiaverint. Hinc colligere etiam licet, quantus Poëta futurus fuisset Erasmus, si Poëticam colere voluisset, quemadmodum reliquas Philologiæ et Theologiæ partes coluit.

Sequuntur deinde Francisci Robortelli Adnotationes in Apophthegmata ab Erasmo versa e Laërtio, ubi Diogenis Cynici vitam describit. Eæ olim fuerant editæ Venetiis, anno 1543. cumque ejusmodi libelli rariores fiant in dies, non fuerant ad manum, cum ederetur Tomus quartus, in quo ea leguntur Apophthegmata. Alioqui potuissent commodius ei subjici; quamquam maligne et multis in rebus perperam Erasmus reprehendit Robortellus, ut jamdudum ostendere viri doctissimi Paulus Leopardus, in Emendationibus, et præsertim Petrus Nannius, Miscellaniorum lib. viii. Quis ferat Erasmus reprehendi quod verterit *δημαγωγὸς*, *oratores*, quæ enim vox Latine aptior, ad convertendam Græcam? Non verius est quod confundit *δημαγωγὸς* cum *χορηγός*, et quod duo Apophthegmata in unum vult compingi. Sed nihil opus est talia confutari, cum jam a Nannio elisa sint; quamvis non diffitear aliquando lapsum esse Erasmus, quod et vidit Leopardus, nec ipse dissimulavi in infima ora Tomi iv. hujus editionis. Sed tantus vir fuit Erasmus, tamque egregia opera suo tempore, edidit, ut dignissimus sit cui talia ignoscamus, nec commemorando exaggeremus, ne imperitis contemnendi meliora et laude digna ansam præbeamus. Verum fat nota est acerbitas intoleranda Robortelli, vel ex concertatione, quæ ei fuit cum Carolo Sigonio, multo doctiore viro, et cum aliis doctis hominibus illius ævi, quos omni genere conviciorum proscidit; ut doce-

bit

bit Joannes Imperialis, in Museo Historico. Non est ergo timendum ne laudibus Erasmi nunc officiat Robortellus, quibus, ne ætate quidem sua, nebulas objicere potuit. Itaque id faciet in hoc volumine, quod umbræ in pictura, cujus splendorem et elegantiam augent.

Si quid contra Erasmus hic additum est, Apologia Joannis Heroldi contra Dialogum Famosum in funus Erasmi, quicquid id est, abunde pensabit. Certe acrem et vehementem summi viri patronum apud Basileenses egit, paucis post ejus mortem annis; opusculumque ejus, ne prorsus intercideret, Erasmi honoris causa, hic est a Bibliopola adjectum.

Versa ex Chrysostomo.

Dedicated to John III. King of Portugal, A. 1527.

In this dedication he bestows great praises upon Chrysostom.

Chrysostomus De Orando Deum.

Dedicated to Maximilian à Burgundia Abbot of Mittelburg.

Chrysostomus de David et Saule.

Dedicated to John Paungartner, A. 1533.

Chrysostomi Enarratio in Epistolam ad Galatas.

Dedicated to the Cardinal of Lorraine, A. 1527.

Versa ex Athanasio.

Dedicated to John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, A. 1527.

Origenis Vita, &c.

All that is here concerning the Life, Doctrine, and Works of Origen, from C. 425. to C. 430. is also printed in the Volume of the Epistles, Ep. 457. C. 1846. Then follows:

Censura de Homiliis in Genesim, Leviticum, &c. De his quae desiderantur. De ratione docendi et phrasi Origenis: Origenis Comment. in Matthæum.

The last piece is a fragment.

Basilii Expositio in Isaiam.

Dedicated to Bishop Fisher, A. 1510.

Basilus

Basilii de Spiritu Sancto.

Dedicated to Joannes Dantiscus, Bishop of Culm, A. 1532.

In this Dedication he declares his own Orthodoxy, and aversion from the Arians and Unitarians, who, as he complains, began to rise up again in the Christian world. He gives his opinion that this piece of Basil was interpolated by some mean writer.

Basilii de Laudibus Jejunii.

Des. Erasmus Rot. Joanni Cholero, Præposito Curiensi.

Ne semper accipias a nobis Epistolas steriles atque ἀδωργαίαι, mittimus duas Homilias de laudibus Jejunii, quod nunc magna ex parte sublatum e vita Christianorum et videmus et dolemus. Dices has ante fuisse versas: fateor, nimirum a Raphaele Volaterrano. Sed ob id ipsum hoc operæ sumpsi, quo declararem, quantum sit periculum quorumlibet versioni fidere, quantoque rectius sit ex ipsis haurire fontibus. Demiraberis ipse sat scio, si utriusque nostrum translationem cum Græcis contuleris. Nam id ut cuivis in promptu sit, provisum est edito Græce Basilio. Posterior Homilia mihi non videtur Basilii, sed studiosi cujuspiam sese ad prioris æmulationem exercentis. Equidem non pugnabo, si quis diversum sentiat, arbitror tamen eruditos, si propius admoverint oculos, meæ sententiæ subscripturos. Probo genus exercitationis, at eorum fucos non probo, qui nota ac degenerantia summorum virorum titulis obtrudunt orbi. Imposturam hanc et in Athanasii, et in eloquentissimi cujusque scriptis deprehendimus. Ab hac audacia saltem Basilii magni divinitas debuit abstertere. Quanquam in hoc auctore parcius est peccatum. Adjecimus et Hieronem Xenophonticum, cui admovimus δευτέρως φρονιδαί. Bene vale. A. 1532.

“*Erasmus* suspected the Commentary of Basil on Isaiah to be spurious: his suspicions are rejected as groundless by Cave, Tillemont, &c. He suspected that the book of this Father on the Holy Ghost was interpolated; but is refuted by Casaubon, and forsaken by the ablest critics. He also judged that the second homily of Basil on Fasting was not genuine; but is refuted by Tillemont. The Abbé Billi hath censured many inaccuracies in his version.

Erasmus also condemned some tracts ascribed to Chrysostom as spurious, which the Learned have since pronounced to be genuine. M. Simon, never much disposed to do justice to Erasmus, says that his edition of Chrysostom was unworthy of a man who had acquired so much reputation." *Burigni*, tom. ii. p. 350.

Oratio Erasmi de Pace et Discordia.

Addressed to Cornelius Goudanus; and made when he was twenty years old. It is a juvenile performance, as the matter and the manner sufficiently shew.

Oratio Funebris in funere Bertæ De Heyen, &c.

Composed in his twenty-first year, in honour of a Lady, who seems to have been a person of virtue and piety, and a singular friend to Erasmus.

Then follow two Epitaphs in verse.

Carmina varia.

These Poems were all composed in his younger days, and are pretty enough for a boy. There are in them several faults, either of the Author, or of the Transcriber, or of the Press; and they are, to say the plain truth, most scandalously published in this Edition of Leyden. No care at all was taken to revise them, and to mark any of the errors. I could easily correct them in several places, but shall only give the Reader a small specimen.

Floræ tempore suo jam deletat roseum ver.

Read:

Flora tepore suo.

Et tu, Phæbe mater, perpetuum vale.

Read, *pater.*

In the Ode to the Virgin Mary:

Qui cavis tentat trabibus minaces

Adire fluctus, rabidasque Syrtes.

Read, *Adriæ.*

In the Poem on Christ:

Quid tibi, Christe, in ore est? quid te, Regum optime, tardat?

Read, *moræ.*

Robortelli Annotationes in Erasmus, &c.

Then follows:

Herol-

Heroldi Declamatio pro Erasmo.

Some anonymous Libeller had attacked the reputation of Erasmus four years after his death ; to which this is a reply, composed in the year 1541. by Heroldus, a young Protestant.

This *Anonymus*, or *Pseudonymus*, who called himself *Philalethes Utopiensis*, is said to have been an Italian physician, one Hortensio Lando. Bayle, LANDO.

Heroldus here says that Erasmus was born A. 1567. as we have fixed it.

T O M U S IX. et X.

PRÆFATIO JOANNIS CLERICI.

POST longas moras, quas ægre quidem tulerunt Erasmiianorum Operum amantes, sed quæ etiam Bibliopolæ ipsi invito, dum Indices expectat, tædium et detrimentum creant non exiguum, prodit tandem ultimum Volumen Operum Erasmi. Nullam ipse partem lucubrationum suarum, majore cum fastidio, conscripsit ; quia homo, ut ex cæteris ejus scriptis satis liquet, paci et concordie natus, coactus est, per multos annos, bellum ferme internecinum a non uno adversariorum genere sibi illatum propulsare. Hoc enim in laudem Erasmi nostri merito possumus dicere, neminem mortalium, nominatim certe, ab eo priorem laceffitum fuisse. In vitia quidem nonnullorum Ordinum, et ea quæ optimi quique ejus ævo in Republica Christiana emendata voluissent, oratione invectus est ; sed nominibus diligenter, nisi provocatus scriptis jam editis, pepercit.

Colloquia, quæ avidissime ejus ætate lecta sunt, et hac nostra etiamnum summa cum voluptate leguntur, sane quidem adsperserunt nonnullos eorum qui minutas quasdam cæremonias, aliaque ejusmodi inania commenta, pro Religione venditabant ; sed neminem nomine appellavit. Attamen ex hoc volumine liquebit pro innoxiiis illis Colloquiis, imo vero utilissimis omnium Dialogorum, Apologias optimo viro scribendas fuisse. Versione, Adnotationibus, et Paraphrasibus in Novum Testamentum nemini nocere, omnibus prodesse conatus est, estque in iis, cur ei Posteritas omnis gratias habeat ; quas doctissimi quique viri in scriptis suis ei dudum egerunt, et porro agent, dum aliquis honor erit Sacris Literis et bonæ menti. At hoc Volumen, me tacente, satis

ostendit quot in se crabrones, utilissimis Operibus, concitarit. Fateor homines iniquos et importunos satis acriter tandem ab eo fuisse repulso, et sub finem vitæ, cum lædi famam suam videret ab iis, de quibus bene meritum se esse putabat, aliquando paulo commotiorem fuisse, et ea scripsisse quæ alioqui nunquam emisisset homo mitis ingenii et quietis amantissimus. Sed quis non ignoscat seni assiduis laboribus in usum Reipublicæ Literariæ exantlatis, defatigato et cum infirma valetudine perpetuo luctanti, nec eo secius de omnibus bene mereri pergenti; si dictariis et scommatibus malignorum et iniquorum adversariorum aliquanto acrius reposuerit? Quis indignetur viro, qui ferventibus acerrimis contentionibus, ac præliis ferme quotidianis, cum ab iis abhorreret, seque ex acie subducere ab utrisque vulneratus conaretur, indignationem nonnullam in eos testatus est, qui inter tela versari invitum volebant? Quod si in quibusdam modum non satis servarit, hoc quoque humanæ imbecillitati tribuamus et ignoscamus; cum omnes, in multis, aliorum indulgentia indigeamus. Quamvis autem, in hisce Apologiis, commotior subinde videatur, quam in aliis Operibus, attamen quisquis eas leget paulo studiosius, inveniet passim ἐράσιον, hoc est, amabile illud ingenium, jocosum et amœnum, quodque ridere, quam ringi, multo mallet, et adversarios jocando potius quam mordendo, ad sanio- rem mentem, æquiusque de se sentiendum reducere conaretur.

Strinxit, fateor, calamum in Catholicos et Romanæ sedis addictos scriptores; strinxit et in eos, qui ab ea secessionem fecerant, sed ab utrisque, ut dixi, laceffit; et ita in iis concertationibus sese gessit, ut nihil præter necessaria ad famam suam tuendam proferre sibi videretur, nec studio partium transversum agi, ut putabat, se pateretur. Certe quodcumque de singulis ejus scriptis feratur a nobis judicium, ita personam, quam sibi impositam esse a magno rerum humanarum Chorago existimabat, sustinuit: ut partes quæ tum contendebant, nec nunc studiis minoribus certant, hominem quantumvis utrimque laceratum ad se trahere conentur; quod ex multis utrarumque partium scriptis ostendere facile possemus. Vituperamus, carpimus, erroris, dissimulationis, aut timiditatis doctissimum virum arguimus; nec eo secius nostrum esse volumus. Cum scribit in eos, quos Judaïsmum revocare voluisse ait, tum alii aperte sibi hominem favere dictitant. Cum vero invehitur in eos, qui secessionem fecerunt, clamitant continuo adversarii suum esse. Utrique faventi plaudunt, dissentienti indignantur. An igitur, inquires, neutris partibus addictus fuit? Imo vero utrisque, dum et hos et illos

ad mitiora et æquiora judicia, confiliaque revocare nititur, et pacem non iniquam, gratiamque reconciliare conatur. Non diffiteor irritos fuisse ejus, hac in re, labores, nec cum illo multos postea sensisse; sed si boni animi omnes ei gratiam habeamus, condonemusque cæteris viri meritis, si quid minus in ejus libris placeat, æquum de eo judicium feremus, quod nulla ætas possit nobis exprobrare, optimi vero et doctissimi viri semper sint laudaturi.

De hac hujus Voluminis Editione, paucis agendum nobis superest. Itaque præterquam quod quæ antehac excusa erant emendatiora multo nunc et elegantioribus typis expressa reponuntur, quemadmodum cætera omnia; huic Editioni accessere, I. Apologia Martini Lydii pro Erasmo, opposita eorum calumniis, qui eum Arianismi accusabant, &c. II. Index Expurgatorius in Opera Erasmi, ut Catholici qui nolunt ea legere, quæ a Congregatione examini Librorum Romæ aut Madriti præfecta damnantur, prætermittere, si ita videatur, ea possint. Notatæ sunt paginæ Editionis Basileensis, una cum hujusce paginis, ut qui habent vetera Exemplaria in quibus loca censurâ notata detracta sunt, aut atramento deleta, qualia multa occurrunt, videre hinc facile queant quid in suis Exemplaribus desit, si modo ea legendi potestatem eis fecerint ii, quibus eam negare aut concedere jus est adtributum. Ne quis autem putet propterea bonis omnibus, in Ecclesia Romana, invisum post fata Erasmus fuisse, obstant cum testimonia primo ejus Operum Volumini præfixa, tum etiam, quæ hic III. loco occurret, oratio funebris in ejus obitum conscripta a Gulielmo Insulano, Juliacensi, qui Aquigrani Præpositus Canonorum S. Aldaberti fuit. Subjuncta est etiam Epistola Erasmi, quam Bibliopola serius accepit, nec tamen omittendam esse merito credidit. IV. Index generalis omnium Operum Erasmi, excepto Epistolarum Volumine, cui peculiare sui Indices sunt adjecti, iique denuo magna diligentia confecti.

Cum autem Nonum Volumen Operum Erasmi jam satis crassum esset, et omnium quidem crassissimum, ita aucta est ejus moles, additionibus memoratis et Indice Universali, ut satius duxerimus, ordine Erasmi, ad lucubrationes quod attinet, servato, id in duo Volumina partiri; quæ ratio est cur pro IX. Voluminibus Frobenianis, nunc X. in hac Editione habeantur. Quod monendum existimavimus, ne quid mutatum in ordine ab Erasmo ipso constituto quispiam forte morosior criminaretur. Quin et XI. Volumina ex hisce nostris possunt conflari, quia Volumen III. quo Epistolæ continentur, additionibus nostris, imaginibus-

ginibusque Clarorum Virorum æri incisis, insertisque ita auctum est, ut crassius pæne sit, quam ut uno integumento vestiri possit; quamobrem id in priorem et posteriorem partem, titulis duobus editis, distinximus.

Si hæc nonnihil Operum Erasmi pretium augeant, at usum multo commodiorem, faciliorem, et fructuosiorem reddent. Pauci enim sunt, quibus vacat quæ digna sunt, in hujusmodi Libris, quæ memoriæ mandentur adnotare, aut in Adversaria referre; plerique satis habent recordari apud quem^f Scriptorum ea legerint, nec tamen loci ita meminerunt, ut invenire facile possint, præsertim in tot voluminibus. Ideo Bibliopola nullis pepercit sumtibus, ut copiosos Erasmo Indices adderet; estque profecto cur propterea ab hominibus literarum amantibus gratiam sibi haberi ac referri suo jure expectet. Quam testatam ii demum facient qui hæc Erasmi opera sibi comparabunt, quibus, me iudice, nulla paullo locupletior bibliotheca, nemo paullo elegantioris ingenii vir potest carere.

Epistola Apologetica ad Dorpium.

Written A. 1515.

This^g Epistle is drawn up with the utmost mildness and moderation. He gives an account how he came to write the *Encomium Moriae*, and defends it against the censures of Dorpius. He speaks of his own labours upon Jerom and the New Testament, and of the ignorance and malice of his enemies, and he recommends to Dorpius the study of the Greek tongue. It is impossible to read this letter without being charmed with his wit and his good-nature.

Apologia ad Jac. Fabrum Stapulensem.

Written A. 1517.

^h Erasmus, in his notes on the New Testament had taken civil notice of some errors of Faber, and had differed from him in some places; which provoked Faber to fall upon Erasmus. This Apology is written with smartness, but with respect, some few places excepted, where the bad Latin and the bad Logic of Faber, together with his unfriendly misrepresentations and cavils, excited the disdain and resentment of Erasmus. See a long note of Erasmus on Hebr. II. 7. where he also defends

^f Read *scriptorem*.

^g Life of Erasmi. p. 73.

^h Life of Erasmi. p. 96.
himself

himself against Faber. He makes good remarks on the ambiguous authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Faber had taken occasion to insult the Grammarians; for which Erasmus ridicules him as he deserved.

Annotatio Erasmi, quam Faber oppugnat. And :

Fabri Disputatio adversus hanc Annotationem.

Then follows :

Apologia in Dialogum Jac. Latomi. L. I. et II.

Written A. 1519. against two silly Dialogues, in which Erasmus, and his Theological works had been obliquely censured.

Apologia pro Declamatione Matrimonii.

Addressed to the Students of Louvain, A. 1519.

A Declamation of his, *De Laude Matrimonii*, had been obliquely censured, in a public Speech, by Joannes Atensis, Rector of that University, to which Erasmus opposeth this vindication. The Declamation is to be found in his Treatise *De Conscribendis Epistolis*, in tom. i. C. 414.

Apologia pro In Principio erat Sermo.

A defence against those who charged him with impiety, for translating *Λόγος* *Sermo*, and not *Verbum*; and particularly against Standish.

Responsio ad notationes Lei.

ⁱ Lee's objections to Erasmus are for the most part disingenuous misrepresentations, and poor chicaneries.

It appears that Lee had suffered Erasmus to see some of his manuscript remarks, and that Erasmus had written some hasty notes upon them here and there, and returned them; and that Lee took advantage of this, and wrote against those notes, which Erasmus had never intended for publication.

Lee's treatise against Erasmus, as to the style and Latinity, is not amiss. But Erasmus observes, and it is probable enough, that the book was written by *Lee and Company*; and that he had several assistants in the undertaking.

ⁱ Life of Erasmus p. 98.

C. 131.

Lee observed that Matthew wrote in Hebrew, and that our Greek copy was not a good translation. Thus, whilst he accused Erasmus of Heresy, he himself was oversetting the authority and credit of St. Matthew's Gospel!

Erasmus thinks that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Greek; which seems to me to be by far the more probable opinion.

C. 131.

Erasmus commends the skill of Oecolampadius, in the Hebrew language, by whom he had been assisted in a few places.

C. 169. and 183.

Lee had accused Erasmus of heterodoxy and Arianism, for having represented the Father as the *Principium*, the *First Cause* of all. Erasmus defends himself well; and, in return, represents Lee's doctrine concerning the Trinity as heretical: And so indeed it was. To ascribe *Self-existence* to the Son of God, would have been called heresy by the ancient Fathers. I should chuse rather to call it, *a contradiction in terms*.

C. 214. and 225.

Lee taxes Erasmus with denying Original Sin, only because he advised men not to establish that doctrine upon passages of Scripture which proved nothing at all. In the same manner, and for the same reason he charges him with denying that Marriage is a Sacrament.

C. 255.

Erasmus had said that Auricular Confession was not instituted by our Saviour and his Apostles: but he allowed that the Church had a power to appoint it; for he always professed to entertain high notions of the authority of the Church. Lee attacked Erasmus with a variety of arguments, all of them good for nothing; so that Erasmus found it an easy matter to expose him; and makes both here and elsewhere many excellent remarks concerning the scandalous abuse of Auricular Confession.

C. 262.

C. 262.

Here Erasmus defends what he had said concerning divorce, on the first Epistle to the Corinthians.

C. 270 and 273.

Lee accused Erasmus of favouring Arianism (as in other places, of favouring Pelagianism) because he rejected and gave up inconclusive texts of Scripture, which injudicious disputants had often urged against those systems. *Denique*, says Lee, *si verum esset, tamen erat dissimulandum*. What scandalous doctrine is this!

C. 271.

Here again Lee accuseth him of favouring Arianism, because he thought that the Christians of the fourth century had done better if they had dropped the unscriptural word *ὁμοούσιος*. Erasmus gives him an answer, which deserves to be transcribed:

Hic arrodit Leus quod adjeceram in Annotatione: Ex hoc verbo, videlicet hypostaseos, nata est magna digladiatio, quod Ariani exegerant tres hypostases, et verbum homusii non reciperent. Res indigna, meo sane iudicio, ob quam Oriens et Occidens exitiabili bello inter se conflictarentur, et orbis concordia turpiter scinderetur. Hoc loco mihi videtur Leus, velut argumentum nactus declamatorium, exercere voluisse dicendi copiam ac vim. Sed id ita facit, ut ad me non magnopere pertineant quæ differit. Nam ipse de vocabulis loquor, quæ novitate sua præbuerunt dissidii materiam: id Leus ad rem trahit. Nostri tres personas agnoscebant, tres hypostases non item. Ariani cum hypostaseos verbum libenter amplecterentur, abhorrebant ab homusii vocabulo, et quemadmodum Hieronymus suspicabatur subesse nescio quid veneni in syllabis, cum ab eo exigeretur trium hypostaseon confessio, ita Ariani suspicabantur nescio quid veneni latere in vocabulo homusii: vocem esse inauditam, nusquam legi in divinis Libris, et ideo suspectam. Jam cum nullus unquam exstiterit in Ecclesia tumultus hoc gravior aut latius patens, an non magis expedisset, omittis utrinque novis vocabulis, tueri publicam orbis concordiam, quam rei Christianæ summam in extremum discrimen adducere? præsertim cum in hujusmodi dissidiis fere sese misceat affectus humanus, et utraque pars opinionis suæ studio, et adversariorum odio iniquius interpretetur quod ab adversariis adfertur, et suis impendio faveat. Possem hujus generis plura commemorare exempla, sed in re odiosa satius est ab
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exemplis temperare. Jam quod mihi videtur magis expediens futurum fuisse, id visum est et illius temporis gravissimis Episcopis, ac Principibus, qui frequentissima Synodo semel atque iterum censuerunt abolendam verborum contentionem, modo de re fidei conveniret. Neque quisquam admodum refragatus est de abolendo nomine *homusii*, imo probabile videbatur omnibus, ut vocabulum, quod cum in Sacris Literis nusquam reperiretur, tamen novitate sua multis esset scandalo, de medio tolleretur. Et jam coierat concordia, sed *male facta gratia nequicquam coit, et rescinditur*, ut inquit Flaccus. Si quis diffidet nostræ narrationi, legat Hieronymi Dialogum, quem scripsit adversus Luciferianos. Jam sunt quædam hujusmodi, ut non sit necesse magno Ecclesiæ tumultu persequi. Diffidebatur olim de celebrando Pascha, ac gravibus Episcopis ea res non est visa satis idonea, ob quam Christianorum communio scinderetur. Eiusdem generis putavit Cyprianus, quod quidam ab hæreticis baptizatos denuo baptizabant, quidam secus. Mihi videntur ea potissimum inculcanda, quæ faciunt ad vitæ pietatem. Cæterum immodice philosophari in subtilitatibus illis, quæ plus habent ostentationis quam fructus, non admodum probarim, præsertim si id fiat gravi Christianæ Reipublicæ tumultu, cujus concordia usque adeo consulendum est, ut Paulus sæpe numero parcat Pseudapostolis, ne irritati gravius etiam turbarent pacem Christianorum. Si Ariani voluissent confiteri sicut confitebantur, *Filium esse Deum de Deo genitum, similem Patri, ejusdem cum illo naturæ*, quod nec ipsum, ni fallor, negabant, et omissis *hypostaseon* vocabulis, nobiscum amplexi fuissent *tres personas*, nonne præstabat duorum verborum jacturam facere, quam admittere diffidium tam exitiabile? An doceri non poterat æqualitas personarum, nisi repertum fuisset novum *homusii* vocabulum? At hoc non recipiebant Ariani. Non patrocinator in præsentia Arianis, qui toto pectore sequor quod definivit Ecclesia, sed illud quæro, an commoda interpretatione potuerit teneri concordia. Dicebant Filium subditum Patri. Certe natura Filius obtemperat Patri, a quo vitam habet. Forte fieri potest ut qui subsit, non ideo tamen minus habeat dignitatis. Dicebant Filium esse creaturam: quid si hoc sentiebant, gigni ab alio et esse ab alio, quodammodo condi esse? Dicebant forte Spiritum Sanctum utrisque ministrum esse: quid si hoc sentiebant, per eum et Patrem et Filium operari? Jam cum Hilarius fateatur Patrem esse Filio majorem auctoritate, sed ita ut Filius minor non sit, cum hoc habeat a Patre ut illi sit æqualis: quæso, si verum fateri fas est, quantulum abest ab Arianis? Si Pater ma-

jor

jor est Filio auctoritate originis, igitur juxta divinæ naturæ rationem major est. Sed hoc quo major est, non communicat Filio, videtur enim Filius ea parte minor. Etenim si Hilarius sensisset Patrem Filio majorem quatenus est homo, non oportuit refugere Filium hac ratione dici minorem. Porro secundum eandem rationem aliquem dici majorem altero, cum ille minor non sit, nihilo videtur probabilius quam si quis dicat, Petrum esse patrem Joannis, cum Joannes non sit illius filius. Æquum est, ut in iis, quæ nobis ab Apostolis ac Patribus, qui ab illis hauserunt, tradita sunt, consentiamus omnes. Cæterum nihil non pertrahere ad fidei negotium, seminarium est diffidiorum, ac pestis Christianæ concordiae, qua sublata Christiani non sumus: cum tamen possit esse obnoxius hæretico errori, qui Christo carus sit, si modo simpliciter erret inculpata ignorantia. Expulsus est Arius ob unam aut alteram voculam. Athanasii Symbolum quotidie canitur in Templis: et tamen negat Catholice dici, quæ nunc Theologi fatentur dici recte. Negat ille dici tres æternos, tres omnipotentes, tres increatos, tres imensos, nec putat hunc sermonem minus impium esse, quam si quis dicat tres Deos. At hodie diversa est Theologorum sententia. Nam quemadmodum cum plures eodem fune trahunt navim, multi trahunt, tamen una est tractio: sic nihil vetat Personis divinis numero multitudinis tribuere, quod tamen in singulis diversum non est. Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus sapiunt, et tamen eadem est sapientia. Tres volunt, et tamen eadem est voluntas. Tres provident, et tamen eadem est providentia. Tres sunt, et tamen eadem est essentia. Ita eadem æternitate tres sunt æterni. Jam cum neget dici tres æternos, tamen post fatetur dici tres coæternos. Neque mihi satisfacit quod Durandus adfert de differentia substantivi nominis et adjectivi, nisi forte sic interpreteris, bonum esse adjectivum, et bonitatem substantivum: Tres boni sunt, non tres bonitates: quemadmodum in corpore multa membra sunt animata, sed eadem est anima. Porro, non video quid intersit inter vocem æterni et Domini. Ut tres sunt æterni, sed eadem æternitate, ita quid vetat dici tres Dominos, sed eodem dominio? Quando non desunt magni nominis Theologi, qui vero pioque sensu putant dici posse tres Deos, sed eadem Deitate, nimirum si quis sentiat tres esse, quorum quisque dicatur Deus, sed eadem, ut dixi, Deitate qua cæteri. Jam quod ait: *Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo; ita Deus et homo unus est Christus*, nisi commode interpretemur, sensum habet hæreticum. Ad hæc, quod hic negat in Trinitate quicquam esse majus, Hilarius non

refugit Patrem dicere majorem. Rursus quod hic negat quicquam esse prius, non defuerunt Theologi, qui dixerint Patrem aliqua ratione Filio priorem. Jamdudum clamas, lector, Quorsum hæc? Ut ostendam de rebus divinis nihil tam circumspecte dici posse, quin pateat calumniæ, si contingat iniquus interpres. Proinde satius esse non tam multa definire de hujusmodi rebus, quas nec assequitur intellectus humanus, nec exprimit sermo. Præstat venerari quædam, quam scrutari. Dubium non est quin et hodie multa de divina natura ignoret Ecclesia, cui satis est quod ea novit quæ docet Sacra Scriptura, quæque ad salutis necessitatem pertinent. Ego si quid habuissem auctoritatis in illis Synodis, in quibus de orbis concordia tractabatur, suavissem præstare, nescire quid sibi vellet *homusii* et *homæusii* verbum in Personis divinis, quam tanto rerum tumultu vel tueri vel impugnare. Sed hæc omnia adversus Leum dicta sunt, non pro Arianis, quorum omnis hæresis sic est explosa, ut non alia magis, nec est periculum ne quis illam instauret. Nam aliunde nunc est periculum Ecclesiæ, si tamen ullum est periculum.

C. 275.

Lee abused Erasmus for omitting the *three heavenly witnesses* in the first Epistle of John, and said that this was giving encouragement to Arianism. Erasmus defends himself, and shews how little this text, if it were genuine, could serve to silence and confute the Arians. He says of these men :

Cum nulla sit hæresis magis extincta, quam Arianorum, mirum unde sic metuat Leus. — Nec enim ulla fuit factio peritior sacrarum Literarum, quam fuit Arianorum, in hoc suum præceptorem Origenem referentium, quam ego sic devictam gaudeo, ut libros tamen velim eruditionis gratia superesse.

The rest of the remarks of Erasmus, against Lee, are learned, spirited, and elegant, and well deserve to be perused.

Apologia ad Stunicam, &c.

* Stunica had represented Erasmus as an Arian, and a blasphemer. Erasmus, in return, treats him with no less severity, ridicules him, and exposes his impudence and his calumnies.

* Life of Erasmi. p. 269.

C. 309.

Erasmus had said that the name of *God* was only ascribed to Christ in two or three places of the New Testament. Stunica made him an heretic for this, and produced ten places, where, as he pretended, Christ was called *God*.

C. 311.

Erasmus, in his first Edition of the New Testament had called Theophylact *Vulgarius*; here he corrects this mistake.

C. 353.

Stunica could not fail to attack Erasmus about the *three witnesses* in 1 John V. Erasmus says:

Ex codice Britannico reposuimus, quod in nostris dicebatur deesse: ne cui sit causa calumniandi. Quanquam et hunc suspicor ad Latinorum codices fuisse castigatum. Posteaquam enim Græci concordiam inierunt cum Ecclesia Romana, studuerunt et hac in parte cum Romanis consentire.

C. 389.

He says concerning Matrimony:

Non coibat apud (Judæos) matrimonium, nisi intercedente auctoritate parentum aut majorum: apud nos sæpe coit inter pueros et puellas, stultos et ebrios, per lenas et impostores, verbis de futuro, sed organis præsentibus. Et tamen hoc matrimonium est indissolubile. — Opinor nec Pontifici placere talia matrimonia. Et utinam declararet, sic contracta, non esse matrimonia, quemadmodum declaravit inter sceminam et frigidum.

Erasmus abhorred *clandestine marriages*; which, though disliked by many, yet have their friends and approvers, namely, *Fortune-hunters, Fleet-parsons, &c.*

Of these treatises against Stunica, the first is without date, upon which he threw away, as he says, seven days: the second is dated, 1522. the third is dated 1524. and dedicated to Faber, afterwards Bishop of Vienna; it took him up only one day: the fourth is dated 1529. and dedicated to Hubertus Barlandus, a physician.

It is needless to give a particular account of the objections of Stunica. Let it suffice to observe that he hath collected and abused all the best things that are to be found in the Theological works of Erasmus.

Apologia ad Caranzam.

¹ Caranza had undertaken the defence of Stunica; and Erasmus here gives him a very smart answer. This important Divine, who represents Erasmus as an *Arian* heretic, hath run himself into *Sabellianism*. Many a Divine, besides Caranza, hath had the same misfortune.

Apologia de loco taxato per Egmondanum.

Egmond and Standish had called Erasmus heretic for translating 1 Cor. XV. 51. from the Greek: *We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed.*

Prologus in Supputationes Beddæ, &c.

^m These are his replies to the censures of Bedda, another of his shameless calumniators. Erasmus pays him in kind, and treats him as an impudent liar, a slanderer, a blockhead, a heretic, and a blasphemer.

C. 448.

Bedda professus dogmatum confutationem, objicit illa quoque quæ mihi in manu non sunt. Non semel exprobrat paupertatem et fortunam adversam, corporis imbecillitatem et senectutem, ipse non ita multo me junior.

C. 451.

The Prefatory Epistle to his Replies to Bedda, is addressed to the Faculty at Paris, and dated, A. 1526.

C. 521.

Unum referam, quod nuper accidit apud Hispanos. Theologus Ordinis Franciscani, nomen et cognomen tacebitur, quod illic jam nemo nescit, res enim acta est publicitus magnoque tumultu, protulit ex meis libris aliquot damnatas sententias, quarum una fuit: Scripseram, in

¹ Life of Eras. p. 302.

^m Ibid. p. 371.

Enchiridio, ni fallor, *Hæc est vera germanaque Theologia, quæ et Philosophorum supercilia et Regum sceptrâ subiecit Christo.* Hic dira vociferabatur in meum nomen, qui negarim usquam esse veram Theologiam præterquam in *Germania.* Hoc genus exempla plus triginta possum referre, quæ ipsi in publicis concionibus ac prælectionibus, imo libris editis, voluerunt omnibus esse nota.

C. 568.

He says of Gerson :

Theologus humi fere repens, quod ad verum Christianismum attinet, — cui tamen viro magis defuit seculum, quam ingenium, aut industria.

C. 580.

Here Erasmus honestly and boldly persists in his opinion, that heretics ought not to be put to death.

C. 697.

He declares himself very little skilled in the French language.

Apologia adversus Sutorem.

Dedicated to Joannes Selva. From a passage in the dedication, it appears to have been written when Francis I. was made prisoner ; which was A. 1525.

Erasmus represents Sutor as the most consummate fool, and impudent blockhead, that ever he had to contend with.

Ex Leo nonnihil didici, Latomus adduxit nonnulla non indigna cognitu, Stunica multa docuit, licet aliena. *Ex* hoc loquacissimo libro Sutoris, ita me Deus amet, non video quid disci possit, nisi rabiosa maledicentia, præsertim cum cætera omnia sint aliena, præterque infana convitia, nihil hic habeat proprium.

C. 781.

At ego multos novi candidos Theologos, ac longe dissimiles isti Sutori, qui senes et cani hortabantur tamen tyrones Theologiæ, ut linguas ac bonas literas amplecterentur, deplorantes infelicitatem sui seculi, quod ipsis non contigissent eadem, non invidentes junioribus studiorum accessionem. *Ex* his unum nominabo, quem in Anglia plurimi norunt,

norunt, et arbitror adhuc supereffe. Nomen erat *Melton*, Cancellarius Ecclesiæ Eboracensis. Edidit Libellum, *De examinandis his, qui sacris cupiunt initiari*. Erat vir impeditiore lingua, sed impense doctus, vita inculpatissima, moribus candidissimis. Testes erunt qui student Cantabrigiæ, virum illum usum apud juvenes hac adhortatione, quam Sutor vocat hæreticam. R. P. Joannem Episcopum Roffensem (*Fisher*) nec ipse Sutor, opinor, audebit contemnere, ea est hominis integritas, eruditio, et auctoritas apud bonos omnes. Et tamen is jam vergens ad annum quadragesimum, magno studio didicit Græcas et Hebraicas literas, et ut idem faciant instigat alios, ac sumtibus juvat: non ut intelligant Homerum aut Lucianum, nihil minus illi cordi est, sed ut plenius intelligant Divinas Scripturas. An et hunc Sutor scribet inter insanos, hæreticos, et blasphemos? R. D. Cardinalis Eboracensis Oxoniæ instituit Collegium regali munificentia, quod *apum* dicitur, ac præfecit illi Theologum, ut intelligas negotium agi Theologiæ. Idem ante paucos annos factum est Lovanii, cui et ipsi Theologus præsidet. Simile Collegium nascitur Tornaci, faventibus et approbantibus bonis omnibus. Pontifices Romani conducunt, alunt ac provehunt, qui publice doceant tres Linguas, Collegia donant amplis privilegiis, an hos omnes agitat Spiritus Diabolicus? Agitat haud dubie, si Sutori credimus. At si cogamur alterum credere, malim profiteri tales Sutores tam impotenter maledicos, tam perversi cerebri, tam sinistri judicii, agitari Satanæ spiritu. Si Lingua Hebraica non est discenda propter Cabalam et Talmud, multo minus propter Vetus Testamentum, insanus sit, aut etiam hæreticus, qui huic dat operam.

Infanit et hæresim præcipit, præter locum quem ex Digestis citavimus, Decretalis illa Constitutio, titulo *De Magistris*, quæ jubet in celebribus Academiis conducere, qui tres Linguas doceant, quod conducant ad intelligenda Divinæ Scripturæ mysteria. Hæc si non legit Sutor, insigniter indoctus est; si dissimulat, egregie nugator est.

C. 783.

— *de Sacris Libris in Linguam vulgatam vertendis*, dogma meum non est, nec ego unquam fui auctor, ut quisquam Sacros Libros verteret in Linguam vulgatam, nec ipse tale quicquam unquam aggressus sum, et ingenue fateor optimum esse ut populus discat viva voce, si contingat boni Doctoris copia, nec omnia tamen apud populum promiscuum effundenda:

effundenda : tantum locis aliquot adversus illos differui, qui putant actum de fide Christiana, si vulgus attingat Sacras literas.

Here is a little tergiversation, and Erasmus seems to retract what he had advanced in many places.

C. 788.

He commends ^a De Loine, Copus, and Hermannus of Gauda :

Puto neminem esse inter eos, qui nihil aliud profitentur quam Juris prudentiam, quin Deloini suspexerit eruditionem etiam in hoc genere. Præter has dotes, quantum illi adjunxerunt humanitatis literæ? quantum tenebat disciplinarum? quas scribebat epistolas? Nam adhuc aliquot apud me sunt, extemporales quidem, nec ulla ex parte lucernam olentes, sed, Deum immortalem! quam felices, quam elegantes, quantum sani judicii, quantum vigorem ingenii, quantum candoris et humanitatis, quam nihil gloriæ, nihil arrogantiae, nihil quæstus præ se ferentes! Quis erat illo senē (nam admodum natu grandis erat) commodior magisque comis ad vitæ consuetudinem? quis magis amicus amico? quis æque puri niveique pectoris? Qualis evasisset ille, si puer attigisset rectiora studia, quæ tunc temporis nondum in Galliam demigrarant? Quid optabilius quam si omnes Juris professores tales essent, qualis erat Deloinus? Quantum ille sui desiderium reliquit apud optimum quemque, cum tamen justa senectute decesserit? Quis illi non optabat immortalitatem? Non inficior apud Gallos esse Medicos egregie doctos, nec libet collatione personarum quemquam offendere: tantum illud dicam, quod neminem latere potest, Guilhelmum Copum etiam summis esse suspiciendum. Quantum vir ille Medicorum artibus, judicii, decorisque adjunxit? An quoquam inferior est in ulla parte Philosophiæ, aut in Mathematicis, quod Linguarum peritiam et veterum Auctorum notitiam addiderit? Pauci sunt anni, quod Parisiis inter Theologos prima laurea delata est Hermano a Gauda conterraneo meo (liceat enim hæcenus gloriari) juveni et Linguarum peritia et politionibus literis affatim instructo. Erant in ea classe, qui præter solennia nihil attigerant. Et tamen hic cæteris palmam præripuit, imo toti potius ordini Theologico multum decoris addidit. Horum similes non paucos commemorare possim. Eat nunc Sutor, et ex sui putidi cere-

^a Life of Erasms. p. 27. 83.

bri vaticinio pericula proferat, si quis quid Linguarum aut literaturæ politioris attingat.

C. 789.

He says of Indulgences :

Occasio data est per Dominicanos quosdam, qui Pontificias Indulgentias prædicabant tam impudenter, ne dicam impie, ut populus ferre non posset.

C. 796.

Nihil moror Sutorem curatorem, qui ipse maxime eget curatore. Tales enim hæreticos facere solent, non mederi lapsis, aut confirmare vacillantes. Sic propulsus est ab Ecclesia Arius, sic Tertullianus egressus est ab Ecclesia, sic Wyclevus factus est factionis auctor, quod in eum Monachi quidam nullum faciebant debacchandi modum.

It is very true.

Appendix de Scriptis Jodoci Clithovei.

This is a short defence of his Declamation in praise of matrimony.

Declarationes ad Censuras Facultatis Theologiæ Parisiensis.

The Faculty in 1526. had condemned several Propositions extracted from his Paraphrases, and his Dialogues. This is a defence of himself, in which he treats those Divines with more civility and respect than they deserved : for they declared him an Heretic, and a Dæmoniac, and consequently one who deserved to be burned, according to the doctrine of those days ; and they certainly would have roasted him alive, if he had dwelt at Paris, unless the Civil Magistrates had interposed.

C. 842.

He hath a good fling at his own times :

Jura Pontificia Clericis interdicut arma inuasoria, defensoria concedunt. Defensoria vocant loricas, clypeos, et galeas ; quamquam nos nunc interpretamur defensoria, quæ defendendi animo sumuntur : nimirum posteaquam Pontifices, honoris gratia, stipari cœperunt profano satellitio, etiam in mensa ac templo, posteaquam Episcopi cœperunt iter facere comitati trecentis armatis equitibus, posteaquam Cardinales, honoris gratia, cœperunt appellari *Legati Campi*.

C. 908.

C. 908.

He describes the persecuting Prelates:

Nunc Abbates et Episcopi quidam gratissimum Deo sacrificium existimant, si suo ferro suaque manu quamplurimos occidant.

C. 917.

Guilhelmus Grocinus Anglus, vir, dum viveret, severissimæ castissimæque vitæ. Ecclesiasticarum constitutionum observantissimus, pene usque ad superstitionem, Scholasticæ Theologiæ ad unguem doctus, ac natura etiam acerrimi judicii, demum in omni disciplinarum genere exacte versatus. Is ante annos triginta Londini in æde divo Paulo sacra, &c.

See the story above, p. 211.

Responsio ad Phimostomum.

Addressed, in the year 1532. *Clariss. Viro J. V. Doct. N. S. D.* to whom, it seems, *Phimostomus* had dedicated his Dissertation against Erasmus. Who is this *vir clarissimus*? Perhaps *Joannes Vlattenus*, a great friend of Erasmus.

He defends here what he had said concerning divorce, on 1 Cor. vii. It is an excellent answer.

Responsio ad Juvenem Gerontodidasalum.

Against a prating, half-learned, young Franciscan, who was assisted by others, and who attacked his version of the Epistle to the Romans, and his notes upon it.

C. 992.

He gives it as his opinion that infant-baptism was not practised in the time of St. Paul.

Apologia adversus Monachos Hispanos.

Dedicated to Alphonfus Manricus, Archbishop of Seville, A. 1528.

In this apology he defends himself against the imputation of Arianism, by producing a multitude of passages from his own writings.

C. 1054.

He speaks of the cruelty of the Inquisition.

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Vix

— *Vix* reperio quomodo tuear exemplum quod hodie videmus in nonnullis, qui ob opiniones Scholasticas illico pertrahunt ad carceres et incendium: veluti nunc exuri videmus sacerdotes, qui puellam, quicum habent consuetudinem, malunt uxorem appellare quam concubinam. —

Res agitur per relatores, deputatos, ac judices Monachos, nec sincere, nec legitima juris forma, pronunciant in carcere tres Priores, Monachis duobus testibus, et apparatus rogus.

C. 1087.

Tantum hoc dicam, an hic primatus Pontificis, quem nunc illi tribuunt quidam, qui docent Pontificem quamlibet malum et impium non posse destitui, nec objurgandum esse, tantum blande admonendum a summis Principibus: qui docent, si universa Ecclesia decerneret aliquid, et solus Pontifex, puta Alexander sextus, diversum probaret, omnes ut schismaticos et hæreticos ituros in Tartara, solum Alexandrum evolaturum ad superos: qui docent, ad statuendum aliquid quantumvis grave nihil opus esse Pontifici Concilio vel generali, vel Provinciali, ne Cardinalium quidem, si velit uti potestate absoluta: an hic, inquam, primatus sit institutus a Christo vehementer addubito.

Responsiones ad Albertum Pium.

Containing, an Epistle to Albertus, which is also printed in the Volume of Epistles, C. 1709. Ep. 333: and is dated A. 1525. an Answer to Albertus, A. 1729. and a second Answer, after Albertus was dead. This controversial Work of Erasmus is a master-piece.

C. 1170.

De Apocalypsi — ingenue fateor me submittere sensum meum iudicio Ecclesiæ, cujus auctoritas nisi me moveret, plane confirmarem illud opus non esse Joannis Evangelistæ. Nunc recipio eo animo, quo recepit universalis Ecclesia.

C. 1180.

An protinus evertit Petri Cathedræ auctoritatem, qui deplorat aliquando existere Pontifices, qui sub umbra religionis tyrannidem exercent? Erasmus nusquam dixit, Ο Φιλαίτιε, Ecclesiasticam potestatem esse tyrannidem, sed tales exoriri nonnunquam Romanos Pontifices. Quod utinam accidat rarius. Lutherus longe alia prædicat de Pontifice Romano,

Romano, et infinitis partibus atrociora, sed ea non legit Pius, et commodius simul ac tutius putat cum Erasmo iurgari. *Parcat*, inquit, *tibi summus Deus*. Imo parcat summus Deus Pontificibus, qui tanto scandalo sunt interdum Ecclesiæ Christi.

Nihil indignor Urbi, nec ibi quicquam venatus sum, imo illa me complexa est humanius quam pro meritis meis. Sed urget me, num quando viderim Romæ quemquam piratam factum Episcopum? Omitto quid viderim; audeat ipse negare nonnumquam ad summas dignitates evehi, si non piratas, certe homicidas, veneficos, Simoniacos, ac vitiis aliis non hic referendis obnoxios. Exponat nobis quid est quod stomachatur Hieronymus a gregibus exoletorum admitti ad Episcopi dignitatem.

Epistola de esu carniū.

Addressed to the ° Bishop of Basil, A. 1522.

The design of this Epistle is to moderate the superstitious and rigid notions then entertained concerning fasting, and the distinction of foods, and an apology for his own conduct in that respect. Wechel was brought into trouble for reprinting it. See Bayle, *WECHEL*, and Maittaire, iii. 457.

This Epistle of Erasmus, together with his Replies to Stunica and Caranza, and Caranza's book against Erasmus, was printed, *Lutetiæ, arte — Petri Vidovæi — Impensis Conradi Resch*, A. 1523. 8^{vo}.

Caranza's book is treated by these Editors with great contempt:

Subjecimus ipsum Sanctii [Caranzæ] libellum, non contaminaturi chartas nostras talibus ineptiis, nisi visum fuisset ipsa re fidem facere lectori, quam gloriosus Theologus, quam non Theologice rem gesserit.

Sanctii Caranzæ — Annotationes — adversus Erasmus, — cui quidem hoc ipsum debet, quod ejus libellus denuo sit editus; ne sit quod possit calumniari; alioqui typographis operam suam et chartas non temere talibus nugis perdituris.

De Libero Arbitrio Diatribe.

Erasmus wrote this Treatise A. 1525. He sets out with remarks on the difficulty of the subject, and with declarations that he would treat Luther, against whom he writes, with decency and civility; and he keeps his promise, and shews much moderation.

° Christophorus Utenhemius.

He

He speaks of himself as of one so little disposed to dogmatizing, that he was, as he declares, rather inclined to *Scepticism*, where the Scriptures and the Church would give him leave.

He gently censures Augustin, for representing men as mere machines, impelled by God himself to vice or to virtue; and he rejects the notion that good works performed by Pagans, or by other persons, were mere sins in the sight of God.

Augustinus ex colluctatione cum Pelagio factus est iniquior libero arbitrio, quam fuerat antea.

He represents the doctrine of Predestinarian Fatality as extremely dangerous to the morals of men, and as a doctrine which, till then, had been embraced by no persons of note, except Manichæus and Wicliff.

He proceeds without acrimony, yet not without some small strokes of irony, giving hints that Luther and his disciples were tinctured with fanaticism.

He allows that Pelagius had carried his system of liberty rather too far, but he speaks of him without any thing like insult and severity. He thinks that Pelagius might have come off, by the help of a proper distinction, T. x. c. 1502. He shews himself throughout to have been much of the same opinion, which the Semipelagians before his days, and the Remonstrants afterwards entertained.

Cujus auxilio Erasmus scriptum de Libero Arbitrio confecerit, Epistola inedita ad Ludovicum Berum indicat his verbis :

D. Præposito [Ludovico Bero]

S. Amice incomparabilis. Mitto ad te primam manum nugamenti de Libero Arbitrio. Hic perdidisti dies quinque non sine magno tædio. Sciebam me non versari in mea arena. Rogo dignere inspicere, et indicare, ubi a toto scopo aberraverim. Nolim tamen hoc ad alios permanere. Bene vale.

Miegius, in Bibl. Brem. Hæsei, Class. II. Fasc. iv. p. 477.

TOMUS X.

Hyperaspistes Diatribæ.

LUTHER, in answer to the attack of Erasmus, wrote his *Servum Arbitrium*; to which Erasmus made this reply in two books. The Preface to the first is dated A. 1526.

Erasmus here had the advantage over Luther, in point of Reason, Scripture, primitive Christianity, and the Greek Fathers. But as Luther had treated him with too much virulence, he returns it to him with not much less acrimony.

These Treatises, though written, like the other works of Erasmus, with good sense, life, and spirit, yet, I know not how, are somewhat tiresome. They are wordy and diffuse, and a great part of them is employed in exposing all the false reasonings of Luther, and in repelling his insults, things in which Posterity is little interested. The question might have been discussed, and the doctrine of divine assistance, conditional decrees, and human liberty established in a smaller compass.

He complains of the great rudeness and unfairness of Luther, who was pleased to call him an Atheist and an Epicurean; he says that Luther had been assisted by some person, who had polished his style for him. He suspected Melanchthon, who thus writes to Sigism. Gelenius, A. 1526.

Erasmus quæso ut mihi places; nam quod suspicatur Lutherum me auti opera, valde errat: ego enim neque illis acerbis conflictationibus delector (nosti enim meam naturam) et imprimis hos duos nollem inter se commissos esse. C. 641. *Ed. Lond.*

C. 1251.

He observes how favourably Melanchthon, though of the Lutheran party, had judged of his *Diatribæ*.

Philippus Melanchthon huc scripsit meam Diatribam æquissimis animis acceptam Wittembergæ. Et adjecit, Iniquissimum sibi videri, si non liceret in Ecclesia suam cuique sententiam dicere.

C. 1256.

Erasmus says :



Tantum

— *Tantum* illud obiter dicam, me jam pridem non *diligenter* legisse Locos Melanchthonis, qui si mihi per omnia satisfecissent, abstinuissem a Diatriba.

It should be, I think, indiligenter.

C. 1486.

He speaks very favourably of the English Scholars :

— *Non* arbitror ullam esse provinciam, ex animo loquor, quæ pluribus insigniter eruditis viris abundet in omni literarum genere, quam pauci suas evulgant lucubrationes.

C. 1517.

He again cites the Epistle of Cicero to Octavius, which is spurious.

C. 1518. and 1584.

Concerning the state of unbaptized infants, he speaks thus :

Quomodo vero Deus servet immerentes, et damnet immerentes, quod certe verum est in infantibus non baptizatis, satis arbitror naturali ratione comprehendi non posse. — Infantes, ut arbitror, præstat Dei judicio relinquere. — Augustinus adversus Pelagianos decertans, studio Gratiae, tam parum tribuit libero arbitrio, ut nomine tribuat aliquid verius quam re. Rursus cum iis dimicans, qui dicebant infantes nihil damnationis contrahere ex peccato primorum parentum, ait illos, si sine baptismo decesserint, æternis ignibus exurendos. Utramque sententiam posteriores Theologi moderati sunt, aliquanto plus tribuentes libero arbitrio, — item infantium damnationem temperantes, distinguendo poenam damni a poena sensus. Joannes autem Gerson nec desperare videtur omnino de salute infantis, si parentum pietas insignis Dei bonitatem gnaviter sollicitarit.

C. 1524, 1525.

He judges favourably enough of Julian, the Pelagian Bishop, of whom I have given an account in the *Second of Six Dissertations*; and he insinuates that Augustin, in this controversy about Grace, was sometimes a perverse wrangler. See also C. 1435.

Adversus

Adversus Epistolam Lutheri.

The impetuous Luther wrote a very virulent Epistle against the last mentioned work of Erasmus, representing him as a Reprobate, a Pagan, and what not? To this Erasmus replies with much vehemence. He defends a Catechism which he had composed, and which Luther had censured. He defends himself with relation to the doctrine of the Trinity, and against the accusations of Arianism thrown out by Luther, and by others; as also against the charge of obscenity in explaining some passages of Scripture, and other imputations.

Præstigiæ Libelli cujusdam detectio.

This is a vindication of himself, published A. 1526. against an anonymous Lutheran, who charged him with holding the sentiments of the Evangelics concerning the Lord's Supper, but not daring to own them. In this reply he defends himself as well as he can, and declares that he is of the opinion held by the Romanists. But he certainly was full of ^p doubts and perplexities, and had too much erudition and too much sense to swallow without reluctance the *Monster of Transubstantiation*; and he avoids adopting that word. The prejudices of education seem to have stuck by him, as also a certain confused notion of Church-authority. He appears to have been much piqued, and very angry at this attack. Certainly it was not fair in his Adversary to reproach him for this polite and candid testimony, which he had given of Oecolampadius to the Senate of Basil:

S. P. *Magnifici Domini*, Celsitudinis vestræ hortatu perlegi librum Joannis Oecolampadii de verbis Cœnæ Domini, mea sententia doctum, disertum, et elaboratum; adderem etiam pium, si quid pium esse posset, quod pugnat cum sententia consensuque Ecclesiæ, a qua dissentire periculosum esse judico.

Epistola contra quosdam, qui se falso jactant Evangelicos, &c.

This Epistle is addressed, A. 1529. to Vulturius Neocomus, that is, to Gerardus Noviomagus, or Geldenhaur, with whom Erasmus had been well acquainted, who was a zealous Lutheran, or an Evangelic, and who had provoked Erasmus by representing him as once inclined to that party, and then opposing it, and instigating the Catholics against it. Erasmus replies with much spirit and elegance.

^p Life of Erasms. p. 380.

This man had complained mournfully to Erasmus of his great poverty: upon which Erasmus rather banters and insults, than comforts him. But he was very angry.

He had appealed to Erasmus, as to one who had said that Heretics ought not to be persecuted and destroyed. To this Erasmus replies, by making a paltry distinction between different Heretics, and saying that he did not pretend to restrain the Civil Magistrate from putting blasphemers to death. He adds:

Quæso te, per amicitiam nostram, an tibi parum videor gravatus invidia, nisi studio tantum addas sarcinæ? Adversus tot viperas, adversus tot crocodilos, adversus tot excetras ægre me sustineo favore Monarcharum, nec ulla res erat, quæ poterat illos magis alienare, &c. Si hoc agis, ut me perdas, quo evanuit animus ille tuus, olim tam amicus? &c.

He then speaks warmly against the Reformed, as having reformed nothing in their own manners, but being rather worse than they were before, and having made their adversaries of the Church of Rome more formidable and mischievous than ever.

Nunc, antea contemptis Theologis ac Monachis, per vos data est magna tyrannis excutiendi facultatibus, si quibus male velint; conjiciendi in vincula, denique exurendi, quod jam experti sunt complures, nemo non metuit. Antea licebat varias agitare quæstiones, de potestate Pontificis, de condonationibus, de restituendo, de purgatorio: nunc tutum non est hiscere, ne de iis quidem quæ vere pieque dicuntur. Et credere cogimur quod homo gignit ex se opera meritoria, quod benefactis meretur vitam æternam etiam de condigno; quod beata Virgo potest imperare Filio cum Patre regnanti, ut exaudiat hujus aut illius preces, aliaque permulta, ad quæ piæ mentes inhorrescunt. Antehac nemo magnopere molestus erat vescenti carnibus modo privatim; nunc pro hæretico trahitur in carcerem, et de capite periclitatur, qui vel valetudine coactus gustarit ovum in Quadragesima. Antea licebat conspuere Monachos ac Theologos; eosdem nunc sic armastis, ut capitale sit quemquam verbo laceffere. Antea licebat vobis proficisci quo lubebat, nunc aut latitatis metu, aut paucis civitatibus velut obsessi continemini. Antea clericos consecratio tuebatur a rigore profani juris, nunc Sacerdotes æque atque cerdones a carnifice torquentur, cæduntur, suspenduntur, decollantur, exuruntur, sine ulla^a regradatione. Sic effugistis regnum

^a *Degradatione*, I suppose.

Ponti-

Pontificis, &c. Hæc sunt renascentis Evangelii vestri præclara auspicia. Quid immineat malorum vos divinate. C. 1583.

He proceeds to exhort people to be quiet, and not to think of carrying on a reformation by violent methods, but to bear such evils as could not be cured.

Then follow two ingenious Epistles on the same subject, one to an Evangelic, whom he calls Eleutherius, dated A. 1530. the second to one, whom he calls Grunnius, dated A. 1531.

We have spoken of this dispute, in the Life of Erasmus, p. 480. There is a good account of Geldenhaur, and of his works, in the *Biblioth. of Hæfæus*, Class. V. Fasc. xi. p. 296. from which I have made the following extract:

Erasmus Gerhardum Geldenhaurium non semel vocat Vulturium Neocomum. Quænam autem, sodes, illius denominationis ratio? Apparet illa ex iis, quæ ipse Erasmus ad Eleutherium scripsit. Quam porro candidè interpretaris nomen Vulturii, quasi illi intendam avaritiæ crimen? Sed si nesciebas Vulturium esse jactum talorum, saltem scire poteras me alluisse ad verum illius nomen juxta linguam Germanicam. Id eo feci, ut apud pauciores traduceretur. Scilicet alludebat ad prænomen Gerhardi, quasi Gieraerdt, b. e. e genere vulturum. Gier enim Belgis est vultur, ut Germanis Geyer. Miror tamen hoc nomen Erasmus exprobrasse Geldenhaurio: potuisset enim ex lege talionis eum appellare Vulturium Vulturii, atque ita ejus verum nomen, quod fuit Gerhardus Gerhardi, Belgice, Geert Geertzen exprimere.

Geldenhaurius primum Philippo Burgundo principi et Diœceseos Ultrajectinæ Episcopo 1522. a Secretis, Cæsarique Carolo V. a Consiliis et Historiis, demum post renatum Evangelium, in Academia Marpurgensi Theologiæ Professor fuit, et in ea statione mortuus, A. 1542.

Inter alia ejus opera exstat:

Desiderii Erasmi Annotationes in leges Pontificias et Cæsareas de Hæreticis, nec non epistolæ variæ Gerhardi Noviomagi de re Evangelica et Hæreticorum pænis, &c. Argent. 1527.

Hic liber est, qui animum Erasmi, quo alias Geldenhaurius, ut ex literis editis ultro citroque datis satis apparet, valde amico fuerat usus, ab eo prorsus alienavit, ansamque illi præbuit notam illam in *Pseudevangelicos* epistolam, plenam atræ bilis et scommatum conscribendi.

Epistola ad Fratres Germaniæ Inferioris.

Written A. 1530.

This also is a defence of himself against the attacks of the Reformed who were much offended at the foregoing Treatises.

It is a heavy charge which he brings against them in these words:

Miris modis urgent ne hæretici trucidentur, cum ipsi Anabaptistas plectant capite, qui multo paucioribus articulis damnati sunt, et in suo sodalizio plurimos habere dicuntur, qui a perditissima vita ad emendatissimam se converterint, utcumque delirant in opinionibus, nec ullas Ecclesias aut urbes occuparunt, nec se fœderibus communierunt adversus vim principum, nec quemquam sua ditione aut facultatibus ejece-
runt, &c.

How little was the doctrine of Toleration understood or practised in those days! And what folly and cruelty was it in the Reformed, to put to death those poor people, I mean those Anabaptists, who were of a pacific and non-resisting disposition, and who thought the use of arms utterly unlawful, even in their own defence!

But, amongst other things, Erasmus objects to the Reformed, that they took upon them to interpret the Scriptures for themselves. As if it were possible for a rational creature to do otherwise!

They reproached him for getting money, and receiving presents, to which he says:

In Germania, ubi carissima sunt omnia, meæ pecuniæ jam aliquot florenorum millia consumsi, neque cuiquam assẽm debeo. Unde venirent divitiæ? Nec paucis eget hoc corpusculum, neque parvo mihi constant amanuenses, postremo nec frugi sum paterfamilias, nec esse possum cyminopristes. c. 1612.

He gives Farellus a bad character:

Supereſt Pharellus, bone Christe, quam pius, quam innocens vir! — Si nunc est conversus ad meliorem frugem, gratulor homini. Qualis olim erat, mihi valde displicuit, seditiosus, acidæ linguæ, et vanissimus, &c. c. 1617.

When the Lutherans attack him for departing from his former and freer sentiments, he is hard beset, and makes the best retreat that he can, sometimes a poor one.

Spongia

Spongia adversus adspergines Hutteni.

Erasmus had declined receiving a visit from his friend Hutten, who had acted as a warm and violent Lutheran. Erasmus chose to avoid his company, for fear of passing himself as a favourer of the Evangelics, and for other reasons. This raised the wrath of Hutten, and produced a most scurrilous and malicious book against Erasmus, the drift of which was to shew that Erasmus had been at first a friend to the Reformation, and then a deserter from the cause, and from his old friends, and a determined and violent enemy.

Erasmus here fights a good battle, and defends himself dextrously and elegantly. He was a very ready writer; for this reply, as he assures us, took him up only six days. *Totos sex dies perdidi*. It is dedicated to Zuinglius, whom he calls *virum doctissimum*.

Hutten was in hopes by abusing Erasmus to throw him into a fit of sickness:

— *Inter Scythicas voces, insignis immanitatis testes, etiam illa jactabatur: Hoc libello conjiciam Erasmus in lectum. Et quoniam casu incidit morbus ex percussu solis, fortasse nunc triumphat ac plaudit sibi. Verum ne putet me tam nullius esse animi, ut pejus valeam, etiamsi quindecim tales libelli scribantur in me.* c. 1670.

He gives some account of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, and treats it as a work of more wit than discretion. He says that he himself was very unjustly suspected of writing it, and that it was composed by three persons whom he names not. c. 1640.

He confesseth that he was apt to be very open in conversation:

In conviviis aut confabulationibus amicorum nugor, quicquid in buccam venit, sæpe liberius quam expedit. Et hoc mihi vitium est maximum, ut ait Terentianus ille Parmeno. c. 1639.

Nonnunquam in eodem convivio, Carneadem referens, disputo pro Luthero, et contra Lutherum. — Mihi placet hæc libertas in conviviis et familiaribus colloquiis, qua sæpe utor immodice, aliorum animos ex meo æstimans. Ac ne me vitiis omnibus liberem, hoc mihi vitium est præcipuum, sic insitum, ut ægre possim vincere, cum non semel expertus sim quosdam, oblitos quam multa ipsi liberrime dixerint, quod a nobis dictum fuerat meminisse, ac referre, et per occasionem impingere, multis interim, ut fit, afflictis ac depravatis. c. 1653.

Quibus propius notus sum, illud mihi vitium ceu peculiare tribuunt, linguæ libertatem immodicam, quæ verum tacere nesciat. Atque hæc est

est præcipua causa, cur me ab aulis Principum subduxerim, in quibus, velis nolis, multa indigna atque iniqua muffanda sunt. c. 1664.

Simili fronte facit me versipellem quempiam, omnia simulandi ac diffimulandi mirum artificem. Quam vero hic totum Erasmus ignorat Huttenus, cui nihil est difficilius quam simulare ac diffimulare: quin potius ingenium est usque ad stultitiæ vitium, simplex et apertum, lingua periculose libera, et adeo non soleo fallere quemquam simulata blanditiæ, ut si quid offendat, oratio severior sit quam animus. c. 1666.

Erasmus, speaking of his old enemy Lee, declares himself not unwilling to be reconciled to him:

Veretur Huttenus, ne cum Leo quoque in gratiam redeam. Nec id gravarer facere, dicam enim ingenue, si ille declararet animum amicitia dignum. Salutavi hominem Caletii forte obvium, et dextram dextræ junxi. Quidni, cum jam inter nos debellatum esset. c. 1649.

He describes some moderate Papists, meaning himself, without question, as one of them:

Sunt quidam homines docti, meoque judicio minime mali, qui pleraque Lutheri probant, et cuperent accisam esse Romanicis potestatem, cuperent pro mundano Principe, Doctorem Evangelicum, pro Tyranno Patrem; optarent subverfas mensas ementium ac vendentium in templo Domini, optarent coërcitam intolerabilem impudentiam *Indulgentiariorum, Compositionariorum, Dispensationariorum, Bullariorum*, optarent multum decedere ceremoniis, et addi studia veræ pietatis. Cuperent Evangelii vigorem, quod jam pene obsoleverat, reviviscere. Cuperent divinæ Scripturæ auctoritati cedere dogmata et opiniones hominum, cuperent humanas constitutiones non præferri præceptis Dei. Nollent Scholastica decreta quævis habere vim oraculi, dolentes populum Christianum gravari quibusdam humanis constitutionibus, veluti de delectu ciborum, de multitudine festorum, de reservatione casuum, de gradibus cognationis adstrictis, de cognatione spiritali. Vellent etiam quædam humana placita cedere publicæ utilitati, quod genus est, ex solo consensu coire matrimonium. Cuperent explicari conscientias hominum nimis multis laqueis impeditas. Cuperent conciones esse liberas ac sanctas, cuperent Episcopos, qui nunc magna ex parte nihil aliud sunt quam mundani Principes, esse vere Episcopos: Monachos, quibus nunc nihil est mundanum, esse vere Monachos. Hi Luthero favent hoc nomine, quod hanc provinciam fortiter videatur aggressus. Cum his mihi si foedus non est, certe manet vetus amicitia, literarum glutino

conciliata, etsi non consentimus in omnibus. — Sunt rursus quidam indocti, nullius iudicii, vitæ impuræ, obrectatores, perversi, intractabiles, sic addicti Luthero, ut nec sciant nec servant quod Lutherus docet. Tantum Evangelium habent in ore, negligunt preces et sacra, vescuntur quibuscumque, et maledicunt Romano Pontifici. — Itaque fiet horum vitio, ut nec illa corrigantur de quibus mundus merito queritur. — Adeo vero stupidi sunt fere, ut non intelligant sese plurimum officere causæ cui favent, et qui velit illis prodesse, necesse habeat eos fallere, veluti cum medicus imponit phrenetico daturus pharmacum. Cum hoc hominum genere nullum optarim ego commercium.

Erasmus complains more than once that, amongst other abuses, some Ecclesiastics were so heavily laden with preferments and pluralities, that they could not walk upright under them.

Melanchthon was greatly offended at Hutten's scurrilous libel :

Nihil unquam perinde offendit hic, atque impuri illius Ἐγχομομασί-
γος crudelis criminatio. —

Quod Hutteni libellum misisti, gratum est. Nam tametsi improbam criminationem, et plusquam hostilem, pene συκοφαντικὴν dixerim, probare non possum, tamen referebat vidisse nostra. *Epist. Melanchth.* p. 45. et 58.

Responsio adversus Febricitantis cujusdam libellum.

This is a reply to the impudent attack of one Ludovicus Carvailus, as he called himself, who was, or who pretended to be a Franciscan Monk, and undertook the defence of Monks against Erasmus. Erasmus answers with life, and wit, and severity.

C. 1673.

Bene habet, quod præfatur, se cum hæc moliretur gravi laborasse febri, per quam non vacavit ullum librum inspicere ; ut si quid mentiat, videatur memoriæ lapsus ; si quid deliret, febri imputetur.

C. 1684.

Si Cæsar satis noffet hunc Impostorem, ageret illum in crucem, vel decem Franciscanis cucullis onustum : et si procures Ordinis intelligerent, quantum dedecus conciliat nomini Franciscano, cæsum virgis dederent illum perpetuo carceri. Verum ego suspicor fictis nominibus rem geri, nec Franciscanum esse, imo ne Christianum quidem, sed Judæum.

dæum. Nam hujus colluviei magna turba se miscet huic Ecclesiæ tempestati.

Admonitio adversus mendacium.

This is a defence of his behaviour towards Eppendorf.

Antibarbarorum Liber primus.

Dedicated to Joannes Sapidus.

This is a defence of polite literature, against the Barbarians of those times, part of a work begun in his youth, afterwards lost, and then recollected by him, as well as he could. There is in it much vivacity, and a juvenile luxuriancy; but it mends upon us as we proceed in reading it, and the latter part is superior to the beginning.

The strayed books of the *Antibarbari*, were in England, and afterwards seen by Ascham, who made an offer of them to Froben. But I imagine that Froben, having given an Edition of all the works of Erasmus, in nine Tomes, in the year 1540. and amongst them the fragment of the *Antibarbari*, prepared for the press by Erasmus, was not inclined to make any additions to that collection.

Hieronymo Frobenio S. P. Eruditum te, ex tuis scriptis, Hieronyme Frobeni, humanum atque bonum, ex aliorum sermonibus esse intellexi: et eo facilius patiebar me adduci rogatu doctissimi viri, et utriusque nostrum valde amantis Hieronymi Wolfii, ut imprimis tibi significarem literis meis illos D. Erasmi Antibarbarorum libros diu desideratos, et olim Romæ Richardo Paceo surreptos, adhuc in Anglia reservari. Liber ad me proximo superiore anno adferebatur, et eo utebar Cantabrigiæ aliquot mensibus: integri ne libri sint, an λειπόμυρόν τι, plane ignoro: egi cum illo, in cujus manus devenerunt, ut in lucem apparerent, quod ille facile mihi concedebat. Atque cum mihi, ab ineunte ætate, perspecta sit illa multorum officiorum et benevolentiae conjunctio, quæ vestræ Frobenianæ familiæ cum Erasmo intercessit, hanc rem tibi communicare consilium fuit: ut, si tu ita vis, mea opera utaris ad id, quod tibi de hac re, tuoque judicio consultissimum esse videatur. — *Epist. Aschami*, lib. iii. p. 244.

This letter hath no date of the year: but it is written from *Augusta*, that is, I suppose, from *Augsburgh*, some time after 1550.

* See Knight, p. 57. Baillet, vii. p. 352 Burigni, tom. i. p. 315.

C. 1717.

He adopts an old mistake, that Cicero commended Virgil, and said that he was :

magnæ spes altera Romæ.

C. 1740. 1742.

Insulting those who rejected all human learning, as unbecoming a Divine, he says : Well, then let us trust to inspiration. If we want to write, let the Spirit guide our pen ; if we want to preach, let him come to our ear in the figure of a dove.

Habenda erit oratio, tum vero in columbæ figura ad aurem affideat, linguam ipse temperet, nos modo hiscere meminerimus. ———

Ex asino Theologum repente factum, quis unquam aut audivit aut legit? Nec quicquam his exemplis moveor, quæ vulgo narrant, alii columbam ad aurem dicentis scribentisve conspectam, alii per somnium librum traditum. Sint ista sane vel conciliandæ auctoritatis gratia a benevolis conficta, sint vel vera, si quis pugnet, equidem haud pugno, &c.

He alludes, I believe, to the story of St. Basil which he hardly credited :

In the fourth century, Ephraim Syrus went to Cæsarea, to visit Basil, and to hear him preach, and saw a Dove, white as snow, and bright as the Sun, sitting upon Basil's shoulder, and whispering to him what he should say. *Remarks on Eccl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 126.

Epistola ad quosdam impudentissimos Graculos.

A short and lively Epistle against some young Monks, who had libelled him, and whom he would not condescend to confute. They had represented him as a battered old fellow, who was stepping into the grave. He therefore sets the best foot foremost, and boasts of his strength both of body and mind, to mortify them, and damp their hopes of being soon rid of him.

Senex unus quatuor juvenum robustorum sustineo farcinam : non caligant oculi, gratia Deo, cum multi mirentur jam olim non esse prorsus exoculatum. Conspicillis vitreis nunquam usus sum hætenus, neque interdiu, neque ad lucernam. Scipionem nunquam attigi, firmis pedibus et alacriter ingredior, manus minus tremunt quam ulli juveni,

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calculus in dies fit mitior, et si moderer studiorum labores, favente Deo, possim adhuc integris sensibus quatuordecim annos vivere. Sed vitæ modus in manu Dei est. Qui mecum vivunt, nec ingenii, nec memoriæ magnam jacturam sentiunt. Et ubi est illud decrepitum ac mox collapsurum filicernium?

Responsio ad Petri Cursii Defensionem.

We have already spoken of this Reply, which is addressed to Joannes Cholerus.

He gives some account of his Italian friends:

Cum apud Italos agerem, cum eruditis qui supererant non vulgaris mihi amicitia intercessit, Bononiæ cum Paulo Bombasio, cujus ingenio nihil unquam sum expertus candidius, Venetiæ cum Baptista Egnatio, Aldo Manutio, Hieronymo Aleandro, Urbano Regio. Romæ cum Scipione Carteromacho, viro citra omnem ostentationem undecunque docto. Is frequenter in cubiculum meum solet improvisus obrepere, et aliquot horas pomeridianas fabulis literatis fallere. Neque mensa tantum crebro mihi fuit cum illo communis, sed aliquoties eodem lectulo dormivimus. Idem adjunxit mihi Ægidium Viterbiensem, qui post adscitus est in ordinem Cardinalium. Cum Petro Phædro, cujus eloquentiam tum Roma pro Cicerone mirabatur, mihi fuit propinqua familiaritas, cum Julio Camillo me nonnunquam eadem junxit culcitra. Cum Francisco Spherula et Philippo Beroaldo juniore mihi fuit amicitia.

He thus describes the ornaments prefixed to the Treatise of Cursius:

Porro lusisse eos, qui Cursium in hoc proscenium protruserunt, præter alia multa et illud satis arguit, quod in carmine præfixo hæc habetur sententia, ^s *Etiam si Germana pubes totum ebibat Rhenum, nihilominus tamen staturum Italiæ decus*: quod utrum seditiosius an stultius dictum sit nescias. Adscribunt eidem fulmen. Addiderunt mulierem infidentem septem collibus, mundum manu tenentem, Erasmum dejectum in sterquilinum: nec desunt insignia Pontificis, cui persuaserunt Opus esse dicandum.

^s Taken from the Anthologia. Edit. Steph. p. 6.

Οὐδ' ἦν Ὀκεανὸς πᾶσαν πλημμύραν ἐγείρει,
Οὐδ' ἦν Γερμανίη Ῥῆνον ἀπ᾽ ἀντα πίνη, &c.

Epistola Apologetica de Termino.

† Addressed to Alfonsus Valdefius, A. 1528.

Martini Lydii Apologia pro Erasmo.

Dedicated, by his son Joannes Lydius, to the Magistrates of Rotterdam, A. 1606.

It is a defence of Erasmus, against the accusations of Arianism and of impiety, by a Protestant, who also undertakes to shew that Erasmus was a friend to the Reformation, though a timorous one.

Index Expurgatorius Operum Erasmi.

Here you may behold Erasmus delivered up into the hands of Theological-Barber-Surgeons; all over bruised, mangled, and deformed, and appearing like *Deiphobus* in Virgil, or like an antique battered *Statue*, or like the *Traveller* in the Gospel who fell amongst thieves, or like *Job* upon the Dunghil, persecuted by his Wife, his Friends, and the Devil. These Inquisitors have not only censured the Epistles of Erasmus, but those of his correspondents who had said civil things of him; though most of them lived and died in the Church of Rome, and though some of them were zealous Romanists, as More, Warham, &c.

But what wonder is it that Erasmus should have been so used by them? Even the excellent, and (as one would think) the inoffensive book of Grotius *De Jure Belli et Pacis* was put amongst the *Libri Prohibiti*, by those *Expurgators*, who took due care first to *purge* their own heads and hearts of all common sense and common honesty, that they might be qualified for their occupation, and *thoroughly furnished to every bad work*.

Oratio Funebris in obitum Erasmi, Auctore Guilielmo Insulano.

Dedicated to the Duke of Cleves, by the Author, A. 1536. It is well written, and doth honour to Insulanus.

A Letter of Erasmus to Henry VIII. when he was Duke of York.

See Knight, p. 71.

† Life of Erasmi. p. 467.

Thus endeth the Edition of Leyden.

S HIERONYMI *Lucubrationes omnes, una cum Pseudepigraphis et alienis admixtis, in novem digestæ Tomos, sed multo quam ante vigilantius per Des. Erasmus Rot. emendatæ, locis non paucis feliciter correctis, quibusdam etiam locupletatis, duntaxat in Scholiis, &c. Basileæ apud Joan. Frobenium, A. 1526.*

ERASMUS, in his Epistle to Botzem, projected to have St. Jerom's genuine Epistles, together with his own annotations upon them, published in the collection of his own Works, as an *Additional Tome*. But this direction was not followed by the Editors of the Works of Erasmus; and they were much in the right to omit this Tome, which would have contained only a part of St. Jerom, namely the three first Volumes; and even to this part of Jerom the annotations of Erasmus would have borne only a small proportion.

The four first Tomes of Jerom may be considered as the Edition of Erasmus: the five following were published by the Amerbachii.

From this Edition of Jerom I have selected all the pieces of Erasmus, which ought to have found a place in the Collection of his works. They may justly be ranked amongst the best of his compositions.

Hieronymi Vita per Erasmus.

This is, throughout, an Encomium of Jerom, and an Apology for him against his censurers, ancient and modern. It is a fine portrait, presenting to our view a handsome and a flattering likeness of his favourite Father. Erasmus hath exerted on this occasion all his wit and eloquence, in a work which cannot fail to please a sensible reader. We shall insert it in the Appendix, together with his Dedications and Prefaces; and at present only make a few extracts from his Notes upon the works of Jerom.

Erasmi Annotationes in Hieronymum.

T. I. p. 20. Ad Nepotian.

He laments the depraved manners of the Popes and Prelates of his times, but bestows a Compliment upon Leo X.

T. I.

T. I. p. 33. Epitaph Nepot.

He extolls Rodolphus Agricola.

T. I. p. 41. Epitaph. Nepot.

Abundantius egens exsulat.

De hoc Consulari viro qui fuerit, nihil adhuc comperi.

You may find some account of him in Claudian, *In Eutrop.* i. 154. and in the notes of Claverius and Barthius. Erasmus was also ignorant of the story of that Rufinus, against whom Claudian wrote two books, as it appears from his remarks in this page.

T. I. 44. Ad Rusticum.

Erasmus in his notes on this Epistle is pretty severe upon modern Monkery.

T. I. p. 98. Ad Gerontiam.

He laments the wars between France and England, and exhorts the Princes to peace.

T. I. p. 136. Ad Eustochium.

Hic liber quam male tractat malos Monachos ac Clericos, tam male vicissim ab illis tractatus fuit. Adeo namque mendosum reperimus, ut pro unico vitio exprobrato, decem mendas induxisse videantur.

T. I. p. 147. Ad Eustoch.

Jerom says that he was scourged by an Angel, for being a Cicero-nian. Concerning this silly story, see Erasmus, in his notes, p. 154.

T. I. p. 194.

Erasmus censures those Princes and Grandees, who think to atone for their crimes by building magnificent Churches.

T. I. p. 257. Vit. Hilarion.

He mentions a Monastery, where the Nuns were possessed and killed by evil spirits, as a thing of which he himself was a witness, in the days of his youth, whilst he lived with the Bishop of Cambray.

T. I. p. 308. Catal. Script. Eccl.

Cono Norimbergensis (says Erasmus) vir in peruestigandis iis, quæ ad restituendos auctores pertinent, juxta fidelis ac diligens: et omnino dignus,

dignus, qui diutius vixisset bonis literis; ac diutius vivere poterat, nisi in hoc vitæ genus incidisset, in quo huic studiorum generi non multum honoris haberi solet, quod haud magnopere faciat *πρὸς τὰ ἀλ-φίλα*.

Beatus Rhenanus says of this Cono, who was a Dominican, that he assisted Amerbachius in correcting the works of Jerom, and that he was *homo propemodum Græce quam Latine doctior, versatus in optimis auctoribus*. Vit. Erasmi.

T. II. p. 69. Advers. Jovin. 1.

A character of Ludovicus Berus, his particular friend:

Ludovicus Berus, inclytæ Basileæ non tam civis quam ornamentum, ac sui generis, et alioqui cum primis clari, lumen ac decus, Theologus insignis, ac vir modis omnibus ejusmodi, ut haud facile sit pronunciare, magisne sit suspiciendus ob egregiam eruditionem, an venerandus ob undique inculpatam vitæ integritatem, an amandus ob incredibilem quandam morum comitatem et consuetudinis jucunditatem.

T. II. p. 75. 2. Adv. Jovin.

Jerom says:

Ipse adolescentulus (vidi) in Gallia Scottos, gentem Britannicam, humanis vesci carnibus.

See the note of Erasmus, p. 98: *Scoti*, I think, in Jerom's days, were the *Irish*. But they have long ago left off feeding upon man's flesh, and had rather eat potatoes.

T. II. p. 121. Adv. Vigilant.

Vigilantius scripsit librum, in quo docebat non esse sic adorandas Martyrum reliquias, nec ad horum sepulchra vigilandum. In hunc ita conviciis debacchatur Hieronymus, ut plusculum in eo modestiæ cogar desiderare. Utinam argumentis duntaxat egisset, et a conviciis temperasset, &c.

T. II. p. 134. Ad Damasum.

Hic Hieronymus omnino videtur sentire omnes Ecclesias debere subesse Romanæ sedis, aut certe ab hac non alienas, &c.

Rich. Sampson, a friend of Erasmus, wrote a Book for the King's Supremacy, in 1533. in which he censures this note of Erasmus, and says:

boc

— *hoc* loco non tam sincere loqui videtur Erasmus, quam in plerisque aliis locis, qui illam *domum* nimis inadvertenter Romanæ Ecclesiæ Primatum interpretatur. Non enim in illa ætate agnoscebatur hujusmodi Primatus.

See Strype's Memor. vol. i. p. 158. and Append. p. 116.

T. II. p. 135. Ad Damasum.

Optat Hieronymus Damaso martyrium. Quid si quis ad eundem modum obtestatus fuisset *Julium secundum*? Quid impetrasset? Crucem, opinor.

T. II. p. 233. Advers. Rufin.

Nota, lector, olim Synodos Imperatorum jussu congregari solitas.

T. II. p. 350. Hieron. Augustino.

Taxat Hieronymus stylum Augustini: nec sine causa; siquidem est paulo verbosior, et periodis in immensum productus. Quod illi, ni fallor, hinc accidit, quod nihil vellet omittere eorum quæ scribenti veniebant in mentem: veniebant autem permulta. Itaque utcunque infulciendum erat, quod nobilebat abjicere.

Tom. III. p. 11. Hieron. Paulino.

Est Londini apud Anglos Theologus quidam, multorum opinione magnus, sua maximus, inter hos qui declamant apud populum, haudquaquam instrenuus, cujus nomen ederem, ni nossem id hominem gloriæ famelicum magnopere cupere. Is cum nullas omnino bonas attingeret literas neque quicquam omnino didicerit, præter aliquot Scoticas conclusiunculas, atque id quoque prorsus infelicitè, tamen admirabatur esse quicquam in Hieronymo, quod ab illuminatis Theologis non intelligeretur. Cumque in hujus Epistolæ mentionem incidissemus, risit homo satis me parare scholia in hoc opus, quod Brito quidam Minorita suis Commentariis tam luculenter explicuisset. Cumque Britonis nomen parum agnoscerem, misertus est inscitæ meæ, qui tantum auctorem non haberem familiarem. Atqui commentariolum illud usque ad id temporis Lyrani esse putaram stolidus. Cæpit efflagitare quidnam illic esset, quod quisquam non intelligeret, modo Theologus. Proposui quod tum mihi forte suggerebat memoria de *Jarca* deque *Tantali fonte*. Deum immortalem! ut ille nihil contatus, nodum explicuit,

plicuit, prodigiosa quædam somnia vel ex tempore comminiscens. Proposui nescio quid simile, ille simili dexteritate dissolvit. Admirabar hominis impudentiam. At is se credebat rem facere magno Theologo dignam. Nam hæc disputatiuncula inciderat in pandocleo meritorio, et compotatiuncula fuit verius quam disputatiuncula. Circumstabant ut sit, auditores illo digni Rhetore. Comprobavi quicquid dixisset, siquidem me magnopere delectabat. Quid autem facerem, cum ille stupidior esset, quam ut refelli posset? Denique sublatus homo successu tanto, cœpit ultro admonere, quid ipse observasset in ea epistola Lynceus; nimirum illud in vulgatis codicibus scriptum esse: [*Plato*] *major mente se fuit*; verum id quidem mendose: legendum autem; *maiore mente se fuit*. Obstupui ad tam novum acumen, et egi gratias, qui rem tam abstrusam indicasset. Jussit ut hanc quoque annotatiunculam meis adderem scholiis; et recepi facturum. Aliquanto post incidit illi convivium cum aliquot amicis meis, partim claris, partim eruditis, or-taque mentione nostri, cum ille jam Erasmi nomen agnosceret, rogatus est quid de me sentiret. Unum hoc verissime respondit, Erasmus nihil scire. Atqui, inquiebat quispiam, molitur ille nescio quid in opera Hieronymi. Tum ille: Nihil agit, inquit; nam Erasmus est satis bonus Latinista, sed in Hieronymo nihil omnino intelligit. Qui scis? adjecit quispiam. Ipse, inquit, feci periculum. Nuper orta est inter nos disputatio de quadam Epistola divi Hieronymi, ac permulta illum docui, sensique hominem in eis rebus nihil omnino sapere. Ridentibus cæteris ac mussantibus, Montjouis meus, ut est citra mordacitatem facetus, et festivus magis quam dicax, respondit illum hoc ægre persuasurum, esse in Hieronymo, quod is intelligeret, non intellectum Erasmo. Dejeravit homo sic habere. Hoc quicquid est voluptatis tibi, lector, visum est impertire, simulque præstare homini quod eram pollicitus.

Ibid. p. 12.

Ex his palam liquet, proprium Episcopi munus esse docere populum. — At nunc plerique summas Episcopi partes ad vilissimos relegant, ipsi quod est infimum sibi sumunt, litium cognitiones, et censuram rationes. Et ne nihil omnino sacri populo videantur dare, mota manu benedicunt.

T. III. p. 15. Præf. in Pentateuch.

Erasmus ridicules the stupid etymologies of Lyranus, and the Cardinal Hugo, here and in many other places.

QUI

QUI sub Hieronymi nomine circumferuntur, librum ad amicum ægrot. de viro perfecto, et de vera circumcissione, Erasmus divinando conjicit esse Tertulliani, sed fallitur: in hoc enim mentio Arianorum; in illo præter Arianos memorantur quoque Auxentius et Ambrosius Mediolanenses episcopi. Sandius *Append. ad Nucleum*, p. 5.

INCOMPARABILIS doctrinæ, trium item linguarum peritissimi viri D. Erasmi Roterodami, in sanctissimorum Martyrum Roffensis Episcopi, ac Thomæ Mori, jam pridem in Anglia pro Christiana veritate constanter defensa, innocenter passorum, Heroicum Carmen tam elegans quam lectu dignissimum. Adjunctis Scholiis, &c.

Anno MDXXXVI. Mens. Septemb.

And at the end:

Excusum in Imperiali Camera, et Oppido Haganau. per Valentinum Kobian: Anno MDXXXVI.

Dedicated to John, Count Palatine of the Rhine, &c. by Hieronymus Gebvilerus, who was *Artium liberalium Magister, et literariæ publicis Hagnoviensis Moderator*, and who wrote the *Scholia*.

He says to the Count:

— *Præsens Heroicum Carmen a doctissimo Erasmo Roterodamo paucis mensibus (ut rumor est) priusquam mortem obisset, in sanctorum Martyrum Roffensis Episcopi et Thomæ Mori passionem doctissime lusum, Celsitudini tuæ mittendum duxi, &c. Kalendis Septembribus. A. MDXXXVI.*

This Piece, bound up with other Tracts in Quarto, is in the *Museum Britannicum*.

This is not the "work of Erasmus; he had not health and spirits enough to compose it just before his death; and probably he had not hatred enough of Henry VIII. to insult him and Anne Boleyn so violently as they are insulted in this poem; or bigotry enough, to treat that Prince as a most impious wretch, for disregarding the Pope.

Yet they did not disgrace Erasmus, considered in the character of a poet, who ascribed this work to him; for the author was a better poet than Erasmus.

" It was written by Joannes Secundus. See Life of Erasmus, p. 626.

He pretends to foretel the tragical death of Anne Boleyn, and that in very plain words :

*Hocne tuæ Veneri, Rex o inceste, tropæum
Erigis, et mollem placari * sanguine divam
Posse putas ? iras in te convertet acerbæ
Ipsa Venus, vindexque tuos subvertet amores,
Atque * aliis iterum atque aliis tua pectora flammis
Uret, et infamis venient tibi tædia vitæ.
Tunc memor indignæ cædis, tua noxia facta
Flebis, et invisa fumes de pellice pœnas.*

Upon which the Commentator notes :

Sumes pœnas] Quod præfenti anno (si famæ credendum est) non citra justum Dei judicium evenisse audivimus, jam dicta pellice cum adultæris, seu potius amatoribus, ultimo supplicio affectis.

Anne Boleyn was beheaded May 19, 1536. Erasmus died July 12, 1536, after having been ill for a month, or more. Joannes Secundus also (I think) died, a young man, in this same year.

JULIUS EXCLUSUS.

This work also hath been ascribed to Erasmus, and indeed not without probability. See the Appendix No. LXII.

* *i. e.* With the blood of More and of Fisher.

* Alluding to his love, first for Anne Boleyn, and then for Jane Seymour.



APPEN-

A P P E N D I X.

A P P E N D I X.

IT is a common thing for Writers of History to give an Appendix, at the end of the work, containing original records, letters, instructions, memorials, vouchers, and so forth. If I may judge of others from myself, these collections are often passed over in a cursory manner by the Reader; and his attention is only fixed here and there upon some extract, which hath a promising aspect. And yet candid and reasonable Judges will not hastily condemn an Author for having given them such compilations: they know that in curious and critical disquisitions, those records may be very useful or absolutely necessary to be consulted.

The following Extracts, if I mistake not, are much better adapted to the general taste of the Learned, than most of the above-mentioned appendages.

In the first place, these pieces are, for the most part, composed by Erasmus; they are also usually upon interesting or entertaining subjects; and they tend to illustrate the Life of Erasmus; for which reason the Reader is here desired, when he takes this Appendix in hand, to have the first Volume by him, and to consult the passages to which references are made.

Some of these pieces are indeed to be found in the Editions of Leyden, or of Basil; and therefore it may be thought needless, in the opinion of certain persons, to reprint them. But how many men of letters have those editions by them to consult? Perhaps not one in five hundred.

Another design in this Appendix, is to give a Supplement to the Edition of Leyden, containing such smaller tracts, prefaces, and dedications of Erasmus, and such letters of him and of his correspondents, as are not in that Edition.

A P P E N D I X

It is a common thing for writers of history to give an account of the end of the work, containing original records, letters, instructions, memorials, vouchers, and so forth. If I may judge of others from my- self, these collections are often passed over in a cursory manner by the Reader, and his attention is only fixed here and there upon some extract, which leads to something of a partial and unimpartial judgment will not be likely to be formed. For having given them such compilation, they have them in current and critical discussions, those records may be very useful, especially necessary to be consulted.

The following Extracts, if I mistake not, are much better adapted to the general taste of the English, than most of the above mentioned works.

In the first place, these pieces are for the most part, compiled by Englishmen, they are also chiefly upon interesting or entertaining subjects, and they tend to illustrate the subject of English history, and to show the progress of the nation, when he takes this opportunity to look to the progress of the nation, and to consider the progress to which it has arrived.

Some of these pieces are indeed to be found in the Edition of London, 1704, and therefore it may be thought needless, in the opinion of certain persons, to repeat them. But how many men of letters have those editions before them, and how many of them are in the hands of the public?

It is a singular circumstance, that in this edition, it is given in English, and in Latin, of Tracts, containing such pieces as the progress, and dissolution of the nation, and such letters of him and of his correspondents, as are not in the Edition of 1704.

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A P P E N D I X.

N^o. I.

A Letter of Erasmus to Grunnius, in which (under the name of Florentius) he desires to be absolved by the Pope from his monastic vows.

ERASMUS Rot. Lamberto Grunnio, Scribæ Apostolico S.

HACTENUS, eruditissime Lamberte, ab hoc genere causarum lubens abstinui, licet a multis interpellatus, neque cuiquam amicorum molestus esse sustinui: verum hic singularis quædam pietas me depulit a vetere instituto, fecitque ut et ipse novum patrocinium susceperem, et tibi viro amicissimo in amici negotio negotium facefferem. Quapropter hoc operæ primum abs te peto, ut totam rei seriem digneris cognoscere. Siquidem confido futurum, ut si hoc impetro, et meum comprobēs officium, et tuum non illibenter impertias jam non amicitiae nostræ, cujus gratia scio te nihil non facturum, sed ipsi causæ. Agitur enim non de lana, quod aiunt, caprina, sed de salute indolis multo omnium felicissimæ, quæ plane viva spiransque defossa peribit, nisi nos fuerimus opitulati. Utinam tibi perinde nota esset atque mihi est totius negotii ratio; tribus verbis, sat scio, causam hanc apud te peroravero. Sed tamen rem omnem optima fide sic tibi depingam, ut nihil aut certe quam minimum te fugiat, quod scire sit operæ pretium. Nam et is, cujus causam ago, a puero mihi sic cognitus est, ut vix ipse mihi sim notior, et praeque quæ ad causam pertinent, non audivi tantum, sed perspexi oculis. Tanta autem est rei indignitas, ut vix ipse hæc absque lacrimis commemorare queam, nec tu fortassis, quæ naturæ tuæ bonitas est, siccis oculis lecturus sis. Sed est hoc Christianæ pietatis, mi Grunni, non tantum gaudere cum gaudentibus, sed etiam flere cum flentibus. Scio tibi, vir optime, et probe notam, et insigniter invisam esse quorundam Pharisaicorum improbitatem, qui juxta testimonium Evangelicum, non solum per maria perque terras, sed per omnes principum aulas, per omnes divitum ædes, per omnes scholas, per omnes computationes obambulant, ut proselytum aliquem in nassam illiciant, vixque credendis artibus insidiantur puerorum ac puellarum simplicitati; norunt ætatem et injuriæ et fraudi idoneam, ut eos in vitæ genus pertrahant, unde se non possint extricare, semel irretiti, qua non alia servitutis species miserior. Nam mancipium de lapide em-

tum ita potest demerere dominum suum, ut ex servo fiat libertus. Itaque non te remorabor nimium nota commemorando, posteaquam istorum stratagematis mundus undique plenus est. Quis enim fuit unquam eximiae indolis, aut honesto loco natus, aut opulentus puer, quem isti non tentarint insidiis, cui non tetenderint retia, quem non captarint dolis, frequenter insciis, nonnunquam et invitis parentibus? Id quum sit quovis plagio sceleratius, tamen histriones pietatis etiam titulum audent sceleri prætexere. Ad Christum, inquiunt, etiam calcatis parentibus fugiendum est, et adversus afflatum divini Spiritus nihil valet parentum auctoritas: quasi vero Satanas non sit et inter Monachos, aut quasi quicumque cucullam accipiunt, afflati sint Christi Spiritu, quum multo maxima turba vel stultitia, vel inscitia, vel desperatione, vel otii ventrisque studio ducatur. Quod Deus jussit liberos parentibus obtemperare, extra controversiam est: quis spiritus instiget hominem ad Monachismum, nec ipsi certum est qui trahitur. Hic vides quantum campum nobis aperiat locus communis; sed non libet in eo commorari, quum quotidianis illaqueatorum querimoniis omnium aures caleant. Equidem nolim improbare cujusquam institutum, nec istis patrocinator, qui ut incogitanter se præcipitarunt in foveam, ita quod male cœperant, pejus relinquunt, non ad libertatem, sed ad peccandi licentiam fugientes. Cæterum in tanta corporum et ingeniorum varietate, non omnibus omnia congruunt, neque quicquam accidere potest præclaris ingeniis infelicius, quam ut in aliquod vitæ genus vel arte inducantur, vel vi propellantur, unde se non possint explicare. In hoc enim potissimum sita est hominum felicitas, si quisque ad hoc applicetur, ad quod natura compositus est. Quosdam enim ad cœlibatum aut ad monachismum adigere, nihilo felicius cedat, quam si asinum ducas ad certamen Olympicum, aut bovem ad ceroma, ut aiunt. Hoc præfatum esse sat est. Nunc accipe simul et optimi juvenis calamitatem, et istorum plagiariorum detestandam improbitatem. Atque hic rursus oro, ut mihi te præbeas attentum. Vehementer enim cupio tuo judicio comprobari quod ago. Nam obsequii nonnunquam poenituit: quod judicio sit, nunquam non placeat. Duo fratres sunt, Florentius, et hoc natu major Antonius. Admodum pueri matre orbatii sunt, pater aliquando post decedens, exile quidem patrimonium reliquit, sed quod absolvendis studiis abunde sufficeret, nisi cognatorum rapacitas, qui morienti aderant, rem minuisset. Nam præsentis pecuniæ ne pilus quidem repertus est. Attamen quod supererat in rebus soli, aut in syngraphis, nec perinde promptum harpyiarum unguibus, utcunque satis erat perdiscendis artibus liberalibus, ni rursus tutorum indigentia bona pars intercidisset. Scis quam pauci mortales sint, qui in alieno negotio bona fide vigilant. Tutores autem huc animum adjece- rant, ut eos educarent monasterio, miram existimantes pietatem, si illis de victu prospectum esset. Hac suapte sponte propensos Guardianus quidam, homo superciliosus, magnaue pietatis opinione, perpulerat, præsertim unum, sub quo ludi literarii magistro in prima pueritia grammatices prima rudimenta didicerat. Erat autem is, juxta vulgarem existimationem, vir pius et innocens; hoc est, nec alea, nec scortis, nec luxu, nec temu-
lentia,

lentia, nec aliis criminibus infamis; sed homo sibi vivens, ac mire parvus, nec iudicio quicquam vulgo præstantior, nec literas approbans, nisi quas ipse perturbatas ac paucas didicerat. Nam Florentio decimum quartum annum agenti, quum illi scripsisset aliquanto politius, respondit severiter, ut, si posthac mitteret tales epistolas, adjungeret commentarium: ipsi semper hunc fuisse morem, ut plane scriberet et *punctuatim*, nam hoc verbo est usus. Is videtur hoc affectu fuisse, quo plurimos esse novi, ut existimaret se victimam Deo gratissimam immolare, si quem discipulorum addixisset vitæ monasticæ. Soletque gloriabundus commemorare quot adolescentulos quoque anno vel Francisco, vel Dominico, vel Benedicto, vel Augustino, vel Brigidæ lucrificasset. Proinde quum jam essent maturi scholis, quas *Universitates* appellant; nam et satis erant Grammatici, et Petri Hispani Dialecticam magna ex parte didicerant; tamen metuens ne illic haurirent aliquid mundani spiritus, ac jugum detrectarent, curavit illos ablegandos in contubernium quorundam, qui vulgo Fratres Collationarii vocantur, qui nusquam gentium non nidulantes, instituendis pueris quæstum facitant. Horum illud præcipuum est studium, ut si quem puerum videant indole generosiore et alacriore, cujusmodi fere sunt ingenia felicissima, eam plagis, minis, objurgationibus, aliisque variis artibus frangant ac dejciant, id appellant cicurare, vitæque monasticæ fingant. Quo quidem nomine satis amantur a Dominicanis ac Franciscanis, quod dicant ipsorum Ordines brevi interituros, nisi penes illos aleretur seminarium. Ex illorum enim cortibus legunt suos tirones. Equidem arbitror et inter illos esse viros quosdam minime malos; sed quum optimorum Auctorum inopia laborent, quum in suis tenebris, suis quibusdam moribus ac ritibus degant, seque non aliis, sed sibi ipsis comparent, quum bonam diei partem cogantur precum et operarum pensis impendere, non video quo pacto valeant liberaliter instituere pueritiam: certe res ipsa loquitur non aliunde prodire adolescentes inelegantius doctos, aut moribus deterioribus. Apud hos igitur biennium et eo amplius perdiderunt. Certe junior ille perdidit, ipsis præceptoribus aliquanto doctior, in his duntaxat literis, quas illi profitebantur. Unus præceptorum talis erat, ut Florentius neget se usquam vidisse monstrum vel indoctius, vel gloriosius. Et tales non raro præficiuntur pueris. Non enim eliguntur eruditorum iudicio, sed arbitrio Patriarchæ, qui plerumque literas nescit. Alter vero, qui semper visus est unice delectari indole Florentiana, quum sentiret agi de reditu in patriam, cœpit privatis colloquiis sollicitare animum adolescentis, ut ipsorum accederet instituto, multa commemorans quibus pueri solent illectari. Quod utinam esset factum! Nam aut volentem pietatis amor apud illos detinuisset, aut si res ita tulisset, licuisset in pristinam redire libertatem. Neque enim hoc hominum genus, quod habent præcipuum bonum, ac priscae religionis vestigium, votis insolubilibus adstringitur: et si vere piorum ac spiritualium sententia plus valeret quam crassorum iudicia, nullum posthac esset votum insolubile præter vota baptismi, præsertim ut nunc habet mortalium vel malitia, vel imbecillitas. Quum igitur instaret ille crebris hortatibus, interim addens et blanditias et munuscula, et oscula denique, puer haud pueriliter respon-

dit, nec vitæ genus, nec ipsum sibi satis adhuc notum esse, simul ac maturuisset ætas, tum hac de re deliberaturum. Cessit quidem ille vir non omnino stultus ac malus; verum ex hac hominum sodalitate novi, qui non modo terriculamentis ac blanditiis, verum etiam horrendis obtestationibus, ac, prope dixerim, exorcismis et incantamentis, pueros nondum egressos annum decimum quartum, divites ac bene natos conati sunt obtundere, ut, insciis parentibus, ipsorum instituto semet addicerent. Quid est plagium, si hoc non est? Ergo quum in patriam redissent Antonius ac Florentius, tutores, qui rem, quamvis exilem, non optima fide tractarant, agunt de instituto monastico; partim quo citius expedirentur a cura, partim quia ille ludimagister, qui solus rem administrabat (nam unus pestilentia correptus subito decessit, nec ratione reddita, tertius homo negotiator leviter hac sollicitudine tangebatur) gratissima, ut dixi, victima se Deo litaturum arbitrabatur, si duas oves illi mactasset. Florentius ut sensit illos sic agere, quasi pupillorum voluntatem haberent obligatam, contulit cum germano, quem habebat fere triennio majorem, ipse vixdum egressus annum decimum quintum, num vere esset ejus animi, ut se vellet illigari nodis, quos in posterum non posset explicare. Is ingenue fatebatur, se non duci amore religionis, sed trahi metu tutorum. Quid, inquit Florentius, te dementius, si stulto pudore metuque hominum, a quibus tibi certe non sunt metuenda verbera, temetipsum conjicias in vitæ genus, quod nec cujusmodi sit nosti, nec, si semel ingressus sis, queas referre pedem? Ibi Antonius allegare cœpit facultatulas, quum per se exiguas, tum tutorum etiam attritas negligentia. Nihil est, inquit Florentius, quod metuas: corrademus quicquid superest, et conflata summula petemus Academiam, non deerunt amici, et multi, quibus omnino nihil est, sua aluntur industria. Postremo Deus aderit ad honesta tendentibus. Hoc responsum adeo probavit Antonius, ut multas etiam spes ostenderit, quæ minori non venerant in mentem. Itaque communi consilio decretum est, ut monasticum negotium in aliud tempus rejiceretur, donec tres etiam aut quatuor annos in scholis versati, per ætatem ac rerum usum rectius possent dispicere quid expediret. Constanter ambobus placuit hæc sententia. Sed majorangebatur etiamnum scrupulo, quomodo respondendum esset tutoribus, qui non explorata pupillorum voluntate negotium hoc sedulo serioque agebant. Hic concepta est responsionis formula; quam Antonius approbavit quidem, tantum orabat, ut minor esse vellet dux verbi, et amborum nomine respondere: nam erat is ad dicendum timidior, quemadmodum et indoctior. At Florentius accepit quidem conditionem, sed diligenter a fratre stipulatus propositi constantiam; ne, si me, inquit, post datum responsum destitueris, tota tragœdia devolvatur in caput meum. Nunc potius muta sententiam, si vel blandimentis vel sævis dictis putas te posse depelli gradu. Neque enim, mihi crede, res agitur ludicra. Sancte dejeravit Antonius, deditque fidem se dictis mansurum. Venit post aliquot dies tutor ille, multaque præfatus de sua erga pupillos pietate, deque miro studio ac vigilantia, cœpit illis gratulari, quod ambobus reperisset locum apud eos, qui bis Canonici gaudent appellari. Hic Florentius puer ex pacto pro utrisque respon-

respondens, egit quidem gratias pro benevolentia proque sedulitate. Cæterum negavit sibi fratrique suo videri consultum, ut id ætatis ad hæc rerum humanarum imperiti, semet addicerent alicui vitæ instituto, nec ipsi adhuc satis noti sibi, ac prorsus ignari quale foret illud quod aggrederentur. Nondum enim ullum monasterium fuerant ingressi. Nec suspicari poterant, quodnam animantis genus esset Monachus. Multo videri fatius ut, post aliquot annos in studiis honestissimis actos, tempestivius hoc negotium ageretur. Ita rem felicius successuram. Hanc pueri tam non puerilem responsionem, quum tutor debuerit exosculari, si vir fuisset vere pius et Evangelica prudentia præditus, imo quum adolescentes, si forte conspexisset eo puerili calore propensiores, remorari debuerit, nec statim affectui temporario fidere; tamen haud aliter incanduit, quam si pugno cæsus esset: et homo alioqui lenis, ut videbatur, ingenii, hic impotens iræ, vix manus pudore continuit, sed miro supercilio Florentium appellavit nebulonem, negavit habere spiritum: agnoscis Monachorum vocem: abdicavit tutelam, recusavit esse fidejussor apud eos, apud quos illis victum emerat: testatus est nihil superesse: ipsi dispicerent, ubi caperent cibum. His aliisque multis sævis ac plagosis convitiis verberabat minorem, quæ tum puero quidem excutiebant lacrymas, propositum tamen iudicio susceptum non excutiebant. Accipimus, inquit, tutelæ abdicationem, teque nostri cura liberamus. Ita tum discessum est. Tutor ubi perspicit se minis et jurgiis nihil proficere, adhibet fratrem suum negotiatorem, de quo dictum est, virum mire comem et blandiloquentem. Convenitur in viridarium, jubentur confidere pueri, proferuntur pocula; post amicas fabulas cœptum est accuratius etiam agi negotium, sed alia ratione. Blanda omnia, multa mentiebantur de mirifica felicitate illius instituti, ostendebant magnorum rerum præclaras spes, addebant preces. Quid non? His delinitus major cœpit labascere, videlicet oblitus non semel dejeratæ constantiæ. Minor nihilo secius perstat in sententia. Breviter, perfidus ille, prodito fratre, accepit jugum, sed clam suffuratus si quid erat rei paratæ, quod tamen illi novum non erat. Atque illi quidem pulchre cessit res. Erat enim ut ingenio tardus, ita corpore robustus, attentus ad rem, ibi vafer et callidus, pecuniarum furax, strenuus compotor, nec scortator ignavus; in summa, adeo minori dissimilis, ut supposititius videri posset. Nec enim unquam aliud fuit germano quam malus genius. Non ita multo post, hoc munus gessit inter suos sodales, quod Ilicariotes inter Apostolos. Is tamen ubi vidit fratrem misere illaqueatum, tactus conscientiæ stimulis deplorabat, quod eum in nassam protractum perdidisset. Audis Judæ confessionem, et utinam ad illius exemplum sese suspendisset, antequam facinus hoc tam impium admitteret! Erat Florentius, ut fere solent nati literis, rerum communium et imperitus et negligens, atque in his mira simplicitas. Reperias enim quosdam ante pilos, astutia puberes. Nec alibi quam in studiis valebat ingenium. Nam huc totum intenderat, et huc vi naturæ rapiabatur, ab infantiae crepundiis versatus in scholis. Corpore delicato, sed tamen ingenii rebus satis accommodo, vix dum ætatis annum ingressus decimum sextum. Postremo febri quartana languidus, quæ puerum jam supra annum tenebat, ex illa fordida et illiberali educatione collecta.

Quo se verteret talis adolescentulus undiquaque proditus ac destitutus, rerum omnium rudis, nec a morbo liber? An non hic satis adhibitum est violentiæ ad propellendum quovis puerilem animum? Perstitit ille tamen in non temere concepta sententia. Interea tutor ille stolidus, ne non perficeret quod instituerat, ad peragendam fabulam subornat varias personas diversi status, atque etiam sexus, monachos, semi-monachos, cognatos et cognatas, juvenes ac senes, notos et ignotos. Inter quos erant quidam adeo natura fatui, ut nisi eos commendasset sacra vestis, pro morionibus cum auriculis et tintinnabulis publicitus obambulassent. Erant et alii, quos arbitror superstitione peccasse magis quam malitiosa voluntate; sed quid refert pereuntis, stultitia juguletur, an perverso studio? Ibi quot arietibus quatitur puerilis animus? Alius depingebat amabile simulacrum monasticæ tranquillitatis, optima quæque decerpens; sic laudari potest et quartana febris, non pauca largiter admetiens, sed diversa suppressens. Alius *μάλα τραγικῶς* exaggerabat hujus mundi pericula, quasi Monachi sint extra mundum, quemadmodum seipsum pingunt in bene munita navi, cæteros omnes undis jactari, perituros nisi ab illis contus porrigatur, aut funis. Alius ponebat ob oculos terrificos inferorum cruciatus, quasi ex monasteriis non pateat iter in tartara. Alius fabulosis exemplis territabat: sunt enim his instructissimi. Quidam viator labore fessus insedit tergo draconis, putans truncum arboris esse. Excitatus draco, reflexo collo devoravit hominem. Sic mundus devorat suos. Quidam forte inviserat Monachorum sodalitatem, quum vehementer invitatus ut illic maneret, persisteret in sententia, discessit, sed in via obvius leo dilaceravit miserum. Narrabantur et visa prodigiosa, non minus inepta quam quæ aniculæ de spectris ac lemuribus solent commemorare. Quidam diverso fabularum genere sollicitabant, de Monacho, quicum horis aliquot quotidie confabulabatur Christus, de Catharina Senensi, cui puellæ tanta fuit cum Christo sponso vel amasio potius familiaritas, ut ultro citroque deambulant in cubiculo, nonnunquam et preces horarias simul absolverent. Cum primis exaggerabant communionem illam bonorum operum; quasi ipsis hæc supersint, ac non potius interdum magis egeant misericordia Domini quam laici, aut quasi non sit in toto corpore Christi benefactorum communio. Ne longior sim, nullum machinarum genus non admotum est ingenio pueri simplicis, destituti perfidia fratris, denique valetudine fracti: nec minore cura, studio, vigilantiaque advigilatum est, quam si civitas opulenta fuisset capienda. Tanti visum est illis plusquam Pharisæis unum adolescentem spirantem ac vivum defodere. Inter hos erant qui sui Ordinis negotium agebant, cui tantopere favent, ut hac gratia miris modis inter se dissideant, et Christianam professionem tantum non pro nihilo ducant. Puer erat et ingenio, et literis, et facundia præstantior quam pro ætate: unde sperabant eximium aliquod ornamentum suo sodaliti accessurum. Hæc erat illa pietas, hic erat ille zelus. Multa sciens prætereo, doctissime Grunni, ne singulis commemorandis tibi sim tædio; et tuæ prudentiæ est ex commemoratis conjicere cætera. Florentius interim hæret inter sacrum et saxum, ut est in proverbiiis. Dum ita pendet circumspectans sicunde Deus aliquis apparens spem salutis ostenderet, forte fortuna invisit quoddam Collegium, urbi, in qua
tum

tum agebat, vicinum. Ibi reperit Cantelium quendam, quicum ab infantia fuerat enutritus. Is erat annis aliquot natu grandior, ingenio vafro, et nunquam non spectante ad suum commodum, animi tamen excelsi. Hunc non tam pietas quam ventris studium et amor otii pellexerant in monasterium. Erat enim natura γλιχρός, et eximie piger, in literis parum feliciter progressus, tantum canendi peritus, quam ad rem fuerat a teneris exercitatus. In Italia frustra venatus fortunam, quum parentes rei familiaris angustiam, ac liberorum turbam occinerent, ad cucullæ confugit aram, quæ vel hoc nomine laudanda est, quod sat commode multa nutrit θρέμματα, alioqui fame peritura. Ibi Cantelius ex colloquio deprehendens quam feliciter Florentius processisset in literis, illico de suo negotio cogitans, incredibili affectu cœpit ad ejus vitæ consortium exhortari (erat autem natura Mercurialis) admirandam quandam ejus instituti imaginem verbis repræsentans, exaggerans beatam illam tranquillitatem, libertatem, concordiam, quid multis? Angelorum contubernium. Illud præcipue repetens et inculcans, quanta esset librorum copia, quantum otium studiis. Noverat escam qua capi poterat adolescentis animus. In summa, si audisses hominem, dixisses illic esse non monasterium, sed vireta Musarum. Amabat Florentius, pro naturæ suæ candore, Cantelium puerili vehementique affectu, præsertim ex tanto intervallo præter spem repertum, ut fere solet ea ætas fervidos amores in sodales quosdam concipere. Nondum enim noverat mortalium ingenia, sed ex suo animo æstimabat omnes. Cantelius quidem nullum non movebat lapidem, in omnia se vertens, ut incantamenti subigeret animum pueri, nec flexit tamen. Ab eo colloquio digressus Florentius, ab alteris majore jam impetu exceptus est. Adornarant enim validiores arietes. Ingerebatur summa rerum desperatio, amicorum omnium simulas, denique, quo genere mortis non aliud cruciabilius, βελιμία, ni mundo renuntiaret: sic enim illi loquuntur, contumelioso vocabulo mundum appellantes, quos Christus suo sanguine redemit a mundo, ac Monachis ceu proprium asserentes, quod est Christianorum omnium commune. Ab his diu vexatus magis quam labefactatus, redit ad Cantelium tantum fabulandi gratia. Ille summis jam viribus hoc agebat, ut sibi secretum et gratuitum præceptorem adjungeret. Erat autem Florentius mire propensus ad amicitias, ac facilis ad obsequendum amiculis. Itaque quum nullus esset obtundendi finis, nec ulla spes affulgeret, ad collegium se contulit, non illud quod paraverat tutor, sed in quo forte reperit veterem collactaneum. Erat autem locus ille tam putris et insalubris, ut vix bubus alendis esset idoneus, nedum tam delicato corpusculo. Verum ætas illa nec ciborum, nec cœli, nec loci rationem ullam habere didicerat. Nec tamen huc eo se contulit animo, ut institutum amplecteretur, sed ut interim obtudentium voces effugeret, donec ipsa dies adferret melius consilium. Cantelius interim sedulo suam rem agebat, abutens sodalis et facilitate et simplicitate. Nam Florentius illi clam una nonnunquam nocte comœdiam Terentianam totam prælegebat, ut intra paucos menses præcipuos auctores absolverent furtivis ac nocturnis congressibus, magno discrimine tenelli corpusculi: verum hoc nihil ad Cantelium, qui nactus occasionem sibi intus canebat, nec enim quenquam

amabat ex animo præter seipsum. Interea, ne Florentius resiliiret a cœptis, nihil illi non permittebatur: arridebat puero æqualium grata sodalitas: cane-
batur, ludebatur, certabatur versiculis: non adigebatur ad jejunium,
non excitabatur ad cantiones nocturnas: nemo monebat, nemo objurga-
bat, favebant et arridebant omnes. Atque ita per incogitantiam menses
aliquot effluxerunt. Ubi jam immineret dies deponendæ vestis profanæ,
et induendæ sacræ, Florentius ad se rediens, cœpit canere veterem canti-
lenam, et accersitis tutoribus agere de libertate. Ibi rursus minæ crudeles,
et ostensa rerum extrema desperatio, nisi pergeret in bene cœptis. Nec
hic instrenue partes suas egit Cantelius, cui non expediebat amittere noc-
turnum et gratuitum præceptorem. Obsecro te, an non hæc mera vis est
in puerum naturam simplicem, imperitum, et incogitantem? Quid moror?
Reclamanti injecta est vestis, quum scirent animum nihil immutatum. Eo
facto, rursus blanditiis et indulgentia lactabatur puerilis animus. Itaque
rursus per lulum et incogitantiam annus fere totus effluxit. At jam pro-
pemodum compererat illud vitæ genus nec animo nec corpusculo suo con-
gruere. Nam animo præter studia nihil erat suave. Ibi vero nullus stu-
diis vel honos, vel usus. Alioqui non abhorrebat a pietate, sed cantionibus
ac ceremoniis non perinde capiebatur, quibus fere tota illorum vita constat.
Ad hæc, in talia sodalitia plerumque protruduntur ingenio tardi, natura se-
mifatui, ἀμύστοι, ventrisque quam literarum amantiores. Inter hos si quod
exoriatur ingenium excellens, ac disciplinis natum, per illos opprimitur,
ne emergat. Et tamen tales sibi vindicant tyrannidem, ac fere fit, ut qui
stolidissimus est, maximeque improbus, modo robusto corpore, is in eo
grege valeat plurimum. Jam mihi cogita quanta sit crux ingenio Musis
nato, inter tales ætatem omnem degere. Nec ulla illic manumissionis
spes, nisi si forte contingat præfici collegio virginum, qua servitute nihil
est infelicius. Nam præter fœminei gregis assiduam curam, quotidie desi-
dendum est in prolixis computationibus, non sine pudicitiae periculo; neque
raro fit, ut Patriarcham suum jam ætate fractum, et inutilem, ad pristina
relegent præsepia, hoc etiam miseriorem, quod aliquamdiu voluptariam
vitam egerit. Corpusculum autem adolescentis erat natura tam impatiens
inediæ, ut, cibo ultra solitam horam prolato, frequenter sit periclitatus,
quum ipse tamen sui ignarus nihil tale cogitaret, tantum stomachi cruciatu,
et cordis defectu admonebatur. Hæc fortasse rident crassæ pecudes, quas
etiamsi fœno pascas, lascivirent. At periti medici non ignorant hanc esse
proprietatem corporis admodum rari, subtiliumque spirituum, cujusmodi
præscribunt cibos concoctu faciles, frequenter ac parce sumtos, quum alios
reperias qui semel expleto ventre sine ulla molestia diutius durent quam
vultures. Eadem corpora medici docet impatientissima frigoris, ventorum,
ac nebularum esse, ac citius offendi circumfuso aëre, quam infusis cibis.
Habebat adolescens aliud peculiare incommodum, quod illi a teneris annis
in hanc usque ætatem hæret, invincibile. Non nisi profunda vespere potest
obdormiscere, et a semel interrupto somno non redormiscit, nisi post horas
aliquot. Quoties hoc deplorare solet in familiaribus colloquiis, sibi negatum,
aureis illis horis frui, suavissimamque diei partem somno perire? quoties
cona-

conatus est vi naturam expellere, sed frustra! Porro, incœnem pervigilium excipit, non absque valetudinis incommodo. A piscibus sic abhorrebat adolescens, ut ad odorem modo, protinus sentiret gravem capitis dolorem, non sine febris. Quid talis animus, quid tale corpus faciat in monasterio, præsertim ita sito? nimirum quod piscis faceret in arvo, aut bos in mari. Hæc quum illi patres non ignorarent, si fuisset in illis mica sinceræ charitatis, nonne debuerant ultro subvenire puerili vel inscitiae, vel incogitantiae, et his admonere verbis? Fili, stultum est frustra niti, nec tu congruis huic instituto, nec hoc institutum tibi: dum integrum est, aliud vitæ genus delige. Ubique Christus habitat, non hic tantum: sub quavis veste colitur pietas, si non desit animus. Dabimus operam, ut propitiis tutoribus et amicis redeas in libertatem. Ita nec tu nobis futurus es oneri, nec nos tibi exitio. Hæc erat digna vere piis oratio. At nullus verbo monuit, quin potius omnes machinas admovebant, ne miser ille thynnus elaberetur e nassa. Alius dicebat, hunc esse Satanæ morem, ut in tali articulo omnes technas, omnes dolos admoveat, quo supplantet novum Christi tironem. Hunc conflictum si fortiter sustineret, cætera fore prona atque etiam jucundâ. Affirmabat, idem ipsi usu venisse quondam, nunc sibi videri in paradiso vivere. Alius injiciebat scrupulum, ostendens ingens periculum, ne divus Augustinus irritatus, magnum aliquod malum immitteret ob contumeliam desertæ vestis: atque hujus rei commemorabat horrenda aliquot exempla: alius inciderat in morbum immedicabilem, alius perierat ictus fulmine, alius a vipera morsus interierat. Addebant, vestem sumtam habere tacitam professionem: nec apud Deum esse multo levius crimen, nec apud homines minus infamiæ, quam si professus descivisset. Nullo non genere telorum urgebant adolescentem, sed nullo graviore quam infamiæ metu. Nunc, inquiunt, serum est resilire, missa est manus ad aratrum, non est fas in tergum respicere: si vestem multis testibus acceptam deposueris, semper eris hominum fabula. Hic *Apostata* vocabulum miris tragoediis exaggerabant. Quo tandem ibis? inquiunt. Non poteris unquam in bonorum virorum venire conspectum. Et Monachis eris execrabilis, et profanis invisus. Erat autem adolescentis ingenium virgineo quodam pudore, ut mortem levius horreret quam probum. Ex altera parte urgebant et tutores et amici, quorum aliqui rem furto minuerant. In summa, vicerunt improbitate. Adolescens et animo abhorrens, et verbis reluctans, coactus est capistrum accipere, non aliter quam bello capti vinciendas manus victori præbent, aut diutinis victi tormentis faciunt, non quod volunt, sed quod collibuit potentiori. Animum Florentius utcunque vicisset, cæterum corpus nemo sibi fingere potest. Interim fecit adolescens, quod solent ii qui carcere sunt conclusi, solabatur se studiis quatenus ibi licuit. Nam hoc ipsum furtim erat agendum, quum palam inebriari liceat. Literis igitur fallebat captivitatis tædium, donec casus insperatus, veluti Deus quispiam ἀπὸ μηχανῆς spem salutis ostenderet: id evenit, nam ab Episcopo quodam præpotente evocatus in ipsius familiam, inde gradu facto profectus est ad celebrem Academiam. Quod ni accidisset, tam insignis indoles in otio, in deliciis, in computationibus computruisset; non quod criminetur suum sodalitium, sed quod ipsius naturæ non congruebat:

bat: frequenter enim quod aliis vita est, aliis mors est. Ea autem est juvenis verecundia, modestiaque, ut nihil inimice de suo sodalicio veteri prædicet; sed quidam silentio et pudore plus loquuntur, quam si multa verba facerent. Nec tamen horum quicquam factum est, nisi permissu atque adeo jussu Episcopi ordinarii, permissu Præpositi, tum domestici, tum generalis, denique cum pace totius sodalitatis. Quanquam autem esset libera conscientia, sciretque se voto adactò non teneri; illud tamen interim dedit partim verecundiæ naturali, prorsus immodicæ, quæ illi sæpenumero magno fuit malo, partim hominum imperitorum ac superstitiosorum invincibili offenculo, ne vestem mutaret, quamvis ad hoc a suo præfule invitatus. Aliquanto post evenit per occasionem, ut in longinquam regionem amore studiorum proficisceretur. Ibi juxta morem Gallicæ gentis togulam lineam supra vestem gestabat, putans hoc illic non insolitum esse. Verum hinc bis in præsens capitis periculum incidit, quod illic chirurgi, qui pestilentia laborantes curant, candidum linteum gestant humero lævo, a fronte et a tergo pensile, quo facile conspicui, possint et ab obviis et a sequentibus vitari: qui tamen ipsi nisi per desertas vias obambulant, saxi impeterentur a concurrentibus; usque adeo gens ea mortem horret, ut ad thuris etiam odorem efferentur, quod in funeribus soleat accendi. Quodam tempore quum Florentius viseret amicum eruditum, duo forte obvii lenones, aut certe satellites, vocibus mire parricidalibus, ac strictis gladiis erant ipsum occisuri, nisi matrona commodum præteriens illos admonuisset, non chirurgi, sed Ecclesiastici cultum esse. Nec illi tamen desinebant fremere, nec gladios recondebant, donec pulsatis foribus (nam domus erat in proximo) intro receptus esset. Alio quodam die visebat quosdam sodales conterraneos. Ibi repente fit undique concursus cum saxi ac fustibus, furioso clamore invicem se cohortantium, Occidite canem, Occidite canem. Interim occurrit sacrificus, qui tantum arridens, illi dixit, sed voce tacita et Latina, *Asini, Asini*. Illis adhuc tumultuantibus, mox juvenis quidam perquam elegans et purpurata chlamyde prodiit ex ædibus. Ad hunc velut ad aram confugit Florentius. Nam vulgi linguam prorsus ignorabat: miratur quid sibi vellent. Hoc, inquit, certum habe, nisi ponis istud linteum, aliquo die lapidaberis; moneo te, tu monitus cave. Itaque linteolum non deposuit, sed textit summa veste. Bone Deus, quantum tragoediarum ex re nihili! Hic exhorrescent stolidi, qui summam religionis in veste collocant, quam nec ego dixerim temere abjiciendam, sed hanc Cartusiani sæpe negotiatoria commutant, quo tutius perveniant ad Synodum. Canonici vero vel studii gratia, vel longinquæ profectiois causa mutant aut celant nullius auctoritate, citra omnem reprehensionem. Non enim est eadem religio lineæ vestis quæ cæterarum: nam olim Canonici non erant Monachi, et nunc medium genus est, in favorabilibus Monachi, in odiosis non Monachi. Sed horrendum facinus est, si quis Dominicanus aut Franciscanus sacram vestem abjiciat: nam Dominicanum pallium totam divitum domum sospitat prosperatque, et pueris aliquot annis ex voto matris gestatum, tuetur a morbis et horrendis casibus: Franciscana tunica, etiam mortuo inducta, liberat ab inferis. Quin et summus Pontifex Monachos quosdam, qui diversis vestium formis convenerant, ad-

monet,

monet, ut, offendiculi vitandi gratia, simili cultu uterentur omnes. Nec Pontificia decretalis fulminat in eos, qui honestis de causis vestem sacram ponerent, sed qui id facerent, ut licentius cum profanis ea facerent quæ solet vulgus: nam linea vestis non est Monachorum, sed Episcoporum, et fortassis olim Clericorum. Nec Augustinus in sua regula formam ullam vestis præscribit, imo damnat potius insignem cultum, admonens ne sit notabilis Clericorum habitus, nec affectent vestibus placere, sed moribus: licet satis constet eam regulam mulieribus scriptam, non viris; sed cum illis nunc ago, qui viris scriptam existimant. Postremo, cultus hic est Romani Pontificis, quum maxime pontificaliter ornari solet. Hæc quum non ignoraret Florentius, tamen, ut omnem impleret justitiam, ex amicorum consilio facillime impetravit a summo Pontifice, ut pro suo arbitrio, quodcunque signum instituti, quacunque corporis parte gestaret. Quum illinc revocatus esset ad suos Mæcenates, quos habebat nec indoctos, nec infimæ fortis, recepit cultum Gallicum, qui, præter linteolum pensile, nihil differt a veste presbyteri secularis: sic enim ignominioso verbo nunc vocantur legitimi Ecclesiæ ministri, et ab Apostolis Christoque instituti. Nec id fecit absque gravium virorum consilio. Quum ita cultus prodisset in publicum, admonitus est ab amicissimis, eum ornatum in ea regione prorsus intolerabilem esse. Celaret linteum. Dices, poterat totum ejus gentis cultum sumere. Verum eo nihil est operosius, opus est qui sustineat fluentem caudam, læva retinenda est sinuosissima cuculla. Nam hoc illic in primis habetur magnificum, nimirum ad exemplum Cardinalium. Tum negotia cogebant eum subinde mutare regionem, ac veste polypum fieri. Nam cultus qui alicubi reverendus est, alibi prodigiosus habetur. Postremo erat hospes, et quotidie illi versandum erat cum magnatibus, qui non quavis veste delectantur. Tandem visum est sincerissimis amicis, ut, quemadmodum habebat liberam conscientiam, ita Pontificis auctoritate in totum omni scrupulo sublato, suæ libertati restitueretur, ne toties ponenda sumendaque veste gravius etiam scandalum pariat male loquacibus. Addam et illud: vitæ genus, in quod protrusus est adolescens, adeo liberum est, ut minimum absit a libertate secularium. Nec jam loquor de libertate arrepta, sed de concessa ab iis qui fuerunt auctores. Hoc admoneo, quod Pontifices solent in talibus esse faciliores ad relaxandum, quam quum disceditur ab ordine Seraphico, Cartusiano, aut Brigidensi. Nam hi nec recipiunt hic Pontificis auctoritatem, quum eandem largientem immensa privilegia, ac prærogativas, habeant sacrosanctam, ac tantum non Christo præponant. Non hic disputabo de votis Monasticis, quæ quidam supra modum exaggerant, quum hoc genus obligationis, pene dixeram servitutis, nec in Novo nec in Vetere Testamento reperiatur. Deinde quum sabbatum, auctore Christo, sit constitutum propter hominem, non homo propter sabbatum, multo magis hujusmodi constitutiones cedere debent, quoties officiunt hominis salutis, præsertim animæ, quum Dominus loquatur de salute corporis: agitur enim de fame, et homine sanato die sabbati. Sed isti vere sunt illi Pharisæi, qui bovem et asinum delapsos in puteum extrahunt, violato Dei sabbato, hominem totum perire sinunt ob suum sabbatum. Non huc addu-

cam, quanta sit turba monasteriorum, in quibus adeo nulla viget disciplina pietatis, ut præ his lupanaria sint et magis sobria, et magis pudica; tum quam multa, in quibus præter ceremonias et speciem externam nihil est religionis. Hi sunt illis propemodum deteriores, quod cum spiritu Christi careant, tamen ex illis Pharisaicis ceremoniis incredibile dictu quam attollant supercilium, universam pietatem in extraneis constituentes, et ob has pueros ad necem quotidie cædentes. Quanquam ipsi eas miro tædio peragunt, nec omnino peracturi, nisi crederent hoc spectaculum populo videri mirificum. Postremo, quam mira paucitas collegiorum, in quibus ex animo vivitur juxta regulam pietatis, et in his ipsis, si Silenum aperias, si propius inspicias, si ad veræ pietatis coticulam explores, immane quam pauculos reperias sinceros! Quam callidæ sunt artes Satanæ, quam sinuosum est cor hominum, quanta simulandi vafricies, quibus rebus, etiam senibus rerum peritissimis frequenter imponitur, et hæc postulant ut paucis mensibus perspiciat puer? Atque hanc vocant professionem. Jam donemus repertum collegium, in quo constent omnia, quid fiet, quum mutatur corpus ejus qui professus est? quum in locum boni patriarchæ succedit stupidus, temulentus et tyrannus, quum probi sodales mutantur improbis? Mutet, inquiunt, vel domum, vel institutum. Verum hic quam ægre dimittunt suos, sed multo ægrius alii recipiunt, suspicantes aliquid latere monstri, quod a vetere sodalitia recesserit, et si quem ibi nutu offenderit, protinus audit, Quin redis ad tuos? Ad hæc, quam anxia disputatio, qui sit ordo strictior, qui laxior? nam suum quisque vult videri strictissimum. Et hæc est illa præclara facultas mutandæ domus aut instituti, ut denuo subeat aleam, ne miser in duriores incidat servitutes. Porro, quoniam plerosque fraudibus illectant, illectos non ad spiritualem pietatem, sed ad Pharisaismum instituunt, et ad servitutem hominem adigunt, plurimos sequitur instituti pœnitudo. Itaque veriti ne ipsorum orgia proferantur in publicum, virgis, devotionibus, brachio seculari, muris, cancellis, carceribus, atque etiam mortibus suos retinent. Mentior nisi Matthæus Cardinalis Sedunensis in convivio, multis audientibus, nominatim commemoravit vicum, personas, et monasterium, in quo vivum adolescentem defoderant Dominicani, quod pater eques filium furtim eo pertractum minis reposceret. Tum in Polonia nobilis quidam, qui bene potus forte in templo obdormierat, vidit duos Franciscanos, post cantiones nocturnas, vivos defodi. Hic pondus habet illis Pontificum auctoritas, qui forte concessit hoc illis citra discrimen irregularitatis. Idem ubi liberat aliquem veste illa sacra, scinditur diploma, et qui procuravit conjicitur in carcerem. Et post hæc jactant auctores ordinum suorum Benedictum, Basilium, Hieronymum, Augustinum, Dominicum, Franciscum, Brunonem: excutiant vitam illorum, et videant numquid unquam tale fuerit ab illis institutum aut factum; longe aliam reperient politiam. Exemplis, salubri doctrina, amicis monitis, fraterna correptione tota res agebatur. Qui his modis non emendabatur, ejiciebatur e contubernio, etiamsi sua sponte non discessisset: tantum aberat ut abire volentem retinerent. Omitto tot constitutiones humanas, tot formas vestium, tot preces ac ceremonias, in quibus quod est levissimi momenti, nempe vestis, fit apud

apud istos plurimi. Qui in sacra veste indulget quotidianæ temulentiaë, qui gulæ servit et ventri, qui scortatur clam et palam, nihil enim addam obscenius, qui luxu profundit Ecclesiæ pecuniam, qui sortilegiis, aliisque maleficis artibus dat operam, probus est Monachus, et vocatur ad Abbatiam: qui quacunque de causa posuit vestem, ut apostatam execrantur, quod nomen olim merito ducebatur abominandum, quum eo notarentur, qui defecissent a Christi professione, ad Judaismum seu Paganismum. Quod si latius porrigas, quicumque deditus est mundi deliciis, pompis, opibus, cæterisque cupiditatibus, quas abjuravit in baptismo, apostata est, isto nihilo melior, sed nocentior, utcunque turba levatur criminis invidia. Itidem Monachi qui impie vivunt, quod passim faciunt, apostatæ sunt duplices, primum quia desciverunt ab illa sanctissima professione, qua Christo dedere nomen, deinde ab instituto, quod professi sunt. In hos, inquam, oportebat execrandum apostatæ nomen torquere, etiamsi decem cucullis essent obvoluti. Hæc quum ita habeant, mi Lamberte, quantum flagitium est simplicem ætatem vi, seu technis in nassam impellere? Si palam mali sunt, ut sunt plerique, quid aliud quam pueros in perniciem pertrahunt? Sin neque calidi, neque frigidi, in quam miseram servitutem implicant illos? Sin probitatis specie commendabiles, quum sit tanta corporum et animorum varietas, quum tam ingeniosa simulatio, quum tanta pueritiæ simplicitas, quum nodus sit insolubilis, ut ipsi volunt, in quod periculum tum animi tum corporis mittunt adolescentes? At pubertas, inquiunt, adfert boni malique discrimen. At non eodem anno pubescunt omnibus corpora, sed multo minus animi. Ut nihil intersit, pubertas fortasse reddit idoneum matrimonio, non item professioni monasticæ, quam quidam aggressi, annos nati plus minus triginta, et alioqui rerum humanarum peritissimi, resiluerunt ante professionem, dicentes, Non putaram. Olim vix ad presbyterii gradum admittebantur triginta annos nati, et ad monasticam vitam statim idonei sunt pubescentes? Et interim perperam usurpatis vocabulis imponunt imperitis: mundi, quasi ipsi sint extra-mundani: obedientiaë, quum Scriptura magis commendet obedientiam Dei quam hominum: voti insolubilis, quum nondum invenire potuerint differentiam inter votum solubile et insolubile, nisi quod Scotus commentus est, ideo Monachorum votum solvi non posse, quod per hominem fiat Deo: nam quod soli Deo fit, facile solvitur. Atqui quum istorum status omnis Romanorum Pontificum auctoritate nitatur, cur illi quoties libuit strenue oppedunt? Is quum multos liberet a monachismo, licet non sine causa, si potest quod facit, cur illius auctoritatem hic pro nihilo ducunt? Si negant illum posse quod facit, an non illi crimen atrox impingunt? Ita quoties ipsis commodum est, Pontifex Christi Vicarius non potest errare: quoties secus visum est, nihil agit. Sed non est nunc animus adversus Ordines depugnare: sit hoc aut illud vitæ genus huic aut illi commodum, aut etiam necessarium, probetur nodus insolubilis; quo sanctior, quo magis ardua professio est, hoc circumspectius, lentius ac serius esset suscipienda; satis mature, si ante annum quadragesimum, mea quidem sententia. Cætera vota non sunt rata, nisi constet sanam fuisse mentem, sobrium animum, a terroribus aliisque violentis curis liberum: Et hic valebit, quum puer illecebris, minis, fucis, terriculamentis,

tis, reclamans in laqueum impulsus est? Hic scilicet profertur metus cadens in constantem virum; potius citetur fucus et terror, cadens in simplicem ac rerum imperitum adolescentem. Adde quod in multis genuina simplicitas est, ætatis et peculiaris naturæ. Nullum hic discrimen, si pubes habet lanuginem, valet votum, et adeo valet, ut hujus gratia deferatur sponsa nondum cognita. O leges! Proinde Florentium, quando tot machinis, perpetuo reluctans ac reclamans huc protrusus est, nec unquam quicquam gestavit præter vestem, sed conscientiam habuit liberam, mihi videtur nullo teneri voto, non magis quam si quid turpe jurasset piratis mortem intentantibus. Nec dubito quin Romani Pontificis pietas nihilo minus sit indignatura plagiariis istis, quam hominis causæ fautura. Dices, Pontifex poterit illum suæ libertati restituere, quod ad forum humanum attinet, quando conscientiam habet ex se liberam; at hominum linguas non potest compescere. Atqui quum vere summus ille Pontifex Ecclesiæ Christus, et hujus haud degener discipulus Paulus, doceant neminem esse judicandum, præsertim in his rebus, quæ nec per se pium faciunt, nec impium, certe tantum momenti deberet habere summi Pontificis auctoritas, ut hominum suspensiones in bonam partem ibi defleceret, ubi male suspicari vitium est. Sed quid tandem futurum est de rebus humanis, si talium hominum insulsis judiciis, et scurrilibus obtrectionibus perpetuo obsequemur? Infirmi, seu persuasioni invincibili nos vult obsecundare Paulus, sed ad tempus: stultis autem ac malitiosis judiciis obsequi, quid aliud est quam christianæ pietatis vigorem obruere? Christus hætenus obsecutus est Cæsari, quod solvit didrachmum: hætenus Judæis, quod abstinuit a cibis lege vetitis: at in sananda contracta, in illuminando cæco, in restituendo manco, in vellendis spicis palam neglexit, imo studio provocavit scandalum Scribarum et Phariseorum: quod ni idem fecisset beatus Paulus, ubi nunc esset Christianismus? Quid autem objiciunt homines stolidissimi? Deposuit vestem lineam. Qui sciunt an intus gerat? Et si deposuit, unde sciunt quas ob causas deposuerit? Unde sciunt, quorum auctoritate id factum sit? Si nesciunt, cur judicant? Et si norunt hoc summi Pontificis auctoritate factum, cur non verentur damnare illius judicium, quod alibi volunt haberi inviolatum? Ubi est hic illa mirabilis totiesque jactata obedientia, quum nec auscultant Christo, et Ecclesiæ principem Christique Vicarium lacerant? Ubi est illa simplicitas, quam incurvata cervice præ se ferunt? Ubi est ille spiritus mundo mortuus? Mittamus hæc, ubi est humanitas, ubi sensus communis? Quum tot sint scelera, non hic referenda, quæ ipsis possunt objici, ut in quibus quotidie pene palam deprehenduntur, ne moveam τὰ ἀπὸρρήτα καὶ ἀκίνητα, tamen sine fine mutata vestem velut inextinguibile crimen objiciunt. Quid autem inhumanius quam objicere cuiquam suam calamitatem, in quam aliena malitia præcipitatus est? Quis tam incivilis est, ut claudicationem opprobret homini, cui mula calce fregit tibiam? Quis monophthalmiam ei, quem in bello eluscavit hostis? Quis morbum comitalem, aut lepram ei, quem natura sic genuit? Quis paupertatem ei, qui naufragio rem amisit? Qui vere sunt homines, talium miserentur potius ac favent, et si qua possunt opitulantur; et quo malum est

est atrocius, hoc impensius illis favent. Quod autem infortunium majus possit adolescenti felici ingenii accidere, quam si in tale vitæ genus protrudatur? Ergo si vehementer inhumanus est, qui calamitatem pro crimine objicit, quid de illo dicendum est, qui malum opprobrat, quod ipse suo vitio dedit? Veluti si chirurgus imperitus per convitium luscum appellet eum, cui ipse perdidisset oculum; aut si pirata servitutem objiciat illi, quem ex libero traxisset in servitutem. Nonne id optimo jure dicant omnes, insignitæ cujusdam impudentiæ esse, suum scelus in altero criminari? Quid porro aliud isti faciunt, qui pessimis artibus imposuerunt ætati simplici, et postea suum crimen aliis exprobrant? An non hic vides summam inhumanitatem cum summa stultitia parique impudentia conjunctam? In istos recidit ignominia, et tamen alium volunt pudefcere. Neque enim ignominia est ejus, qui delapsus est in foveam, sed eorum qui præcipitarunt. Posuit vestem, sed vos coëgistis accipere. Quis unquam vitio vertit homini capto, quod profugit a piratis? Ne piratæ quidem ipsi, opinor. Cæteri gratulantur omnes. Quisque pirata est ei, qui per vim adimit homini suam libertatem. Et, si placet minus odiosis exemplis uti, si sutor stomachetur in quempiam quod calceum elegantem quidem, sed pedi non congruentem, abjecit, nonne merito respondeat, Te ipsum accusas, qui talem calceum induxeris pedi. Pulchrum esse non nego, sed mihi misere torquet pedem. Nihil enim vetat quominus aliquod institutum sit per se præclarum, quod tamen huic aut illi sit perniciosum. Ut finem faciam, vir amicissime, si tibi probavi causam mei Florentii, majorem in modum te rogo, ut negotium hoc et quam celerrime, et quam maxime ex animi nostri sententia cures expediendum. De impendio ne fueris sollicitus, me fidejussorem accipe. In spatio, quod in hujus epistolæ calce vacare videtur, signavi quædam, quæ fortassis ad conficiendum diploma requirentur: signavi autem notulis, quas proximis literis ad te misi, nec has tamen leges, nisi chartam prunis admoveris. Per hunc veredarium exspecto responsum, hærebit enim Romæ diebus quindecim, aut certe per proximum. Bene vale.

Epist. 442. C. 1821.

The Pope, to whom this request was presented, and who granted it, was (as I observed in the Life of Erasmus, p. 625.) not Julius II. but Leo X. Here is a proof of it.

Erasmus ad Julium secundum misit supplicem libellum, quo sibi religiosi cultus utendi aut non utendi gratiam faceret. Id — haud gravatim concessum: — quod Leo decimus dein — in plenissima (quod aiunt) forma corroboravit, &c. *Beat. Rhenanus*, Vit. *Erasmi*.

Nº. II.

ᵇ The characters of Colet and Vittrarius.

Erasmus Rot. Jodoco Jonæ Erphordienſi S. D.

QUOD tam impenſe rogas, vir optime, ut tibi Joannis Coleti vitam paucis velut in brevi tabella depingam, hoc faciam lubentius, quod ſuſpicer te tibi quærere egregium aliquod pietatis exemplar, ad quod tuum inſtitutum attemperes. Equidem, mi Jona chariſſime, ut fateor me cum multis habuiſſe conſuetudinem, quorum integritas mihi valde probaretur, tamen nullum adhuc vidi, in cujus moribus nescio quid adhuc Chriſtianæ puritatis non deſiderarem, quoties ad horum duorum ſinceritatem conferrem aliquem: quorum alterum mihi noſſe contigit apud oppidum Arteſiæ, quod vulgo dicitur Sancti Audomari, dum huc me peſtis, hac ſane in parte mihi felix, Lutetia propuliſſet: alterum in Britannia, quo me Montjoii mei charitas pertraxerat. Lucrum facies, cujus ſcio te avidiſſimum; pro uno duos dabo. Prior dictus eſt Joannes Vittrarius Ordinis Franciſcani: nam in hoc vitæ genus adoleſcens inciderat, meo judicio, nulla ex parte poſthabendus Colet, niſi quod, ob ſervitutem inſtituti, minus multis prodeſſe poterat. Annos natus erat ferme quadraginta quatuor, quum hominem noſſe cœpiſſem. Ac ſtatim adamare me cœpit, hominem fui multum diſſimilem. Erat auctoritatis maximæ apud optimos quoſque, multis magnatibus gratiſſimus, corpore procero et eleganti, natura felici, animo ſic excelſo, ut nihil eſſet illo humanius. Scoticas argutias puer imbiberat, quas nec prorſus improbabat, quod quædam ſcite dicerentur, licet ſordidis verbis, nec rurfus magni faciebat. Cæterum, ubi contigiſſet Ambroſium, Cyprianum, Hieronymum deguſtare, mirum quam præ his illa ſaſtidiebat. Nullius ingenium magis admirabatur in Sacris Literis quam Origenis: quumque cavillarer me mirari, quod hominis hæretici ſcriptis delectaretur, ille mira alacritate, fieri non potuit, inquit, quin hoc pectus inhabitaret Spiritus Sanctus, unde tot libri tam eruditi, tanto ardore ſcripti prodierunt. Quanquam autem illud vitæ inſtitutum, in quod per inſci-
tiam ætatis fuerat vel delapſus, vel pertractus, nequaquam probabat, ſubinde dictitans apud me fatuorum eſſe vitam potius, quam religioſorum, ad nolæ ſignum dormire, expergiſci, redormiſcere, loqui, tacere, ire, redire, cibum capere, deſinere paſtu, denique nihil non facere ad præſcriptum humanum, potius quam ad Chriſti regulam: nihil iniquius eſſe, quam inter tam inæquales, æqualitatem, maxime quod illic ſæpenumero cœleſtia ingenia, ac melioribus rebus nata, ceremoniis, et conſtitutiunculis humanis, aut etiam livore ſepelirentur: tamen nec cuiquam umquam fuit auctor mu-

tandæ vitæ, nec ipse quicquam hujusmodi molitus est, paratus omnia ferre potius, quam ulli mortalium offendiculo esse, Pauli sui exemplum in hoc quoque referens. Nihil autem erat tam iniquum, quod ille pacis servandæ studio non summa cum alacritate perpeteretur. Libros divinos, præsertim Epistolas Pauli, sic edidicerat, ut nemo melius teneret ungues digitosque suos, quam ille Pauli sui sermones. Dedisses initium ex quacunque parte, ille mox totam Epistolam absque ullo lapsu fuisset profecutus. Ambrosii pleraque tenebat memoriter. Vixque credibile est, quantum item ex aliis orthodoxis veteribus memoria complecteretur. Præstitit hoc illi partim memoria naturâ felix, partim assidua meditatio. Rogatus a me in familiari colloquio, quibus modis præpararet animum suum iturus ad concionandum; respondit se solitum in manus sumere Paulum, et in ejus lectione tam diu commorari, donec sentiret incalescere pectus. Illic hærebat, addens igneas ad Deum preces, donec admoneretur esse tempus incipiendi. Non dividebat fere conciones suas, quod vulgus ita facit, quasi secus facere non liceat, unde fit ut frequenter sit frigidissima distinctio. Quanquam omnis illa distinctionum cura frigus addit orationi, et artificii significationem præbens, fidem elevat dicentis. At hic perpetuo quodam sermonis fluxu connectebat sacram Epistolam cum Evangelica lectione, ut auditor domum rediret et eruditior et inflammator ad studium pietatis. Neque gesticulationibus ineptiebat, nec vociferationibus tumultuabatur, sed totus apud se sic promebat verba, ut sentires ex ardenti ac simplici, sed sobrio pectore proficisci: nec usquam immorabatur ad tædium usque, neque jactabat sese variis citationibus nominum, quemadmodum nunc e Scoto, Thoma, Durando, nunc e juris utriusque libris, nunc e Philosophis, nunc e Poëtis centones frigidos consarcinant, quo populo nihil nescire videantur. Totus sermo, quem promebat, erat sacræ Scripturæ plenus, nec aliud ructare poterat. Amabat quod loquebatur. Habebat hominem incredibilis quidam ardor pertrahendi mortales ad sinceram Christi philosophiam. Ambiebat ex hujusmodi laboribus martyrii gloriam. Proinde quemadmodum ex illius familiarissimis cognovi, olim a suis auctoribus impetrarat veniam adeundi regiones, in quibus Christus aut ignoratur, aut impie colitur, se felicem fore judicans, si hæc obiens, martyrii palmam meruisset. At e medio cursu revocatus est, voce velut cœlitus audita: *Redi, Joannes; non defuturum est tibi apud tuos martyrium.* Paruit oraculo, et reperit esse verum quod vox illa prædixerat. Erat illic monasterium sororcularum, in quo sic erat prolapsa omnis religiosæ vitæ disciplina, ut lupanar verius esset quam monasterium. Et tamen inter has erant quæ sanari possent, et cuperent. Has dum crebris concionibus hortatibusque revocaret ad Christum, octo deploratæ ex eo numero conspirarant, et hominem observatum in locum semotum pertrahunt, atque ibi fasciis injectis præfocant. Nec finem faciunt donec casu nescio qui intervenientes impium facinus dirimunt. Atque ille jam exanimatus erat, vixque revocatus est, ut spiraret: nec tamen usquam hac de re questus est, ne his quidem quos habebat intimos, nec ullum officium prætermisit, quo solet illarum saluti subvenire; imo ne vultus quidem unquam visus est in illas solito tristior. Noverat auctorem hujus conspirationis,

tionis, is erat Theologus Dominicanus, Episcopi Morinensis a suffragiis Episcopus, vir palam impiæ vitæ. Nec huic unquam verbo molestus fuit, tametsi nulli hominum generi erat iniquior, quam qui doctores ac duces pietatis professi, moribus ac doctrina impia populum a Christo alienarent. Nonnunquam septies concionabatur uno die, nec unquam illi deerat sermonis eruditi copia, quoties de Christo loquendum erat. Quanquam tota illius vita nihil erat nisi sacra concio. Erat alacer, minimeque tetricus in convivio: sed sic ut nullam unquam præberet speciem levitatis, aut ineptiæ, luxus aut intemperantiæ multo minus. Miscebat sermones eruditos, plerumque sacros, et ad pietatem facientes. Talia erant colloquia, si quis illum adibat, aut si quem ille videret. Aut si quo faceret iter, habebat potentes amicos, qui illi in itinere mulum aliquoties, aut equum subiciebant, quo commodius liceret confabulari: ibi promebat vir optimus exhilirato spiritu, quæ nullis gemmis poterant æstimari. Neminem ab se tristem dimittebat, imo neminem non dimittebat meliorem, et ad pietatis amorem animatiorem. Nihil erat in quo sentire possis illum ulli suo commodo servire, non ventri, non ambitioni, non avaritiæ, non voluptati, non odio, non livori, non ullis malis affectibus erat obnoxius. Quicquid acciderat, agebat gratias Deo: nec aliud erat gaudium, quam si quos inflammasset ad studium Evangelicæ pietatis. Nec irritus fuit illius conatus. Complures, tum viros, tum feminas lucrificerat Christo: qui quantum differrent ab hoc Christianorum vulgo, mors arguebat: vidisses enim hujus discipulos summa cum alacritate spiritus mori, et sub mortem vere cygneam canere cantionem, ea promentes quæ pectus afflatum sacro numine testarentur: cum cæteri peractis ceremoniis, et adhibitis solennibus illis protestationibus fidentes, diffidentes, exhalarent animam. Testis est hujus rei medicus eximius ejus oppidi Ghisbertus, ac pertinax veræ pietatis cultor, qui plurimis utriusque scholæ morientibus adfuit. Pertraxerat aliquot et e sui gregis sodalibus, sed pauciores: quemadmodum et Christus apud suos non potuit multas virtutes facere; nam illis fere placent qui sua doctrina plurimum commeatus convehunt in culinam, potius quam qui plurimas animas asserunt Christo. Cum autem ab omnibus vitiis abhorrebat animus ille purissimus, ac vere templum Christo dicatum, tum maxime a libidine, adeo ut odore talium gravissime offenderetur, tantum aberat ut turpiloquium ferre posset. In vitia nunquam odiose debacchabatur, neque quicquam afferebat e secretis confessionibus: sed ita depingebat honestatis imaginem, ut se quisque tacitus agnosceret. In consiliis dandis mira prudentia, mira integritas, mira dexteritas. Secretas confessiones non admodum volens audiebat, sed tamen in hoc quoque serviebat charitati: anxias et subinde repetitas confessiones palam detestabatur. Superstitioni ac ceremoniis minimum tribuebat; vescabatur cibis quibuscumque sobrie et cum gratiarum actione. Vestitus erat nihil ab aliis differens. Solet nonnunquam et valetudinis causa suscipere iter aliquod, si quando senserat corpus humore degravari. Quodam igitur die, cum persolveret pensum precum matutinarum cum suo sodali, sensissetque stomachum, fortassis ob pridianam inediam nauseantem, ingressus domum proximam sumsit cibi nonnihil, ac repetito itinere pergebat precari: ibi cum sodalis illius putaret omnia rependa

tenda ab initio, quod primæ horæ precibus nondum dictis sumfisset cibum, ille alacer negavit quicquam esse admissum, imo Deo nonnihil fore lucri. Antehac, inquit, languidi et segnes precabamur : nunc alacribus animis illi dicemus hymnos spirituales, et ejusmodi sacrificiis ille delectatur, quæ ab hilari datore offeruntur. Ego cum id temporis diversarer apud Antonium a Bergis Abbatem Bertinicum, nec nisi post meridiem illic pranderetur, neque meus stomachus ferret tam diutinam inediam (erat autem tempus Quadragesimæ) præsertim cum totus essem in studiis, solebam ante prandium sorbitiuncula tepida fulcire stomachum, quo duraret in horam prandii. Hac de re cum illum consulerem num liceret, ille circumspecto sodali, quem tum habebat laicum, ne quid offenderetur, Imo, inquit, peccares nisi faceres, et ob cibulum omitteres ista tua sacra studia, tuoque corpusculo faceres injuriam. Cum Alexander Pontifex ex uno Jubilæo fecisset duos, quo quæstus esset uberior, ejusque dispensationem Episcopus Tornacensis præsentem pecunia suo periculo redemisset, summo studio adnitebantur Commissarii, ne sortem perderet Episcopus, imo ut lucrum non poenitendum accederet. Hic in primis ad fabulæ partes vocabantur ii qui in concionibus populo essent gratiosi. Noster sentiens id in scrinia conferri, quo sublevabantur ante pauperes, non improbabat quod offerebat Pontifex, nec probabat tamen. Cæterum, illud improbabat, quod tenues fraudarentur solito subsidio : damnabat stultam eorum fiduciam, qui nummo in scrinium coniecto putarent se liberos a peccatis. Tandem obtulerunt Commissarii centum florenos ad structuram templi, nam id tum ædificabatur in ejus Monasterio, ut si nollet commendare venias Pontificias, saltem ea taceret quæ officerent. Ibi vir velut afflatu sacro percitus, “ Abite, inquit, hinc, Simoniaci, cum vestra pecunia. An eum me putatis, qui ob pecuniam sim suppressurus Evangelicam veritatem? ea si vestro quæstui obstat, mihi major esse debet cura animarum quam vestri compendii.” Cessere tum vigori pectoris Evangelici, homines male sibi conscii, sed interim præter expectationem summo diluculo affixa est excommunicatio, quæ tamen a cive quodam detracta est priusquam multis innotesceret. Ille nihil his minis territus, summa cum animi tranquillitate docebat populum, et Christo sacrificabat : nec ullum metum præ se ferebat talis anathematis, quod ob Christum prædicatum intentaretur. Mox citatus est ad Episcopum Morinensem, paruit Episcopo suo, venit uno sodali comitatus, nihil ipse de se sollicitus : sed tamen inscio illo cives equitum præsidia collocarant in itinere, ne per insidias interceptus in antrum aliquod conjiceretur. Quid enim non audet auri sacra fames? Episcopus objecit articulos aliquot, quos ex illius collegerant concionibus : ille magno animo respondit, et Episcopo satisfecit. Aliquanto post denuo vocatus est, objecti sunt plures. Ubi et ad hos respondisset, rogabat cur non adessent accusatores, ut suo quoque periculo accusarent : se jam bis venisse honoris illius gratia, quod Episcopus esset; cæterum, non venturum tertio, si simili modo vocaretur : esse sibi domi melius negotium. Ita suo ingenio relictus est, sive quia deerat ansa nocendi, sive quia timebant populi tumultum, in quo probitas illius habebat optimum quemque addictissimum : etiamsi ille tale nihil ambiebat. Jam-

dudum rogabis, scio, quis hujus viri fuerit exitus. Non solum displicuit Commissariis, sed etiam suis fratribus aliquot, non quod non probarent vitam, sed quod ea melior esset quam ipsis expediebat. Totus inhiabat in lucrum animarum, cæterum ad instruendam culinam, aut extruendos parietes, ad illectandos dotatos adolescentes segnior erat quam illi vellent: etiam si hoc quoque non negligebat vir optimus, duntaxat si quid ad sublevandam necessitatem pertineret, verum non, ut plerique, præpostere curabat ista. Imo quendam etiam *Tbynnum* alienarat: is erat aulicus, ac prorsus aulicis moribus, foris per omnia cubilia se volvens, passim matrimonia aliena contaminans, et uxorem pro derelicta habens, quam habebat et claro genere natam, et aliquot liberorum matrem. Per occasionem evenit, ut hæc quoque seduceretur: illico rejecit mulierculam primo lapsu, qui sibi tot lapsus ignoverat. Illa tandem longius etiam prolapsa ad extremam devenit calamitatem, præter infamiam, scabiei etiam, quam Gallicam vocant, obnoxia. Hic cum omnibus tentatis, quo uxorem marito reconciliaret, nihil ageret, nec durus ille, vel affinium respectu, vel liberorum communium affectu, vel sua ipsius conscientia, qui tot adulteriis, qui suo neglectu occasionem dedisset, flecteretur, reliquit hominem ceu deploratum. Is paulo post ex more, petasone, aut armum suillum misit. Cæterum Joannes, nam tum *Guardianum* agebat, mandarat janitori, ne quid reciperet nisi se vocato. Cum adesset munus, vocatus est: ibi famulis, qui deferebant heri nomine, Referte, inquit, onus vestrum unde attulistis, nos non recipimus munera Diaboli. Itaque tametsi non ignorabant illius vitam ac doctrinam esse seminarium egregium Evangelicæ pietatis, tamen quoniam non perinde conducebat proventui culinæ, jussus est deponere *Guardiani* munus, quo nihil ille fecit lubentius: et susceptus est illi quidam, quem ego novi, aliunde adscitus, homo non dicam qualis, aut quam alteri dissimilis; in summa is mihi visus est, cui nemo prudens cauleum suum vellet committere: siue hunc obtruserunt, qui cupiebant abesse, siue is visus est ad rem magis idoneus. Porro cum ex ejus convictu subolesceret unus atque alter, qui simili spiritu raperetur ad studium consulendi pietati Christianæ potius quam ad augendum penu, relegarunt hominem Curtracum in monasterium Virginum. Ibi quantum licuit, sui similis, docens, consolans, adhortans, diem suum feliciter obiit, relictis aliquot libellis, quos e sacris auctoribus decerpserat Gallice, quos non dubito tales esse, qualis erat hominis vita et oratio. Et tamen audio nunc a nonnullis damnari, qui putant esse ingens periculum, si populus aliquid legat præter ineptas fabulas historiarum, aut somnia Monachorum. Vivit adhuc illius doctrinæ scintilla in multorum pectoribus, quos, si conferas cum cæteris, dices hos non esse Christianos, sed Judæos. Sic contemtim habitus est a suis vir ille singularis, qui si Paulo Apostolo collega contigisset, nihil addubito, quin illum suo Barnabæ aut Timotheo fuisset antepositurus. Habes vere gemmeum Vitrarium nostrum, ignotum mundo, celebrem et clarum in regno Christi. Nunc Coletum huic simillimum accipe. Alterum alteri depinxeram, et uterque alterius videnti desiderio flagrabat, atque hac gratia Vitrarius in Angliam trajecerat, ac mihi post narrabat Coletus apud se fuisse Minoritam quendam, cujus collo-

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quo prudenti pioque mirum in modum fuisset delectatus, sed adhibitum alterum quendam ejusdem Ordinis Stoicum, qui visus indigne ferre, Christianum colloquium interruperit. Ac fortasse Coletus hoc nomine plus laudis meretur, quod nec indulgentia fortunæ, nec impetu naturæ, longe alio trahentis, potuerit ab Evangelicæ vitæ studio depelli. Natus est enim e claris et opulentis parentibus, idque Londini. Siquidem pater bis in urbe sua præfecturam summam gessit, quam illi *Majoritatem* appellant. Mater, quæ adhuc superest, insigni probitate mulier, marito suo undecim filios peperit, ac totidem filias. Quorum omnium natu maximus erat Coletus, ac proinde solus hæres futurus juxta leges Britannicas, etiamsi illi fuissent superstites: sed ex omnibus ille superfuit solus, cum illum nosse cœpisssem. Accesserat his fortunæ commodis corpus elegans ac procerum. Adolescens apud suos quicquid est scholasticæ philosophiæ diligenter perdidit, ac titulum affecutus est, qui septem Liberalium Artium scientiam profitetur. Quarum nulla erat, in qua ille non fuisset gnaviter ac feliciter exercitatus: nam et libros Ciceronis avidissime devorarat, et Platonis Plotinique libros non oscitanter excusserat, nec ullam mathematices partem intactam reliquit. Post, tanquam avidus bonarum rerum negotiator, adiit Galliam, mox Italiam, Ibi se totum evolvendis sacris Auctoribus dedit, sed prius per omnia literarum genera magno studio peregrinatus, priscis illis potissimum delectabatur, Dionysio, Origene, Cypriano, Ambrosio, Hieronymo. Atque inter Veteres nulli erat iniquior quam Augustino. Neque tamen non legit Scotum, ac Thomam, aliosque hujus farinæ, si quando locus postulabat. In utriusque Juris libris erat non indiligenter versatus. Denique nullus erat liber, historiam aut constitutiones continens majorum, quem ille non evolverat. Habet gens Britannica qui hoc præstiterunt apud suos, quod Dantes ac Petrarca apud Italos. Et horum evolvendis scriptis linguam expolivit, jam tum se præparans ad præconium sermonis Evangelici. Reversus ex Italia, mox relictis parentum ædibus, Oxoniæ maluit agere. Illic publice et gratis Paulinas Epistolas omnes enarravit. Hic hominem nosse cœpi, nam eodem tum me Deus nescio quis adegerat; natus tum erat annos ferme triginta, me minor duobus aut tribus mensibus. In Theologica professione nullum omnino gradum nec affecutus erat, nec ambierat: tamen nullus erat illic doctor vel Theologiæ vel Juris, nullus Abbas, aut alioqui dignitate præditus, quin illum audiret, etiam allatis codicibus: sive hoc laudis debetur Coleti auctoritati, sive illorum studio, quos non puduerit senes a juvene, doctores a non doctore discere: tametsi post ultro delatus est Doctoris titulus, quem ille recepit magis ut illis gereret morem, quam quod ambiret. Ab his sacris laboribus, Regis Henrici, ejus nominis septimi, favore Londinum est revocatus, ac Decanus apud Divum Paulum factus, ut illius præesset Collegio, cujus literas sic adamabat. Est autem dignitas ejus nominis apud Anglos prima, tametsi sunt aliæ proventu magis opimo. Hic vir optimus tanquam ad opus vocatus, non ad dignitatem, collegii sui collapsam disciplinam sarfit, et, quod erat illic novum, singulis diebus festis in suo templo concionari instituit, præter conciones extraordinarias, quas nunc in regia, nunc aliis atque aliis

locis habebat. Porro in suo templo non fumebat sibi carptim argumentum ex Evangelio, aut ex Epistolis Apostolicis, sed unum aliquod argumentum proponebat, quod diversis concionibus ad finem usque prosequeretur: puta Evangelium Matthæi, Symbolum fidei, Precationem Dominicam. Et habebat auditorium frequens, in quo plerosque primores suæ civitatis, et aulæ regiæ. Mensam Decani, quæ antea sub hospitalitatis titulo luxui servierat, contraxit ad frugalitatem. Nam cum et ante annos aliquot in totum abstinuisset a cœna, caruit vespertinis convivis. Porro quum serius pranderet, etiam tum minus habuit multos: sed hoc pauciores, quod et frugalis esset apparatus, tametsi nitidus, et brevis accubitus, denique sermones, qui non delectarent nisi doctos ac bonos. Consecrata mensa, mox puer aliquis clara voce distincte pronunciabat caput aliquod ex Epistolis Pauli, aut Proverbiis Salomonis. Ex eo delectum locum ipse fere repetebat, ac sermonis occasionem fumebat, sciscitans ab eruditis, aut ingeniosis etiam idiotis, quod hoc aut illud dictum sibi vellet. Atque ita sermonem temperabat, ut quanquam et pius et gravis, tamen nihil haberet tædii aut supercilii. Rursus sub convivii finem, cum jam utcunque satisfactum esset, non voluptati, sed necessitati, aliud argumentum iniecit: atque ita convivas dimisit et animo et corpore refectos, ut meliores discederent, quam venerant, et stomachum minime cibis onustum referrent. Impense delectabatur amicorum colloquiis, quæ sæpe differebat in multam noctem: sed omnis illius sermo, aut de literis erat, aut de Christo. Si grati confabulationis non erat copia (nec enim quibuscumque delectabatur) puer aliquis e sacris Libris aliquid pronunciabat. Me nonnunquam et peregrinationis comitem adscivit; nihil erat illic eo festivius; sed semper libellus erat itineris comes, nec alii sermones quam de Christo. Impatiens erat omnium fordinum, adeo ut nec sermonem ferret solœcum ac barbarie spurcum. Quicquid erat domesticæ suppellectilis, quicquid apparatus in cibis, quicquid in vestibus, quicquid in libris, nitidum esse volebat, de magnificentia non laborabat. Non nisi pullis vestibus utebatur, cum illic vulgo sacerdotes ac Theologi vestiantur purpura. Summa vestis semper erat lanea ac simplex; si frigus hoc postulabat, interulis pelliceis se muniebat. Quicquid e sacerdotiis redibat, id in usus domesticos œconomo suo dispensandum reliquit: quod erat patrimonii (erat autem amplissimum) ipse in pios usus distribuebat. Nam patre defuncto, cum ingentem pecuniæ vim accepisset ex hæreditate, ne servata gigneret in eo aliquid morbi, novam scholam extruxit in cœmeterio S. Pauli, puero Jesu sacram, opere magnifico: adjecit ædes magnificas, in quibus agerent duo ludi-magistri, quibus amplum salarium designavit, quo gratuito docerent, sed sicuti schola non capiat nisi certum numerum. Eam distinxit in partes quatuor. Primus ingressus habet ceu Catechumenos. Nullus autem admittitur, nisi qui jam norit et legere et scribere. Secunda pars habet eos, quos hypodidasculus instituit. Tertia quos Superior erudit. Alteram ab altera dirimit velum quoddam, quod adducitur ac diducitur, cum libet. Supra cathedram præceptoris sedet puer Jesus singulari opere, docentis gestu, quem totus grex adiens scholam ac relinquens hymno salutatur. Et imminet Patris facies, dicentis, *Ipsum*

sum audite: nam hæc verba, me auctore, adscripsit. In postremo sacellum est, in quo licet rem divinam facere. Tota schola nullos habet angulos, aut secessus, adeo ut nec cœnaculum sit ullum, aut cubiculum. Pueris singulis suus est locus in gradibus paulatim ascendentibus, distinctis spatiis. Quæque classis habet sedecim, et qui in sua classe præcellit, sellulam habet cæteris paululo eminentiorem. Nec quosvis admittunt temere, sed delectus fit indolis et ingeniorum. Vidit illud vir perspicacissimus, in hoc esse præcipuam Reipublicæ spem, si prima ætas bonis rationibus institueretur. Ea res cum constet immensa pecunia, tamen nullum in hujus consortium admisit. Quidam legarat in eam structuram centum libras monetæ Britannicæ: ubi sensit Coletus hac gratia sibi nescio quid juris vindicare laicos, permissu Episcopi sui, eam pecuniam contulit in sacras vestes templi. Reditibus totique negotio præfecit, non sacerdotes, non Episcopum, aut capitulum, ut vocant, non magnates, sed cives aliquot conjugatos, probatæ famæ. Roganti causam ait, nihil quidem esse certi in rebus humanis, sed tamen in his se minimum invenire corruptelæ. Atque ut hoc opus nemo non probavit, ita multi demirabantur, cur magnificentissimas ædes exstrueret intra pomœria Monasterii Carthusiensium, quod non procul abest a regia quæ dicitur Richemonda. Aiebat se parare sedem illam suæ senectuti, cum jam impar laboribus, aut morbo fractus cogeretur se submovere ab hominum consortio. Illic erat animus philosophari cum duobus aut tribus amiculis eximiis, inter quos me solitus est numerare, sed mors antevertit. Nam cum ante paucos annos correptus esset sudore pestilenti, qui morbus peculiariter infestat Britanniam, et ab eodem tertio repetitus, utcumque tamen revixit; sed ex morbi reliquiis contracta viscerum tabes, qua periit. Medicus unus hydropem esse judicavit. Anatomia nihil indicavit novi, nisi quod hepar repertum est extremas fibras cirrhis prominentibus hirsutum. Sepultus est ad australe chori latus in suo templo humili sepulchro, quod in eum usum jam ante annos aliquot delegerat, inscriptione addita, ^c JOAN. COL.

Finem faciam, mi Jona, si pauca commemoraro primum de ipsius natura, deinde de opinionibus paradoxis, postremo de procellis, quibus explorata est hominis ingenua pietas, cujus minimam portionem debebat naturæ suæ. Siquidem animo præditus erat insigniter excelso, et omnis injuriæ impatientissimo, ad venerem, ac luxum, ac somnum mire propensus, ad jocos et facetias supra modum proclivis: hæc ipse mihi fassus est, nec omnino tutus a morbo philargyriæ. Adversus hæc ita pugnavit philosophia, sacrisque studiis, vigiliis, jejuniis, ac precibus, ut totum vitæ cursum ab hujus seculi inquinamenti purum peregerit. Nam quantum mihi licuit ex illius consuetudine, colloquiisque familiaribus colligere, virginitatis florem ad mortem usque servavit. Opes in pios usus dissipavit, adversus animi celsitudinem ratione pugnavit, adeo ut a puero quoque moneri se pateretur. Venerem, somnum, ac luxum, abstinencia cœnæ perpetua, jugi sobrietate, indefessis laboribus studiorum, sanctisque colloquiis profligavit.

^c See Knight's Life of Colet, p. 260.

et tamen si quando sese obtulisset occasio, vel jocandi apud facetos, vel colloquendi cum foeminis, vel accumbendi in opiparis conviviiis, vidisses aliqua naturæ vestigia. Et ob id fere a laicorum consuetudine abstinuit, sed præcipue a conviviiis: ad quæ si quando cogeatur, me aut mei similem adhibebat, quo Latinis fabulis declinaret profana colloquia. Atque interim sumto ex uno tantum genere cibi pusillo, uno aut altero cerevisiæ haustu contentus erat, a vino temperans, quo tamen delectabatur eleganti, sed temperatissime utens. Ita se sibi semper habens suspectum, cavebat ab omnibus, quibus esse posset offendiculo cuiquam. Nec enim ignorabat omnium oculos in se coniectos. Nunquam vidi ingenium felicius, atque ob id similibus ingeniis unice delectabatur: sed ad hæc se malebat demittere, quæ præpararent ad immortalitatem vitæ futuræ. Nulla in re non philosophabatur, si quando se laxaret fabulis amœnioribus. In pueris ac puellis delectabat naturæ puritas, ac simplicitas, ad cuius imitationem suos vocat Christus, Angelis eos solitus comparare. Jam ut alteram exsolvam partem, opinionibus a vulgo multum dissidebat, sed mira prudentia hac in re sese attemperabat aliis, ne quos offenderet, aut ne quid labis in famam contraheret, non ignarus quam iniqua sint hominum judicia, quamque prona in malum credulitas, quantoque facilius sit maledicis linguis contaminare famam hominis, quam benedictis sarcire: inter amicos ac doctos liberrime profitebatur quid sentiret. *Scotistas*, quibus hominum vulgus ceu peculiare tribuit acumen, aiebat sibi videri stupidos, et hebetes, et quidvis potius quam ingeniosos. Nam argutari circa alienas sententias ac verba, nunc hoc arrodere nunc illud, et omnia minutatim dissecare, ingenii esse sterilis et inopis. *Thomæ* tamen, nescio qua de causa, iniquior erat quam *Scoto*. Etenim cum hunc apud illum aliquando laudarem, ut inter recentiores non aspernandum, quod et sacras Literas et auctores veteres videretur evolvisse, cuius rei suspicionem mihi fecerat *Catena*, quæ vocatur *aurea*, et aliquid haberet in scriptis affectuum, semel atque iterum dissimulavit obticescens: verum, ubi rursus in alio colloquio inculcarem eadem vehementius, obtuitus est me, velut observans serione hæc dicerem, *an εἰσωνεύων*. Cum animadverteret me ex animo loqui, tanquam afflatus spiritu quodam, Quid tu, inquit, mihi prædicas istum, qui nisi habuisset multum arrogantia, non tanta temeritate, tantoque supercilio definisset omnia: et nisi habuisset aliquid spiritus mundani, non ita totam Christi doctrinam sua profana philosophia contaminasset? Admiratus sum hominis *ἐνθουσιασμόν*, coepique diligentius ejus viri scripta evolvere. Quid verbis opus est? omnino decessit aliquid meæ de illo existimationi. Cum nemo magis faveret Christianæ pietati, tamen erga Monasteria, quæ nunc falso nomine pleraque sic vocantur, minimum habebat affectus: eisque aut nihil, aut quam minimum largiebatur, ac ne moriens quidem aliquid illis decedit: non quod invisos haberet ordines, sed quod homines suæ professioni non responderent. Nam ipsi in votis erat, se prorsus ab hoc mundo extricare, sicubi reperisset Sodalitium vere conjuratum in vitam Evangelicam. Atque id negotii mihi delegarat Italiam adituro, narrans sese apud Italos comperisse quosdam Monachos vere prudentes ac pios. Nec enim ille judicabat esse religionem quam vulgus

judicat,

judicat, cum sit aliquoties ingenii penuria. Laudabat et Germanos aliquot, apud quos residerent etiamnum priscæ religionis vestigia. Dictitare solet se nusquam reperire minus corruptos mores quam inter conjugatos, quod hos affectus naturæ, cura liberorum ac res familiaris ita veluti cancellis quibusdam distringerent, ut non possint in omne flagitii genus prolabi. Cum ipse castissime viveret, tamen inter illaudatos, minus erat iniquus his, qui tametsi sacerdotes essent, aut etiam Monachi, Venere duntaxat peccarent: non quod impuditiæ vitium non detestaretur, sed quod hos experiretur multo minus malos, quoties eos cum aliis conferret, qui cum essent elatis animis, invidi, maledici, obrectatores, fucati, vani, indocti, toto pectore pecuniæ et ambitioni dediti, tamen sibi magnum quiddam esse viderentur, cum alteros infirmitas agnita redderet humiliores ac modestiores. Aiebat magis execrandam in sacerdote avaritiam et superbiam, quam si centum haberet concubinas. Ne vero quisquam hæc huc rapiat, ut putet leve crimen esse in sacerdote aut Monacho libidinem, sed ut intelligat alterum genus longius abesse a vera pietate. Nulli mortalium generi erat infensior quam Episcopis, qui pro pastoribus lupos agebant, nec ullos magis execrabatur, quod cultu sacro, ceremoniis, benedictionibus, ac venioliis sese venditarent populo, cum toto pectore fervirent mundo, hoc est, gloriæ et quæstui. E Dionysio cæterisque priscis Theologis quædam hauserat, quibus non ita favebat, ut usquam contenderet adversus decreta Ecclesiastica, sed tamen ut minus esset iniquus iis, qui non probarent sic passim in templis adorari imagines pictas, ligneas, saxeas, æreas, aureas, argenteas; item iis, qui dubitarent an sacerdos insigniter ac palam improbus conficeret aliquid sacramentali functione, haudquaquam favens istorum errori, sed indignans iis, qui vita palam et undique contaminata, præberent causam hujusmodi suspicionis. Collegia, quæ multo magnificoque sumtu sunt apud Anglos instituta, dicebat officere bonis studiis, nec aliud esse quam invitacula otiorum: neque scholis publicis perinde multum tribuebat, quod ambitio profitendi et quæstus omnia vitians, corrumpere sinceritatem omnium disciplinarum. Ut confessionem secretam vehementer probabat, negans se ulla ex re capere tantundem consolationis ac boni spiritus, ita anxiam ac subinde repetitam vehementer damnabat. Cum apud Anglos mos sit, ut sacerdotes fere quotidie faciant rem divinam, ille tamen contentus erat diebus Dominicis ac festis sacrificare, aut certe pauculis diebus extra hos: sive quod sacris studiis, quibus se parabat ad concionandum, et Ecclesiæ suæ negotiis distineretur: sive quod comperiret se majore cum affectu sacrificare, si id ex intervallo faceret: haudquaquam tamen improbat illorum institutum, quibus placeret quotidie adire mensam Dominicam. Cum esset ipse doctissimus, tamen anxiam hanc et laboriosam sapientiam non probabat, quæ ex omnium disciplinarum cognitione, et ex omnium auctorum lectione, velut ansis omnibus absolvitur: dictitans ita deteri nativam illam ingenii sanitatem ac sinceritatem, hominesque reddi minus sanos, et ad Christianam innocentiam puramque ac simplicem charitatem minus idoneos. Plurimum tribuebat Epistolis Apostolicis, sed ita suspiciebat admirabilem illam Christi majestatem, ut ad hanc quodammodo fordescerent Apostolorum scripta.

Omnia

Omnia fere Christi dicta miro ingenio revocarat ad terniones, unde et librum instituerat scribere. Quod sacerdotes etiam occupati quotidie tam prolixas preces exhaurire cogerentur, etiam domi atque in itinere, vehementer admirabatur. Nam cultum Ecclesiasticum magnifice fieri valde probabat. Innumera sunt hodie in publicis scholis receptissima, a quibus ille plurimum dissentiebat, de quibus inter amiculos solet aliquando conferre: apud alios dissimulabat, ne geminum caperet incommodum: ut et nihil proficeret nisi in pejus, et existimationis suæ jacturam faceret. Nullus erat liber tam hæreticus, quem ille non attente evolveret, dicens se plus aliquoties ex illis capere fructus, quam ex horum libris, qui sic omnia definiunt, ut frequenter adulentur coryphæis, nonnunquam et sibi ipsis. Recte loquendi copiam non ferebat peti e præceptionibus Grammaticorum, quas asseverabat officere ad bene dicendum, nec id contingere nisi evolvendis optimis auctoribus, sed hujus opinionis ipse pœnas dedit. Cum enim esset et natura et eruditione facundus, ac^d dicenti mira suppeteret orationis ubertas, tamen scribens subinde labebatur in his quæ solent notare Critici. Atque hac, ni fallor, gratia a libris scribendis abstinebat; atque utinam non abstinuisset, nam hujus viri cogitationes quacunque etiam lingua proditas optarim. Jam ne quid defuisse putetur absolutæ Coleti pietati, tempestates, quibus agitatus est, accipe. Nunquam illi bene convenerat cum suo Episcopo, de cujus moribus ne quid dicam, superstitiosus atque invictus erat *Scotista*, et hoc nomine sibi semideus videbatur: quo quidem ex genere cum aliquot noverim, quos nolim improbos appellare, nullum tamen adhuc vidi, quem, mea quidem sententia, possis vere pureque dicere Christianum. Nec admodum gratus erat plerisque sui collegii, quod tenacior esset disciplinæ regularis, ac subinde quiritabantur se pro Monachis haberi, quanquam hoc collegium olim fuit, et in vetustis syngraphis vocatur orientale Monasterium. Sed cum jam odium senis Episcopi, erat enim non minor annis octoginta, atrocius esset, quam, ut premi posset, adscitis duobus Episcopis æque cordatis, nec minus virulentis, incipit Coletus negotium faceffere, non alio telo quam quo solent isti, si quando cui exitium moliuntur. Defert eum apud Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, articulis aliquot notatis, quos ex illius concionibus decerpserat. Quorum unus erat, quod docuisset non adorandas imagines: Alter, quod sustulisset a Paulo laudatam hospitalitatem, qui enarrans illud ex Evangelio, *Pasce, pasce, pasce oves meas*, cum in prioribus duobus cum reliquis Interpretibus consentiret, pasce exemplis vitæ, pasce sermone doctrinæ, in tertio dissensisset, negans convenire, ut Apostoli, qui tum erant pauperes, juberentur oves suas pascere subsidio temporali, et hujus loco aliud quiddam substituisset. Tertius, quod cum in concione dixisset, quosdam de charta concionari (id quod multi frigide faciunt in Anglia) oblique taxasset Episcopum, qui ob senium id solitus sit facere. Archiepiscopus, cui Coleti dotes erant egregie cognitæ, patrocinium innocentis suscepit, e judice factus patronus, cum ipse Coletus ad hæc aliaque stultiora respondere dedignaretur. Non conquievit tamen senis odium, tentavit au-

^a Life of Erasmi. p. 171.

iam regiam in Coletum concitare, atque inprimis regem ipsum, jam aliud telum nacti, quod publice dixisset in concione, pacem iniquam præferendam bello æquissimo. Id enim te mporis adornabatur bellum in Gallos, et hujus fabulæ non minimam partem Minoritæ duo agebant: quorum alter, fax belli, mitram meruit, alter bonis lateribus vociferabatur in concionibus in Poëtas: sic enim designabat Coletum, cum is a poëticis numeris esset alienissimus, alioqui non imperitus Musices. Hic Rex, egregius juvenis, dedit evidens speci men ingenii sui regno dignissimi, privatim hortans Coletum, pergeret sua doctrina libere succurrere moribus ejus seculi corruptissimis, neque subduceret lucem suam temporibus tenebricosissimis: se non ignorare quid in illum stimularet Episcopos illos, neque nescire quantum ipse fructus attulisset genti Britannicæ sua vita sacraque doctrina. Addebat sese sic cohibiturum illorum conatus, ut aliis liqueret non impune fore, si qui Coletum impeterent. Hic Coletus egit quidem gratias pro animo regio; cæterum, quod obtulit, deprecatus est, negans se velle, ut cuiquam pejus esset sua causa, se potius cessurum munus quod gerebat. Sed aliquando post datâ est illis ansa, ut sperarent jam posse confici Coletum. A Pascha parabatur expeditio in Gallos: in die Parasceves Coletus apud Regem et aulicos mire concionatus est de victoria Christi, adhortans Christianos omnes, ut sub Regis sui vexillo militarent ac vincerent. Etenim qui odio, qui ambitione mali pugnarent cum malis, seque vicissim trucidarent, non sub Christi, sed sub Diaboli signis militare: simulque ostendit, quam res esset ardua Christianam obire mortem, quam pauci bellum susciperent non odio aut cupiditate vitiiati; quam vix consisteret eundem habere fraternam charitatem sine qua nemo visurus esset Deum, et ferrum in fratris viscera demergere. Addidit, ut Christum Principem suum imitarentur potius quam Julios et Alexandros. Multaque alia tum declamavit in hanc sententiam, sic ut Rex nonnihil metueret, ne hæc concio adimeret animos militibus quos educebat. Huc velut ad bubonem omnes convolant mali, sperantes fore, ut Regis animus jam in illum posset exacerbari. Accersitus est Coletus jussu Regis; venit, pransus est in Monasterio Franciscanorum, quod adhæret regiæ Grienwicensi. Rex ubi sensit, descendit in hortum Monasterii, et, Coletum prodeunte, dimisit suos omnes. Ubi solus esset cum solo, jussit ut tecto capite familiariter colloqueretur, atque ita exorsus est juvenis humanissimus: Ne quid temere suspiceris, Decane, non huc accersivi te, quo turbem tuos sanctissimos labores, quibus unice faveo, sed ut exonerem conscientiam meam scrupulis aliquot, tuoque consilio rectius satisfaciam officio meo. Verum ne totum colloquium repetam, quod fere sesquihoram productum est; interim in aula ferociebat Bricotus ex Franciscano Episcopus, existimans periclitari Coletum, cum per omnia conveniret illi cum Rege: nisi quod Rex optabat, ut quod Coletus vere dixisset, diceret aliquando explanatus ob rudes milites, qui secus interpretarentur, quam ipse dixisset, videlicet Christianis nullum esse bellum justum. Coletus pro sua prudentia, proque singulari animi moderatione, non solum animo regio satisfecit, verum etiam auxit gratiam pristinam. Ubi reditum est in regiam, Rex dimissurus Coletum, allato poculo præbabit, et complexus hominem

minem humanissime, omniaque pollicitus, quæ sint ab amantissimo rege expectanda, dimisit. Jam aulica turba circumstans, expectabat exitum ejus colloquii. Ibi Rex, omnibus audientibus, *Suus*, inquit, *cuique Doctor esto, et suo quisque faveat; hic est Doctor meus*. Ita discesserunt quidam lupi, quod aiunt, hiantes, et præcipue Bricotus, nec ab eo die quisquam est ausus impetere Coletum. Habes, Jodoce, duos, quos ætas nostra tulit, mea sententia, vere sincereque Christianos, non tam depictos, quam delineatos, quantum passa est epistolaris angustia. Tuum erit ex utroque decerpere, quod tibi videbitur ad veram pietatem maxime conducere. Jam si quæres utrum alteri præferam, mihi videntur pari laude digni, cum dissimili fuerint conditione. Siquidem ut magnum erat, Coletum in ea fortuna constanter secutum esse, non quo vocabat Natura, sed quo Christus: ita speciosior est laus Vittrarii, quod in eo genere vitæ tantum obtinuerit ac præstiterit spiritus Evangelici: perinde quasi piscis in palude vivens, nihil trahat de sapore palustri. Sed in Coletio quædam erant, quæ testarentur illum hominem esse: in Vittrario nihil unquam vidi, quod ullo pacto saperet affectum humanum. Quod si me audies, Jona, non dubitabis hos duos Divorum adscribere catalogo: etiamsi nullus unquam Pontifex eos referat in canonem. Felices animæ, quibus ego multum debeo, vestris precibus adjuvate luctantem adhuc in hujus vitæ malis Erasmus, ut in vestrum contubernium remigrem, nusquam postea divellendus. Vale, mi Jona. Bene habet, si tuo desiderio feci satis: nam argumento scio nequaquam esse satisfactum.

Ep. 435. See also Ep. 671. in this Appendix, N°. xxx.

N°. III.

A Letter of Erasmus to Servatius, in which he refuseth to return to his Convent.

• *Reverendo Patri Servatio Erasmus S. P. D.*

HUMANISSIME Pater, Literæ tuæ per plurimorum manus jactatæ tandem ad me quoque pervenerunt jam Angliam egressum, quæ mihi sane voluptatem incredibilem attulerunt, quod veterem illum tuum in me animum adhuc spirant. Paucis autem respondeo, utpote ex itinere jam scribens, et ad ea potissimum quæ tu scribis ad rem maxime pertinere. Tam varia est hominum sententia, et ^q suos cuique avium cantus, ut omnibus satisfieri non possit. Ego certe hoc sum animo, ut quod sit factu op-

• Life of Erasmi. p. 33. 59.

† This letter is inserted in the first volume of Erasmus; and again, amongst his Epistles, Ep. 8. C. 1527. There is a considerable difference between these two copies of the same letter. I have here selected from each of them those readings, which I take to be the best.

• Perhaps ut.

timum,

timum, sequi velim, testis est mihi Deus: nam si quid olim juveniliter fensi, id partim ætas, partim rerum correxit usus. Nunquam fuit consilium, vel vitæ genus, vel cultum mutare, non quod probarem, sed ne cui scandalo essem. Scis enim me ad id vitæ genus tutorum pertinacia, et aliorum improbis hortatibus adactum magis quam inductum. Tunc Cornelii^k Werdeni conviciis et pudore quodam puerili fuisse retentum, quum intelligerem mihi hoc vitæ genus haudquaquam aptum esse. Nam non omnibus congruunt omnia. Jejuniorem impatiens semper fui, idque peculiari quadam corporis ratione. Semel excitatus a somno, nunquam potui redormiscere, nisi post horas aliquot. Ad literas tantum rapiebatur animus, quarum isthic nullus usus. Adeo ut non dubitem, quin si in liberius aliquod vitæ genus incidissem, non solum inter felices, verum etiam inter bonos potuissem numerari. Itaque cum intelligerem me nequaquam esse idoneum isti generi vitæ, et coactum, non sponte suscepisse, tamen quia receptum est publica nostri seculi opinione piaculum esse a semel suscepto vitæ genere desistere, decreveram et hanc infelicitatis meæ partem fortiter perpeti. Scis enim me multis in rebus infortunatum esse, at unum hoc cæteris omnibus gravius semper duxi, quod in hujusmodi vitæ genus detrusus essem, a quo tum animo tum corpore essem alienissimus: animo, quod a cæremoniis abhorrerem, et libertatis amans essem; corpore, quod, etiamsi maxime placuisset vitæ institutum, corporis natura non ferebat istiusmodi labores. At objiciet mihi aliquis annum probationis, ut vocant, et ætatem maturam. Ridiculum, quasi quis postulet, ut puer anno decimo septimo, maxime in literis educatus, norit seipsum, quod magnum est etiam in sene. An anno uno id discere potuerit, quod multi cani nondum intelligunt? Quanquam ipse nunquam probavi, et gustatum jam multo minus, sed iis, quas dixi, rationibus sum irretitus. Tametsi fateor eum, qui vere sit bonus, in quovis vitæ genere bene victurum. Nec diffiteor me ad magna vitia fuisse propensum, non tamen usque adeo corrupta natura, quin si commodus accessisset gubernator, et vere Christianus, non Judaice superstitiosus, potueram ad bonam perducere frugem. Hoc igitur interim spectavi, in quo vitæ genere minime malus essem, atque id sane me affecutum puto. Vixi interim inter sobrios, vixi in studiis literarum, quæ me a multis vitiis avocaverunt. Licuit consuetudinem habere cum viris vere Christum sapientibus, quorum colloquiis factus sum melior. Nihil jam jacto de libris meis, quos fortassis vos contemnitis: at multi fatentur se redditos eorum lectione non solum eruditiores, verum etiam meliores. Pecuniæ studium nunquam me attigit. Famæ gloria nec tantillum tangor. Voluptatibus, etsi quondam fui inquinatus, nunquam servivi. Crapulam, ebrietatem, semper horruï fugique. Quoties cogitabam de repetendo contubernio vestro, succurrebat invidia multorum, contemptus omnium, colloquia quam frigida, quam inepta, quam non sapientia Christum! convivia quam laica! denique tota vitæ ratio, cui ἡν αἰφαιρῆς τὰς, ὡς καλῶσι, καίρεμονίας, ἐκ οἷδα τι ἂν ἀπολείποις ἐξαίρετόν. Postremo succurrebat corporis imbecillitas, quæ jam ætate et

^k In the other copy *Wertemi*.

morbis ac laboribus aucta est, quæ facit, ut nec vobis satisfacturus essem, et meipsum occiderem. Jam annis aliquot obnoxius sum calculo, gravi fane morbo et capitali. Jam annis aliquot nihil bibo, nisi vinum, neque quodvis vinum, idque cogente morbo. Non fero quemvis cibum, nec cœlum quidem quodlibet. Nam morbus hic facile recurrens, maximam postulat vitæ moderationem: et novi cœlum Hollandicum, novi victus vestri rationem, ut de moribus nihil dicam. Itaque si redissem, nihil aliud fuisset affecutus, nisi quod vobis molestiam attulissem, mihi mortem. Sed tu fortassis bonam felicitatis partem existimas inter confratres emori. At fallit ac imponit ista persuasio non solum tibi, verum etiam propemodum universis. In loco, in cultu, in victu, in cæremoniis quibusdam Christum et pietatem collocamus. Actum putamus de illo, qui vestem albam commutavit in nigram, aut qui cucullam pileo verterit, qui locum subinde mutet. Ausim illud dicere μέγιστον τῆς Χριστιανῆς εὐσεβείας ὄλεθρον, ἐκ τῶν, ὡς καλῶσι, ῥεσιγίωνων ἐκπεπορευθαι: tametsi pio fortassis studio primum inductæ sint. Deinde paulatim creverunt, et in sex millia sese discriminum sparserunt. Accessit summorum Pontificum auctoritas nimium ad multa facilis et indulgens. Quid enim laxis istis religionibus ἡ μιαιώτερον, ἡ ἀσεβέστερον; Jam ad laudatas si te conferas, imo laudatissimas, εἰ μὴ ψυχραὶ τινες καὶ ἰσθαμικαὶ ^k θρησκείας, haud scio quam Christi reperias imaginem. Ex his sibi placent, ex his alios judicant et contemnunt. Quanto majus est e Christi sententia totum orbem Christianum unam domum, et velut unum habere Monasterium, omnes concanonicos et confratres putare? baptismi sacramentum summam religionem ducere, nec spectare ubi vivas, sed quam bene vivas? Vis me sedem stabilem figere, quod etiam ipsa suadet senectus. At laudatur Solonis, Pythagoræ, Platonisque peregrinatio. Vagabantur et Apostoli, præcipue Paulus: D. Hieronymus etiam monachus nunc Romæ est, nunc in Syria, nunc in Africa, nunc alibi atque alibi; et canus etiam sacras prosequitur literas. At non sum cum hoc conferendus, fateor; sed tamen nunquam mutavi locum, nisi vel peste cogente, vel studii causa, vel valetudinis; et ubicumque vixi (dicam enim de me fortassis arrogantius, sed tamen vere) probatus sum a probatissimis, laudatus sum a laudatissimis. Nec ulla est regio, nec Hispania, nec Italia, nec Germania, nec Gallia, nec Anglia, nec Scotia, quæ me ad suum non invitet hospitium. ^l Et si non probor ab omnibus (quod nec studeo) certe primis placeo. Romæ nullus erat Cardinalis, qui me non tanquam fratrem acciperet, cum ipse nihil tale ambirem: præcipue vero Cardinalis S. Georgii, Cardinalis Bononiensis, Cardinalis Grimani, Cardinalis ^m Navetenſis, et hic ipse qui nunc Pontifex Maximus est, ut ne dicam de Episcopis, Archidiaconis, et viris eruditis. Atque hic honos non tribuebatur opibus, quas nec habeo nec desidero; non ambitioni, a qua semper fui alienissimus; sed literis duntaxat, quas nostrates rident, Itali adorant. In Anglia nullus est Episcopus, qui non gaudeat a me salutari, qui non cupiat me convivam, qui nolit domesticum. Rex ipse paulo ante patris obitum,

^k Read θρησκείας.^l Read Et si.^m In the other Copy *Novoforensis*.

cum essem in Italia, scripsit ad me suapte manu literas amantissimas, nunc quoque sæpe sic de me loquitur, ut nemo honorificentius, nemo amantius; et quoties eum saluto, blandissime amplectitur, et oculis amicissimis obtuetur, ut intelligas eum non minus bene de me sentire, quam loqui. Regina conata est me sibi præceptorem adsciscere. Nemo est, qui nesciat, quin si vel paucos menses velim in aula Regis vivere, quantum libeat sacerdotiorum mihi accumulaturum; sed ego huic otio meo, et studio, et laboribus omnia posthabeo. Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus totius Angliæ primas, et regni hujus Cancellarius, vir doctus et probus, me sic amplectitur, ut, si pater esset, aut frater, non posset amantius. Et ut intelligas hoc eum ex animo facere, dedit mihi sacerdotium centum fere nobilium, quod postea, volente me, in pensionem centum coronatorum mutavit, ex mea resignatione: ad hæc dedit dono supra cccc nobiles, his pauculis annis, idque nihil unquam petenti. Dedit uno die nobiles cl. Ab aliis Episcopis supra centum nobiles accepi gratuita liberalitate oblatos. D. Montjoius, hujus regni Baro, quondam meus discipulus, dat annue mihi pensionem centum coronatorum. Rex et Episcopus Lincolnienfis, qui nunc per regem omnia potest, magnifice multa promittit. Sunt hic duæ Universitates, Oxonia et Cantabrigia, quarum utraque ambit habere me: nam Cantabrigiæ menses complures docui Græcas et sacras literas, sed gratis, et ita facere semper decretum est. Sunt hic Collegia, in quibus tantum est religionis, tanta vitæ modestia, ut nullam Religionem præ hac non sis contemnturus, si videas. Est Londini D. Joannes Coletus, D. Pauli Decanus, vir, qui summam doctrinam cum admirabili pietate copulavit, magnæ apud omnes auctoritatis: is me sic amat, id quod sciunt omnes, ut cum nemine vivat libentius quam mecum: ut omit- tam alios innumeros, ne sim bis molestus, et jactantia et loquacitate. Jam ut de operibus meis dicam aliqua; Enchiridion, opinor, te legisse, quo non pauci fatentur sese ad pietatis studium inflammatos: nihil mihi arrogo, sed gratulor Christo, si quid per me boni contigit illius dono. Adagiorum opus ab Aldo impressum an videris nescio: est quidem profanum, sed ad omnem doctrinam utilissimum; mihi certe inæstimabilibus constitit laboribus ac vigiliis. Edidi opus de Rerum Verborumque Copia, quod inscripsi Coletio meo, opus utilissimum concionaturis: at ista contemnunt ii, qui omnes bonas contemnunt literas. His duobus annis, præter alia multa, castigavi Hieronymi Epistolas; adulterina et subditi obelis jugulavi, obscura scholiis illustravi. Ex Græcorum et antiquorum codicum collatione castigavi Novum totum Testamentum, ac supra mille loca annotavi non sine fructu Theologorum. Commentarios in Epistolas Pauli cœpi, quos absolvam, ubi hæc edidero: nam mihi decretum est in sacris emori literis. In hisce rebus colloco otium et negotium meum. In his magni viri dicunt me valere, quod alii non valent. In vestro vitæ genere nihil valiturus sum. Cum tam multis doctis et gravibus viris habui consuetudinem et hic, et in Italia et in Gallia: neminem adhuc reperi, qui mihi consuleret, ut ad vos me reciperem, aut qui hoc judicaverit melius. Quin et ipse felicitis memoriæ D. Nicolaus Wercerus, qui te præcessit, semper mihi hoc solitus est dissua-

ⁿ In the other copy *Wittenherus*.

dere,

dere, suadens ut alicui Episcopo potius me adjungerem, addens se nosse et animum meum, et fraterculorum suorum mores: nam iis utebatur verbis lingua ° vernacula. Et in hoc vitæ genere, in quo sum, video quæ fugiam; sed, quid potius sequar, non video. Nunc restat, ut de ornatu quoque tibi satisficiam. Semper antehac usus sum cultu Canonico, et ab Episcopo Trajectino, cum essem Lovanii, impetravi, ut sine scrupulo uterer scapulari lineo, pro veste linea integra, et caputio nigro, pro pallio nigro, juxta morem Lutetiorum. Cum autem adirem Italiam, videremque toto itinere Canonicos nigra veste uti cum scapulari, ne quid offenderem novitate cultus, veste nigra illic uti cœpi cum scapulari. Postea pestis orta est Bononiæ, et illic qui curant peste laborantes, linteum album ex humeris pendens, ex more gestant: hi congressus hominum fugitant. Itaque cum die quodam doctum amicum viserem, quidam nebulones eductis gladiis parabant me invadere: fecissentque, ni matrona quædam admonuisset Ecclesiasticum me esse. Altero item die, cum Thesaurarii filios adirem, undique cum fustibus in me concurrerunt, et pessimis clamoribus. Itaque a bonis viris admonitus, occultavi scapulare, et impetravi veniam a Julio II. ut ornatu religionis uterer, aut non uterer, ut mihi visum esset, modo vestem haberem sacerdotalem: et siquid ante peccatum esset ea in re, is Literis id totum condonavit. In Italia ergo perseveravi veste sacerdotali, ne mutatio esset alicui scandalo. Postquam autem in Angliam redii, decrevi meo solito uti ornatu, et domum arcessito amico quodam primæ laudis et in vita et in doctrina, ostendi cultum, quo uti statuissem. Rogavi an in Anglia conveniret? probavit, atque ita in publicum prodii. Statim admonitus sum ab aliis amicis, eum cultum in Anglia ferri non posse; ut celarem; celavi: et quoniam ita celari non potest, quin aliquando deprehensus scandalum pariat, reposui scrinio, et veteri Pontificis auctoritate sum usus usque adhuc. Excommunicant Pontificiæ leges eum, qui religionis habitum abjecerit, quo liberius inter seculares versetur. Ego coactus deposui in Italia, ne occiderer quidem; deinde coactus deposui in Anglia, quia tolerari non poterat, quum ipse multo maluerim uti. At nunc denuo recipere plus gigneret scandali, quam mutatio ipsa gignebat. Habes universam vitæ meæ rationem, habes meum consilium. Cupio et hoc vitæ genus mutare, si quod videro melius. Sed in Hollandia quid agam, non video. Scio non conventurum cum cœlo, neque cum victu: omnium oculos in me excitabo. Redibo senex et canus, qui juvenis exivi: redibo valetudinarius: exponar contemptui etiam infimorum, solitus et a maximis honorari: studia mea computationibus permutabo. Nam quod polliceris officium tuum in quærenda sede, ubi cum maximo, ut scribis, vivam emolumento; quid sit non possum cogitare, nisi forte collocabis me apud monachas aliquas, et serviam mulieribus, qui nec Archiepiscopis, nec Regibus servire volui. Emolumentum nihil moror, neque enim studeo ditescere, modo tantum sit fortunæ, ut valetudini et otio literarum suppetat, et vivam nulli gravis. Atque utinam liceat hisce de rebus coram commentari: nam literis nec satis com-

° In the other copy: *vernacula, sed quid potius sequar non video.*

mode nec tuto licet. Tuæ enim quanquam per certissimos missæ, sic tamen aberrarant, ut nisi ipse casu in arcem hanc me contulisset, nunquam fuero visurus; et accepi jam a pluribus inspectas. Quare ne quid scripseris arcani, ni certo cognoveris ubi sim, et nuncium nactus sis fidelissimum. Peto nunc Germaniam, i. e. Basileam, editurus lucubrationes meas. Hac hieme fortassis futurus Romæ. In reditu dabo operam, ut pariter colloquamur alicubi. Sed nunc æstas ferme præterit, et longum est iter. De morte Guilhelmi, Francisci, et Andreae, sciebam ex^p Rasbondo, et ejus uxore. Dominum Henricum resaluta diligenter, reliquosque, qui tecum vivunt, omnes, in quos habeo eum animum, quem debeo. Nam pristinas tragoedias meis imputo erratis, aut, si ita vis, meis fatis. Literas tuas tertio a Pascha die scriptas accepi Nonis Juliis. Rogo ut salutem meam tuis piis votis Christo commendare non negligas: cui si certo scirem rectius fore consultum, si ad vestrum rediero contubernium, hac die ad iter accingerer. Bene vale, quondam sodalis suavissime, nunc pater observande. Ex arce^q Hanniensi juxta * Calecium, postridie Nonas Julias.

N^o. IV.

An extract, from Knight's Life of Erasmus, relating to Cardinal Wolsey, and to Fiddes, p. 370.

I think it incumbent upon me to vindicate Erasmus from the aspersions thrown upon him by a late writer [Fiddes] who having mentioned several passages out of the writings of Erasmus, which seem very favourable to Wolsey's character, concludes: *After all the advantageous things spoken by Erasmus of the Cardinal, did he not at last expose him to the view of the world in a new, and perhaps a much truer light, as being no longer under the awe of his power and promises? or as having nothing more either to fear or to hope from him? This is an exception which may be naturally made, and I am willing to give it all the force I can: but at the same time recommend it to be considered, how far a change of fortune in our patrons and friends is commonly apt (though that is an effect which ought not to follow in generous minds) to cause a change both in our sentiments, and our behaviour towards them: and especially if we have thought ourselves much neglected, or very ill used by them.*

By this insinuation, it is plain, he would make Erasmus a time-server, who flattered the Cardinal while in his prosperity, and was hard upon him after his fall. But Erasmus, in what he says both before and after his misfortunes, doth not deviate from the common stream of writers, who own not only that he had magnificent designs of promoting learning and good discipline, in Oxford especially; but also that his ambition and insolence had justly rendered him very obnoxious to the censure of all mankind. — One instance, instead of many, may serve to prove how ill Erasmus was treated

^p In the other copy *Rasbondo*.

^q Read *Hammenst*.

* In the other copy *Caleium 9 Julii, Anno 1514*.

^r Life of E. p. 54.

by him, viz. in the affair of a ^s prebend in Tournay, of which See Wolsey was for some time bishop. When the Cardinal had actually given him this prebend,—on a sudden he proved false, and Erasmus lost his preferment. Indeed Sir T. More tells Erasmus that the Cardinal had written him word, that this preferment was not proper for Erasmus (i. e. he had no mind to give it him) but that he should soon have something better: but this was so far from coming to pass, that it seemed not to be so much as thought of by him.—

Demolendinus, one of the Canons of Tournay, in a letter to Erasmus, directly says that the Cardinal had not only given Erasmus an expectation of a Canonry at Tournay (as Dr. Fiddes would have it) but actually had granted it to him.—

We do not find that Erasmus did much depend upon the Cardinal after this disappointment, or ever was inclined to inscribe any of his books to him. But I much wonder that Fiddes should be so great a stranger to the works of Erasmus, as not to know that he had dedicated more than one of his books to the Cardinal. His paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Peter, and a piece of Plutarch relating to the benefit we may gain from our enemies, were both inscribed to him, and we may from them collect his character drawn to great advantage by Erasmus, I mean that part of it which belonged to him, as being a great patron of learning and learned men, and his being likewise a great statesman, and an able counsellor to king Henry. It is certain that the kingdom very much flourished under his administration, till at last he became *inebriated with success*, as Archbishop Warham said of him, and spoilt all by his ambition and insolence: but yet in this best part of his character, of being a Mæcenas to learned men, it is plain that he was not so to Erasmus, otherwise Erasmus would not so often have complained of being deceived, and of the empty promises that were made him, chiefly by Cardinal Wolsey, on whom he most relied, and by whom he had been more than once induced to come over to England, with a design to settle here the remainder of his life.

In an Epistle to Sir T. More, he acquaints him with the doublings and artifices of the Cardinal, who at that time was Chancellor; for Warham quite wearied out by Wolsey's encroachments upon that office, had resigned it. Wolsey it seems paid Erasmus part of his pension, but he knew how to be repaid; and to deceive him farther, promised him a bishoprick, which Erasmus looked upon only as a sham, to avoid paying him what was farther promised, and was really due to him. We do not find any thing certain settled upon him, unless a small pension out of the Church of York, which was much below his expectation and deserts, as well as the promises made to him at his coming hither. And if he had not been helped out by the favours of his best patrons, Archbishop Warham, and Lord Montjoy, we had to our great disadvantage lost him much sooner out of England. Doth not such treatment of the most learned man then in Europe quite mar the best part of the Cardinal's character, his being a Mæcenas and an encourager

* See Life of E. p. 53. 75.

of learning? though towards the gaining of it he made such havock of Religious Houses, that, even the writer of his life being judge, he incurred more than a suspicion of being both sacrilegious and unjust, and paved the way for that thorough dissolution of them, which soon after ensued by the King himself.

Let it be considered also, that though Erasmus doth in some of his Epistles resent the usage he met with from the Cardinal; yet as he was very far removed from ambition, and had himself the offer of being made a Cardinal, as also more than once of being a Bishop, and [†]despised both the honour and the advantages arising from them, it cannot be supposed that he was under any temptation either to daub and flatter, or to be afraid of Wolsey; and therefore we must attribute the change of his style to the alterations visible in the Cardinal some time before his fall. For though in no part of his life he could be called a good man, yet, towards the latter part of his administration, he had arrived to that insolence and haughtiness of temper, that he became the very scourge of the kingdom; which might reasonably cause Erasmus to apply that aphorism of Solomon to him, that *a haughty spirit goeth before a fall*; being, no doubt, an intimation of his unprecedented treatment of Archbishop Warham, and picking a quarrel with him for subscribing himself *Your brother William of Canterbury*, as too familiar a style from the Metropolitan of all England, and just before Lord Chancellor, to an Archbishop of York, because the Pope's Legate. Erasmus occasionally mentions the Cardinal as not ordinarily civil, or easy of access to his inferiors; but that he should use one that was his superior no better, is, I think, the finishing of his character as to haughtiness and pride. Therefore we find that Erasmus had conceived a terrible idea of the Cardinal, by an expression he uses to one who had some matters to transact with him, intimating that *there was no standing before him*. I have already, as occasion offered, mentioned how ill most of the friends of Erasmus were used by the Cardinal: I shall only add, that, in one of his epistles, he blesses himself that he had nothing to do with him, and pities his friends for the hardships he put upon them, under the semblance of love and favour. And yet when this great oppressor was upon the decline, and to the joy of the people was losing that power, with which he had so harrassed mankind, it must be imputed as a crime in Erasmus, not to express his concern for it; and it can be called nothing less than *insulting a great man under circumstances of distress*. —

But why should this Author be so angry with Erasmus for saying no more in the Cardinal's favour, when he owns (p. 3.) that all historians, but himself, had given him a very bad character. And though he set himself towards restoring the discipline of the Church, and reforming abuses amongst the Clergy, must this atone for his accumulated vices? It is to little pur-

[†] Nihil moror episcopatus, quos promittit Regia Majestas: exhaurirent me præsente pecunia, quæ satis exigua est; onerarent me ære alieno; involverent curis; eriperent hanc libertatem, sine qua non viverem triduum. *Ep. Franc. Molino.*

pose that he has taken so much pains to make his birth less ignoble, no wise man regarding him the less for what was not in his power to prevent; but if he could have cleared him from those foul immoralities, of which he stands charged, he had done something towards finishing his Hero. Dr. Fiddes wishes that the Cardinal would have handed down to us his own life; but he was too wise to engage in it, knowing the part he had acted, and the flagrant crimes he had been guilty of were too notorious to admit of any colour or varnish. And indeed he must be looked upon as a very bold man, who, even two hundred years after his death, should offer to labour out an encomium on him, and put all his actions in a false light, running against the stream of all who have writ concerning him. His character is briefly and more truly summed up in what is said of him by an eminent Writer in the following words: *The intolerable pride, extortion, bribery, and luxury of Wolsey, who can be ignorant of? Selling dispensations by his power Legantine for all offences; insulting over the Dukes and Peers, of whom some he brought to destruction by bloody policy; playing with state affairs according to his humour or benefit; causing Tournay, got with the blood of many a good soldier, to be rendered at the French King's secret request made to him, not without bribes, with whom one while siding, another while with the Emperor, he sold the honour and peace of England; and other crimes, &c.*

As to his opposition to the Reformation, our Author vindicates him from that charge, and shews his own zeal also upon the same topic, gives hard names to the poor Lollards and Waldenses (p. 34.) and thinks they deserved the punishment adjudged them. Our countryman Wickliff has likewise, no better quarter from him. In short, he has most partially, and indeed scandalously reflected upon the opening of the Reformation, laying on the grossest colours to hide the deformities of Popery. But all this, and a great deal more that might be added, plainly shews how little regard the Author had to truth, and how good an inclination to Popery; which will appear very evident, if we do but give the true rise and occasion of writing this life of Wolsey, which was as follows:

Dr. Wake, now Arch-bishop of Canterbury, in the beginning of the Convocation Controversy had justly reflected upon the exorbitant power of Cardinal Wolsey. Upon which Dr. Atterbury, late Bishop of Rochester, was angry, and upbraided Dr. Wake with ingratitude to the founder of Christ's-Church in Oxford, where he ate his bread. Dr. Wake in his defence had made answer, that their proper Founder was not the Cardinal, but Henry VIII. Dr. Atterbury for reply was hunting long for materials to illustrate the character of Cardinal Wolsey; but finding that with all his art they would not make a good piece, he threw by his collections to be put together by another hand. And hearing at last of a writer capable of dressing up a panegyric upon the worst of men, he set him upon the life of this great Cardinal, supplied him with his own collections, directed him to the stock of others, procured him the whole party of subscribers, entertained him at his Deanry of Westminster, suggested matter and method, turned him

him to authorities and conjectures, and laid the whole plan for forming such a life as might blacken the Reformation, cast lighter colours upon Popery, and even make way for a Popish Pretender; and, under all, to shew that the great restorer of the Church must be another English Cardinal. This was really the design of the work, and a workman was found suitable to it, for none but a man in the worst circumstances would have submitted to such drudgery. The character then that this performance deserves, is plainly this, that nothing ever was undertaken with a meaner and more mercenary spirit, or executed with such implicit faith. The Compiler, when told of many curious manuscripts and other papers proper for the true purpose of such a life, made no other reply, but that he had *enough*: too much indeed of such materials, which had been cooked up for him.

As then nothing can be more destructive to our constitution, and nothing at that juncture especially could have a more fatal influence on the minds of the people, than to believe such a story to be true; I hope I have not said too much, or expressed myself with more than suitable warmth, where both our Religion and Constitution are so much concerned. For truth is what every one has a right to, and it is every man's duty to disabuse those, who have been wronged by any evil arts whatsoever, especially in matters of so much moment, as these before us. Though at the same time I must profess myself to have a hearty love and esteem for good men, let them be of what party or denomination soever. A man of wit, upon reading this performance, told a person of eminence and character, that *he should have thought it impossible that any one could make such a Saint of such a Devil.*

It is not to be omitted that this Author, to make his work the more complete, passes the seas, and brings in Luther for a share of obloquy; and no wonder, he being so great an agent in the Reformation, as well as having shewn a just indignation against Wolsey for his bigotry and vices, which he sufficiently lashes in his answer to King Henry's Book. And though Luther's zeal might have carried him too far from the rules of decency, in treating a crowned head in so very uncourtly a manner (for which afterwards he submitted himself and begged pardon) yet we do not find he ever did make any acknowledgments, or soften any thing he had therein said against the Cardinal; judging rightly that all mankind agreed in his character.

May we not then, from what has been said, very reasonably conclude, that Erasmus's using his pen in ridiculing the corrupt practices of the Church, and exposing the senseless jargon of the schools, of which the Cardinal was very fond, occasioned Wolsey's spleen against him, and his breaking his promises to him. Wolsey was aiming at St. Peter's chair; how then could he affect one who had made it totter? or give any encouragement to Erasmus, in whom he found so much heretical pravity, as appeared by his satirical way of writing? Since then the Cardinal had engrossed

* He was so: He was a zealous Scotist. See Strype's *Memor.* vol. iii. p. (235.)

all power, and disposed of all preferments as he thought fit, and did really more reign than the King himself, Erasmus's way to preferment was quite precluded, and he had reason to repent his coming hither, and refusing greater offers abroad.

But I need say no more, since the severest thing that Erasmus says against the Cardinal, that *he was feared by all, and beloved by few or none*, is confirmed by all the Historians of that time, who also give a general consent as to the other parts of his character, being the very reverse to what we find of him in this Panegyrist. But if he or any other writer will make use of such varnish, and have a mind to appear singular in their accounts of things and persons, making vice virtue, and virtue vice, it is to be hoped they do not expect to be believed. —

Nº. V.

De incomparabili heroe, Joanne Reuchlino in Divorum numerum relato.

P O M P I L I U S, B R A S S I C A N U S.

PO. **U**NDE nobis petasatus? BR. E Tubinga. PO. Nihilne istuc rei novæ? BR. Equidem demior usque adeo mortales omnes teneri siti quadam rerum novarum. At ego Lovanii * Camelum quendam audiavi concionantem, fugiendum quicquid esset novum. PO. Vocem Camelo dignam. Dignus erat homo, si tamen homo fuit, qui nunquam mutet veteres calceos, aut putre subligar, semper vescatur putribus ovis, nec aliud bibat quam vappam. BR. At idem, ne sis inscius, non usque adeo delectatur rebus veteribus, ut malit jus pridianum quam recens. PO. Sed, omisso Camelo, dic si quid adfers novi. BR. Adfero quidem, sed, ut ille aiebat, malum. PO. Atqui istuc ipsum olim erit vetus. Ita fieri necesse est, ut si omnia vetera sint bona, omnia nova mala, quæcunque nunc bona sunt, fuerint olim mala; et quæ nunc sunt mala, sint olim futura bona. BR. Ita videtur juxta decretum Cameli. Imo consequitur, ut qui olim adolescens fuit malus fatuus, quia recens; idem nunc sit bonus fatuus, quia senuit. PO. Sed age, prome quicquid est. BR. Egregius ille trilinguis eruditionis phoenix Joannes Reuchlinus vita defunctus est. PO. Rem certam narras? BR. Certiorem quam vellem. PO. Sed quid istuc mali, relicta posteris honestissimi nominis immortalis memoria, ab hujus vitæ malis demigrare in consortium beatorum? BR. Quis istuc tibi indicavit? PO. Res ipsa. Nec enim potest aliter mori, qui sic vixit. BR. At magis etiam

^w Life of Erasmi. p. 66.

^x Egmond the *Carmelite*, whom Erasmus and others, out of derision, used to call the *Camelite*.

istuc diceret, si scias quod ego. po. Quidnam, obsecro? BR. Non est fas referre. po. Quam ob rem? BR. Quia qui credidit, stipulatus est arcani silentium. po. Eadem lege committe et mihi: recipio tibi silentium optima fide. BR. Quamquam ista fides me jam sæpenumero fefellit; tamen age, committam: præsertim cum res sit ejus generis, ut expediat etiam esse notam bonis omnibus. Est Tubingæ quidam instituti Franciscani, vir omnibus habitus eximiæ sanctimoniam, præterquam ipsi. po. Magnum dicis argumentum veræ sanctimoniam. BR. Agnosceres hominem, et fatereris verum, si nomen ederem. po. Quid, si divinem? BR. Licet. po. Admove aurem. BR. Quid opus, cum simus soli? po. Ita mos est. BR. Is ipse est. po. Est homo certissimæ fidei. Mihi Sibyllæ folium erit quicquid ille dixerit. BR. Audi igitur totum dialogum bona fide. Ægrotabat noster Reuchlinus, satis quidem periculose, sed ita ut bona spes esset fore, ut revalesceret; vir dignus qui nunquam senesceret, ægrotaret, aut moretur. Mane visebam meum Franciscanum, ut animi mei molestiam oratione sua leniret. Nam ægrotabam una cum ægrotante amico, quem amabam ut patrem. po. Phy! quis illum usquam non amavit, nisi vir pessimus? BR. Hic Franciscanus meus, Brassicane, inquit, emove penitus ex animo mœrorem omnem: Reuchlinus noster desiit ægrotare. Quid? inquam, an subito revaluit? nam ante biduum non admodum læta promittebant medici. Tum ille, Revaluit, inquit, sed ita ut posthac non sit illi formidanda valetudo adversa. Noli flere (nam videbat erumpentes lacrymas) priusquam audias rem omnem. Sex dies sunt, quod hominem non inviseram, sed tamen quotidianis precibus illius salutem Domino commendabam. Hodierna nocte cum me a matutinis hymnis in strato composuissem, blandus quidam minimeque gravis somnus obrepfit. po. Nescio quid læti mihi præfagit animus. BR. Non est tibi læva mens. Visus sum mihi, inquit, consistere ad ponticulum quendam, per quem transitus erat in pratum quoddam longe amœnissimum. Adeo blandiebatur oculis graminum et frondium plusquam smaragdinus viror, sic arridebant incredibili colorum varietate flosculorum stellulæ; sic spirabant omnia, ut quod erat pratorum citra rivum, quo dinimebatur felicissimus ille campus, nec vivere, nec virere videretur, sed mortua, inamœna, putidaque omnia. Atque interim dum totus sum in eo spectaculo, commodum præterierat Reuchlinus; præteriens Hebraice precatus est pacem. Jam medium pontis transierat priusquam sentirem: parantem accurrere, respiciens vetuit. *Nondum fas, inquit. Quinto abhinc anno nos sequeris. Interim eorum quæ aguntur, testis ac spectator assiste.* Hic ego: Nudus erat, inquam, Reuchlinus, an vestitus? solus, an comitatus? Vestium, inquit, nihil habebat, præter unam candidissimam: Damasce-nam esse dixisses, candore mire lucido: pone sequebatur puer incredibili specie, alatus: suspicabar illius esse genium bonum. po. Sed nullusne comitabatur genius malus? BR. Imo aliquot, ut Franciscanus ille arbitrabatur. Procul, inquit, a tergo sequebantur aves aliquot pennis cætera nigris, nisi quod explicatu alarum gilvas verius quam candidas plumas osten-

† The Monks, who were Reuchlin's persecutors.

derent. Picæ, inquit, videri poterant colore et voce, nisi quod singulæ sedecim picas æquarent magnitudine corporis, nihilo minores vulturibus, cristam gestantes vertice, rostris et unguibus aduncis, ventre prominente. Harpyiæ videri poterant, si tres modo fuissent. po. Quid moliebantur istæ furia? BR. Procul, inquit, obstrepebant heroi Reuchlino, et impetituræ videbantur si licuisset. po. Qui minus licuit? BR. Quia versus Reuchlinus, objecta manu crucis imaginem exprimens, Abite, inquit, quo dignum est, malæ pestes. Satis sit vobis negotium facescere mortalibus: in me jam immortalibus adscriptum nihil habet juris vestra dementia. Vix ea dixerat, inquit Franciscanus, mox aberant foedissimæ volucres, sed relicto foetore, ad quem collatum oletum videri posset ^z samsucinum, aut foliatum. Dejerabat se citius vel ad inferos descensurum, quam sustineret iterum afflari tali thymiamate. po. Male sit illis pestibus. BR. Sed audi cætera quæ narravit mihi Franciscanus. Dum hæc intentus contemplor, inquit, jam ponti vicinus erat divus Hieronymus, qui Reuchlinum hisce verbis compellabat: *Salve, collega sanctissime. Datum est hoc mihi negotium, ut te exceptum deducam in consortium cælitum, quod tuis sanctissimis laboribus destinavit divina benignitas.* Simulque vestem protulit, qua Reuchlinum induit. Tum ego, Dic, inquam, mihi quo cultu, quave specie videbatur Hieronymus? Eratne tam senilis, quam illum pingunt? aut cucullam habebat, aut ^a galerum, ac pallium Cardinalitium, aut leonem comitem? Ad hæc ille: Nihil, inquit, istiusmodi. Species erat amœna, quæ sic ætatem testabatur, ut nihil haberet squaloris, dignitatis plurimum. Quorsum autem illic opus erat comite leone, quem illi pictores adjunxerunt? vestem gerebat ad talos usque demissam; crystallum diceres pellucidum. Eiusdem erat formæ, quam Reuchlino tradidit. Tota undique picta erat linguis, triplici colorum varietate. Quædam pyropon præ se ferebant, nonnullæ smaragdum, tertiæ sapphirum. Pellucebant omnia, nec mediocrem gratiam addebat ordo. po. Conjicio id fuisse insigne trium linguarum, quas calluerunt. BR. Non est dubium. Nam et fimbriæ, ut aiebat, trium linguarum literis, triplici colore distinctis, visebantur inscriptæ. po. Num incomitatus aderat Hieronymus? BR. Incomitatus, inquis? Totus ille campus obsidebatur myriadibus Geniorum, nec aliter oppleverant aërem totum, quam videmus in solis radiis volitare minuta corpuscula, quæ vocant *ἀτομα*, si tamen a re tam humili huc ducenda est comparatio. Neque cælum videre licuisset, neque campum, nisi pellucerent omnia. po. Euge, Reuchlino gratulor. Quid deinde factum est? BR. Hieronymus, inquit, honoris gratia complexus dextrum Reuchlinum, deduxit in medium pratum. Ibi collis erat in medio prominens. In hujus vertice uterque alterum blando osculo complexus est. Atque interea vasto hiatu cælum superne diduxit sese, majestatem quandam inenarrabilem exhibens, sic ut ad eam speciem, cætera pene forderent, quæ

^z Oleum, quod Sampsuchinum vocatur. *Plin. xxi. 22.*

^a Imperiti, nimirum, non ita multum ante Erasmi ætatem, ex putidis fabulis, existimabant Hieronymum fuisse Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalem; quod commentum non semel risit Erasmus, in Scholiis ad Hieronymi Opera. *Clericus.*

tamen antea videbantur esse mirifica. po. Non possis aliquam imaginem nobis depingere? BR. Qui possim ego, qui non vidi? Is qui vidit, negabat se ullis vocibus vel somnium rei posse depingere: tantum hoc aiebat, se vel millies mori paratum, si liceat iterum eo spectaculo, quamlibet exiguo momento, frui. po. Quid tandem? BR. Ex hiatu cœli demissa est ingens columna igne pellucido, sed amœno: per eam in complexu duæ sanctissimæ animæ subvectæ sunt in cœlum, choris Angelicis tanta melodia delinientibus omnia, ut Franciscanus neget se unquam ejus voluptatis meminisse posse, quin erumpant lacrymæ. Secuta est mira fragrantia. Ubi somnus reliquit hominem, si tamen ille somnus dicendus est, erat dementi similis; non credebat se esse in cellula sua; requirebat pontem ac pratum suum; nec aliud loqui, nec aliud cogitare poterat. Seniores ejus Collegii, ubi senserunt rem non esse fabulosam (nam compertum est eadem hora terris excessisse Reuchlinum qua visio viro illi sanctissimo apparuit) concordibus animis egerunt gratias Deo, qui benefacta piorum præmiis amplissimis remuneratur. po. Quid igitur superest, nisi ut sanctissimi viri nomen adscribamus calendario Sancto-
rum? BR. Id ego facturum eram, etiam si nihil tale vidisset Franciscanus, et quidem aureis literis, proxime divum Hieronymum. po. Emoriar, nisi idem facturum sum in codice meo. BR. Quin et in meo larario stabit aureus inter divos selectos. po. Stabit et in meo vel gemmeus, si suppetat animo facultas. BR. Ponetur et in bibliotheca, Hieronymo proximus. po. Addetur et meæ. BR. Imo si grati volent esse, idem facient omnes, qui colunt et amant linguas ac bonas literas, præsertim sacras. po. Dignus est videlicet. Sed nihil te movet ille scrupulus, quod nondum relatus est in numerum divorum, auctoritate Romani Pontificis? BR. Quis canonizavit (sic enim vocant) divum Hieronymum? quis Paulum? quis Virginem Matrem? Utrorum memoria sanctior apud pios omnes? horum quos insignis pietas, quos ingenii, vitæque monumenta commendant affectibus omnium; an Catharinæ Senensis, quam in divarum numerum retulisse fertur Pius, ejus nominis secundus, in gratiam ordinis et urbis? po. Vera prædicas. Ille demum verus cultus est, qui sponte cœlo dignis meritis defunctorum exhibetur, quorum beneficia perpetuo sentiuntur. BR. Quid igitur? Putas tu hujus viri mortem deplorandam? Diu vixit, si quid ea res facit ad felicitatem hominis. Reliquit nunquam intermoritura virtutis suæ monumenta. Benefactis consecravit nomen suum immortalitati. Nunc exemptus malis, cœlo fruitur, et cum Hieronymo confabulatur. po. At multa passus est in vita. BR. Sed plura passus est divus Hieronymus. Felicitas est ob bona pati a malis. po. Fateor certe; ob optima a pessimis multa perpeffus est Hieronymus. BR. Quod olim fecit Satanæ per Scribas et Phariseos in Dominum Jesum, hoc et nunc facit per Pharisaicos quosdam in optimos quosque viros, ac de genere mortaliū suis vigiliis bene merentes. Nunc ille metit optimam messem prosemente, quam fecit. Interim nostræ partes erunt, illius memoriam habere sacrosanctam; illius nomen ferre laudibus; ac subinde illum salutare verbis hujusmodi: *O sancta anima, sis felix linguis, sis felix linguarum cultoribus, faveto linguis sanctis, perditio malas linguas, infectas veneno gehennæ.* po. Ita faciam, ac sedulo prædicabo cæteris, ut idem faciant. At non dubito, multos futuros, qui præ-
catiunculam

catiunculam aliquam desiderent, quandoquidem hoc receptum, qua sanctissimi herois memoriam celebrent. BR. Hoc dicis, quod isti *Collectam* appellant? PO. Scilicet. BR. Hanc paraveram et ante mortem. PO. Recita, quæso. BR. *Amator humani generis Deus, qui donum linguarum, quo quondam Apostolos tuos ad Evangelii prædicationem per Spiritum tuum sanctum cælitus instruxeras, per electum famulum tuum Joannem Reuchlinum mundo renovasti: da, ut omnibus linguis, omnes ubique prædicent gloriam filii tui Jesu, ut confundas linguas pseudapostolorum, qui conjurati substruunt impiam turrin Babel, tuam gloriam obscurare conantes, dum suam student attollere: cum uni tibi debeat omnis gloria, cum Jesu filio tuo unigenito, Domino nostro, et Spiritu Sancto, in æterna sæcula. Amen.* PO. Elegans profecto et pia precatio: dispeream nisi mihi quotidie dicetur. Et hunc occursum mihi felicem duco, qui rem tam lætam ex te didicerim. BR. Isto gaudio diu frui, ac vale. PO. Vale tu quoque. —

Nº. VI.

^b *Martinus Dorpius Erasmo Roterodamo sacræ Theologiæ professori undecunque doctissimo S. D. P.*

^c **C**A V E credas, mi Erasme, nam hoc solum nomen ita nunc est doctrinæ excellentiæque nomen, ut nihil sit adjiciendum, cave credas, inquam, ullum esse omnium amicorum tuorum, quos tu sane pro ista eruditione, istisque tam candidis moribus plurimos habes, ubique ferme, qua patet Christiana ditio, sparsos, qui te sinceriore complectatur amore, quam ego primum olim tibi familiarissimus: deinde nuper cum hic esses, humanissime abs te jussus accersi pene solus. Postremo, quod in prima parte puto, conterraneus etiam tuus, ut ne dicam tantus admirator ingenii, præcoque gloriæ tuæ, quantus nemo alius. Proinde quicquid ad te, quamvis libere, scribam, id ex amicissimo proficisci pectore tibi persuadeas, ut tuo nomini consulatur. Nam tua, arbitror, refert resciscere quid de ^d absentia vulgo homines sentiant. Primum itaque scito *Moriam* tuam multum omnino barbarum excitasse, idque inter tui nominis pridem studiosissimos. Quis enim non candide faveat isti pectori, quod sibi Musæ, quod sibi Philosophia, quod sibi Theologia gratissimum deligit hospitium? Nec defuerunt tamen, uti et nunc minime desunt, qui rem ^e graviter excusaverint, sed qui omnibus numeris probarint ii sane fuerunt perpauca. Quid enim, inquiunt, etiam si verissima ^f scripserunt, nonne dementiæ est, nihil aliud se fatigando, quam odium quærere? nonne stultum sit, si vel optimam agas fabulam, quam nemo ^g iporet inoffensus, quaque plurimi offendantur? Jam vero Theologo-

^b From Von der Hardt.

^c Life of Erasme. p. 73.

^d Perhaps absent.

^e Perhaps graviter.

^f Perhaps scripserit.

^g spectet, I suppose.

rum ordinem, quem tantopere expedit non contemni a plebe, quid ^h profuit, imo vero quantum oberit, tam acriter fugillasse, ut donemus interim vera dixisse de quibusdam? Præterea de Christo, vitæque beata, an hoc ⁱ p̄ aures ferant, quod illi stultitiam tribuat, hanc nihil aliud futuram dicat, quam demensum quiddam? Neque enim quod falsum est, id solum esse scandalo, sed quicquid infirmis fratribus possit esse ruinæ occasio, pro quibus ^k æquæ ac pro magnis sophis animam suam Christus impendit. Multaque in plerisque Conciliis damnata fuisse ejusmodi, alioqui verissima; id quod de Concilio Constantiensi Gerson Doctor præclarus, quique ejus pars magna fuerit, affirmet. Equidem, mi charissime Erasme, quid ego iis argumentis responderim, longum foret narrare, certe nunquam obmutui, nunquam cessavi quod ex ^l te tua esse censuerim, animadvertere, non modo quid ii de te loquantur, ut amusi, ita neutiquam mali, verum etiam quid pessimus quisque effutiat, quo possit vel coram ab amicis, vel abs te absente literis repelli. Neque eo confugas velim, Quid ad me pertinet, quidnam blaterones isti illiterati ac barbari moleste obstrepent? Mihi quidem ad conscientiam abunde satis est ^m doctissimus quibusdam me meaque probare, etsi ab iis, qui ⁿ damnet, numero superatis. Quid enim vetuit et parum literatos, ne dicam barbaros, tuam eruditionem admirari, ^o prædicarer atqui, quod sedulo prius factitabant, in cælum ferre? Deinde, quid inde fructus, imo vero quantum mali, si iidem illi offensi palinodiam canant, detrahant, calumnientur, ac toto agmine, tuo infesti nomini, obscurare nitantur? Asperæ ^p facetiæ, ubi multum est veri admixtum, acrem sui memoriam relinquunt. Pridem mirabantur te omnes, tua legebant, præsentem expetebant summi Theologorum, summi etiam Jurisconsultorum, et ecce repente infausta Moria, quasi Davus, interturbat omnia. Stylum quidem et inventionem acumenque probant, irrisiones non probant, ne literati quidem. Et profecto, mi Erasme multo eruditissime, quid istuc sit velle literatis solis placere, neutiquam intelligo. Nonne præstat vel a rusticis probari quam reprehendi? nonne volupe est, si vel catelli cauda, velut amicitiae symbolo, blandiantur? Sed ut bonus sis, recteque facias, præstare potes; ut alii de te bene sentiant, ut nihil obloquantur, id præstare videlicet non in tua ^q manu. Ideoque Christi exemplo Phariseos contemnis, utpote malevolos, cæcosque, ac duces cæcorum. Audio sane, mi Erasme longe omnium charissime. Atqui humanum patiuntur, qui te tuaque damnant, vel oderunt; infirmitate faciunt, non malitia: nisi putes sola humanitatis studia, non etiam philosophiam, non item Sacras Literas bonos efficere. Occasione faciunt, non accepta solum ab eis, verum etiam abs te, ut videtur, data, quam ut ne dares in te situm erat. Sed quid, inquires, faciendum tandem? Quod semel factum est, fieri non potest ut non sit factum. Cupio mutare consilium, cupio ut quicumque amice unquam faverint, ii nunc etiam faveant. O mi Erasme mellitissime, o si istuc dicas a me persuasus,

^h Perhaps profuerit or proderit.

ⁱ Pior or piorum. ^k Æquæ, read æque. ^l Read re. ^m Read doctissimis ⁿ Read damnet.

^o Read prædicare, atque. ^p Taken from Tacitus, *Annal.* xv. 58. ^q Perhaps, manu est.

o si istuc sentias! Tibi pro ista industria non deerit consilium, neque convenit ut ego tibi Minervæ sus. Sed spero pro meo captu omnia consequeris, si contra Moriam composueris Sapientiæ apologiam, eamque edideris. Argumentum est fœcundum, dignum tuo ingenio tuisque studiis, amabile gratissimumque futurum universis, et, quod multo plus tibi est favoris, amicitiae, celebritatis, addo etiam emolumentum, etsi hoc contemnas, conciliaturum, quam Moria ista tam, uti videtur, inauspicata. Habes meum consilium, quod sive probes, sive minus, ego certe tuus sum, eroque semper. Quod reliquum est hujus tam verbosissimæ epistolæ argumentum, audio ^r de divi Hieronymi Epistolas a mendis, quibus perscatebant, repurgasse, adulterina ^s injugulasse obelis, obscura elucidasse, rem profecto te dignam, ut qua de Theologis optime sis meritis, iis potissimum, qui sacris literis ornatum elegantiamque ^t convertere volunt. Sed Novum quoque Testamentum te castigasse intelligo, et supra mille locos annotasse, non sine fructu Theologorum. Hic denuo est quod ^v amicissimi amicum commonitum esse volui; et taceo in primis quod ^w Laurentius et Jacobus Faber eadem in arena desudaverint; quos tu quidem, nihil ambigo, longe superabis. Verum cujusmodi istuc sit sacras Literas castigare, idque Latinos codices ex Græcis, dispiciendum est. Nam si ostendam Latinam translationem nihil habere falsi errorisve admixtum, nonne fateberis supervacuum esse operam omnem, qui eam student emendare, nisi subinde admoneant, sicubi significantius quippiam Interpres vertere potuisset? Sed ego nunc de veritate integritateque disputo, eamque nostræ pervulgatæ Editioni assero. Non enim est consentaneum universam Ecclesiam tot jam seculis errasse, quæ et usa est semper, et mire quoque tum probat, tum utitur hac editione, neque simile est vero, falsos fuisse tot sanctos Patres, tot consummatissimos viros, qui eidem innixi, arduissima quæque in Conciliis generalibus defini-verunt, fidem defenderunt, elucidaruntque, ac Canones ediderunt, quibus et reges suos fasces submiserunt. Et hujusmodi Concilia rite congregata nunquam errare, quatenus fidem contingunt, apud plurimos tum Theologos, tum Jureconsultos, in confesso est. Quod si qua nova necessitas novum exposceret generale Concilium, hanc dubio procul editionem ^x sequerentur, quoties de fide nodus incideret. Aut ergo temere fatendum est fecisse Patres, temereque facturos si hanc editionem interpretationemque sequantur, aut eam veram integramque esse. Quid autem, an libros Græcos credas esse Latinis emendatiores? numquid illis major fuit quam Latinis cura integre servandi libros sacros, apud quos Christiana Religio sæpe numero sit labefactata, quique præter unum Joannis Evangelium cætera omnia affirmant nonnihil erroris continere, ut alia interim taceam, cum apud Latinos semper inviolata perseveraverit sponsa Christi Ecclesia? Jam vero quinam scias te in castigata, si modo pluscula sis nactus, ^y inedis exemplaria, ut vel maxime donem aliqua esse Græcis castigata? His rationi-

^r Read *te*.^s He should have said *jugulasse*.^t Nonsense. Perhaps *conferre*.^v Perhaps *amicissime*.^w *Valla*:^x He was a true prophet: the Council of Trent did so.^y Read *incidiſſe*.

bus adducor, mi Erasme, ut Laurentii Fabrique operas non ita magnificiam, nam contemnere nihil volui non omnino malum. Neque video quid illi tanto molimine contulerint, nisi quoties significantius, ut dixi, aliquid verti potuisse admonent, hoc libenter recipio, si quando etiam Græcissare interpretem, si quando Barbare vertisse notent. Nam elegantius multo verti potuisse quis nescit? Quod si sententiam a Latino Interprete redditam, a Græco codice ^z veritati contendunt, ibi vero valedictis Græcis, Latinis adhæreo, quod animum ^a induere non possim Latinis codicibus Græcos esse integrioris. Atqui Augustinus jubet Latinos rivulos ex Græcanicis fontibus irrigari. Ita sane ipsius seculo, quo neque ita erat ab Ecclesia recepta una aliqua Editio Latina, neque ita corrupti Græci fontes, ut nunc esse verisimile est. At enim dices: Nolim in tuo codice quicquam immutes, neque credas falsam esse Latinam editionem: solum ostendo quid in Græcis voluminibus deprehenderim, quod discrepat a Latinis; et hoc quid officiat? Ita mehercle officiet, mi Erasme. Nam de sacrarum Literarum integritate plurimi disputabunt, multi ambigent, si vel tantillum in iis esse falsi, non dico ex tua opera didicerint, sed narrantem duntaxat quempiam audiverint, et fiet quod Augustinus scribit ad Hieronymum: Si ad sacras Scripturas admissa fuerint vel officiosa mendacia, quid in eis remanebit auctoritatis? Hæc omnia me induxerunt, Charissime Erasme, ut te orem obsecremque per amicitiam inter nos mutuam, quam tu absens tueris, perque nativam humanitatem candoremque tuum, ut vel solos illos Novi Testamenti libros emendes, ubi, manente sententia, significantius aliquid substituere potes; vel si omnino sententiam mutandam esse annotabis, his rationibus in Epistola liminari respondeas. Habes epistolam prolixam ac ineptam, sed quæ tibi ingrata esse non potest, utpote ab amantissimo tui profecta. Theodoricus Martinus Alostensis, Calcographus noster, qui Enchiridion et Pænegyricum impressit, oravit me uti se commendem tuæ humanitati. Cupivit plurimum videre te, cupivit hospitio liberaliter excipere, et ea de causa Antuuerpiam profectus: ut rescivit te non illic sed Lovanii esse, illico recurrit, ac totam noctem ambulans, venit postridie Lovanium, sesquihora ferme postquam abivisses. Si qua in re potest tibi gratificari, omnia pollicetur, et haud scio an omnium hominum vivat homo tui amantior. Catonem abs te castigatum, mihiq; creditum, ^b castigare impressit, me erratorum ^c vindicet. Eam operam M. Joanni Nævio Lilianorum Gymnasiarchæ, uti jussisti, dicavi, qui te ob hoc beneficium ita complectitur, ut, cum redieris, sis aliquando sensurus. Editionum tuarum si aliquam D. Abbati Hæc-mundenfi, patrono meo dicaveris, scio gratissimum illi futurum, et beneficium haud illiberaliter pensaturum. Quod ut facias, te etiam atque etiam oro. Hollandus est, et Hollandiæ nostræ primas ^d religionis, vir doctus quidem, sed religiosior tamen, quam doctior, tametsi omnes doctos non mediocriter amet, ^e ut qui sibi, si usu veniat, multis in rebus possit esse auxilio. Nomen ejus est Menardus Vir. Vale doctissime, mihiq; multo charissime Erasme.

^z Perhaps *variare*.^a Perhaps *regionis*.^a *Inducere*, I suppose.^e Perhaps, *et qui tibi*.^b Read *castigate*.^c Read *windica*.

Nº. VII.

† Martinus Dorpius clarissimo Domino Erasmo Roterodamo S. D. P.

MIROR vehementer, eruditissime Domine, quid acciderit istis, ut ita fursum ac deorsum omnia versent, ut eximios aliquot, sic de studiis, sic de re Christiana meritos male vexent. Polliceor tibi et Domino Deo, me non habebunt istius turbæ confortem. Quanto Christianius est recte omnia ac sane intelligere, et in meliorem partem interpretari? Secus qui faciunt, nonne ipsi malum ^h inferant doctorum virorum lucubrationibus? Quæso te, per gloriam Christi, mi Erasme, omnis eruditionis princeps, ut ne animo frangaris ob quorundam et paucorum, et inermium ineptissimam simul et stultissimam importunitatem. Magis te consolentur tot eximiorum tum Principum, tum Episcoporum, tum eruditissimorum toto orbe virorum amicissima de te tuaque eruditione judicia, eaque quum verissima, tum constantissima. Hic ⁱ certe ita ex animo favent tibi, ita admirantur, ita prædicant opera tua insignia, ut non credam simile contigisse cuiquam mortaliū omnibus retro seculis: ne Hieronymo quidem ipsi. Non fingo hoc, teste Deo, mi Erasme: omnes eruditi gratulantur mihi de *Orationis* meæ editione, quod animum sententiamque meam ingenue testatus sim sine ullo fuko. Magnificus idemque eruditissimus Jurisconsultus D. Nicolaus, Præses Hollandiæ, et cæterarum Provinciarum, ita amplectitur, ut nunquam lætius prandeat, quam de te cum est prolixa et imprimis honorificamentio, eaque de causa magno favore me prosequitur. Quidam Domini Consilarii omnibus modis student bene mereri de me, quod audierint, et in Oratione aperte legerint, ex animo me tuum esse. Omnes Scholæ, omnia eruditorum conventicula, omnis Magnatum corona Erasmus prædicat, inter quos præcipuus est magnificus, idemque illustris ac doctus Dominus de Assendelft, qui tuis monumentis unice delectatur, ea in manibus habet pene assidue, quum vacat. Me student hic inaurare. Non desunt passim eximie viri religiosi, qui te, uti par est, summis in cælum efferunt laudibus. Inter quos duo præcipue me hortati sunt summo studio, tuus ut essem, quum hortatione non foret opus. Alter est Guardianus Mechliniensis, vir cordatus, rerum experientissimus, idem eximie doctus. Proximus Amanus, Græce Hebraiceque doctus, quem nosti, opinor. Ii sic favent tuis sanctis laboribus, ut ne suis quidem magis queant. In Germania, in Anglia, in Francia, quot sunt chiliades mortalium, sic ex animo faventium Erasmo, ut ne aris quidem ac focis impensius! et o me dementem, qui non semper nifus sim manibus ac pedibus, ne nasceretur de me pessima suspicio, quasi is ego essem, qui tali viro adversarer, staremque ab nescio qui-

[†] From Von der Hardt.

^g Life of Erasme. p. 73. 383.

^h Perhaps *inferunt*.

ⁱ Perhaps *Hib.*
bus,

bus, &c. Cur non ab initio id palam testatus fui? Cur tamdiu distuli? Malo fato actus fui, o mi Erasme: sed præstat recurrere, quam cursum male institutum pergere. Quam gaudeo me *Orationem* illam edidisse, quo omnibus constet, quam repugnante animo meo facta fuerunt, quæ contigerunt! Neque enim unquam mihi placuerunt, quæ moliebantur. Sed in hoc errorem meum ingenue confiteor tibi, mi Erasme humanissime, quod non aperte explicuerim quid sentirem. Id si denuo futurum est, male peream, quantus quantus sum. Quæso te, ut aliquo in loco, quum erit opportunum, mei mentionem facias amicam, quo intelligant omnes pulchre inter nos convenire: hoc mihi gratius facere non potes. Non desunt epistolæ quædam ad me tuæ, et meæ ad te; harum si quæ erunt idoneæ quæ imprimantur, per illas fieri poterit, quod peto. R. D. Edmondensis amice sentit de te, vir pius, et qui nativa bonitate dissidia ista odit. Apud eum et apud omnes nihil cessabit Dorpius tuus, neque id clam habebit. *Orationem* meam, etsi ineptam et indoctam, mire tamen cupio Basileæ impressum iri typis Frobenianis. Id tu si voles, factum est. Quid enim tibi neget vel Rhenanus, vel Frobenius? Cum scribis ad Morum, ad Paceum, ad Rhenanum, ad Huttenum, ad Budæum, facito, quæso, amicam Dorpii tui mentionem. Pater meus, vir senex et* bene octogenarius, plurimam salutem tibi adscribi iussit. Fortassè non meministi, unde te norit: collocutus est tecum suavissime annis abhinc paulo plus duobus in Collegio Atrebatensi. Magister Jacobus Mauricius, Consiliarius, qui olim fuit Pensionarius Goudensis, toto pectore tibi addictissimus, jubet te salvere meis verbis. Rapior hic a viris doctrina fortunaque præstantibus. Raro prandeo domi, non quod amem convivia, sed ut confabulemur.

N^o. VIII.

Erasmus Rot. Francisco, Cardinalis Eboracensis Medico, S.

FREQUENTER et admirari et dolere soleo, qui fiat ut Britannia tot jam annis assidua pestilentia vexetur, præsertim sudore lethali, quod malum pene videtur habere peculiare. Legimus civitatem a diutina pestilentia liberatam, consilio Philosophi mutatis ædificiis. Aut me fallit animus, aut simili ratione liberari possit Anglia. Primum quam cœli partem spectent fenestræ ostiave, nihil habent pensi: deinde sic fere constructa sunt conclavia, ut nequaquam sint perflabilia, quod inprimis admonet Galenus. Tum magnam parietis partem habent vitreis tessellis pellucidam, qui sic admittunt lucem, ut ventos excludant, et tamen per rimulas admittunt auram illam colatam, aliquanto pestilentiores, ¹ibi diu quiescentem. Tum sola fere strata sunt argilla, tum scirpis palustribus, qui subinde sic renovantur, ut fundamentum maneat aliquoties annos viginti, sub se fovens sputa, vo-

* Perhaps pene.

* Life of Erasme. p. 76.

¹ Perhaps ubi.

mitus, mictum canum et hominum, projectam cervisiam, et piscium reliquias, aliasque sordes non nominandas. Hinc mutato cœlo vapor quidam exhalatur, mea sententia minime salubris humano corpori. Adde quod Anglia non solum undique circumfusa est mari, verum etiam multis in locis palustris est, falsisque fluminibus interfecta, ne quid dicam interim de ^m falsamentis, quibus vulgus mirum in modum delectatur. Considerem insulam fore multo salubriorem, si scirporum usus tolleretur, tum si sic extruerentur cubicula, ut duobus aut tribus lateribus paterent cœlo, fenestris omnibus vitreis ita confectis, ut totæ possint aperiri, totæ claudi, et sic claudi, ut non pateat per hiantes rimas aditus ventis noxiis. Siquidem ut aliquando salutiferum est admittere cœlum, ita nonnunquam salutiferum est excludere. Ridet vulgus si quis offendatur cœlo nubiloso. Ego et ante annos triginta si fuisssem ingressus cubiculum, in quo mensibus aliquot nemo versatus esset, illico incipiebam febricitari. Conferret huc, si vulgo parcior victus persuaderi posset, ac falsamentorum moderatior usus. Tum si publica cura demandaretur Ædilibus, ut viæ mundiores essent a cœno mictuque: curarentur et ea quæ civitati vicina sint. Scio ridebis otium meum, qui his de rebus sollicitus sim. Faveo regioni, quæ mihi tam diu præbuit hospitium: in qua libens finirem quod superest ævi, si liceat. Non dubito, quin tu hæc pro prudentia rectius noris; libuit tamen admonere, ut si meum iudicium cum tuo consentit, hæc viris Principibus persuadeas. Hæc enim olim Regum cura consuevit esse. Scripsissem perlibenter Rev. D. Cardinali; sed nec otium erat, nec argumentum, nec ignoro quibus ille negotiis distringatur. Bene vale, vir humanissime, cui debeo plurimum.

Ep. 432. C. 1815.

Nº. IX.

Erasmus Rot. Germano Brixio.

DECREVISTI, ut video, Canossæ nomen immortalitati consecrare. Ante complures annos novi hominem in Anglia, sed ignotum notus. Rumor erat tum illuc venisse Legatum Pontificium Cardinalem, sed cultu profano. Invitarat me Andreas Ammonius ad prandium, veni nihil suspicans insidiarum: amabam enim hominem familiariter. Apud eum reperi quendam veste oblonga, sed capillis in reticulum collectis, unico tantum famulo. Multa fabulatus sum cum Andrea, nihil omnino suspicans de Canossâ. Admirabar tamen hominis militarem ferociam, itaque Græce percunctatus sum Andream, *Τίς ἐστὶν ἑτοσί;* Is respondit, *ἐμπορος μέγας.* Atque ego contra, *ἕτως τε πάντα δοκεῖ,* et persuasus esse negotiatorem, plane neglexi hominem. Accubitum est. Canossâ præsedit, ego proximus. Toto convivio cum Andrea familiariter ex more fabulas miscui, non diffi-

^m That is not only *salt fish*, but *salt meat*, beef, pork, &c.

ⁿ Life of Erasmus. p. 88.

mulans negotiatoris contemptum. Tandem percunctatus sum Andream, num verus esset rumor venisse Legatum, qui jussu Leonis X. diffidium inter Galliarum et Angliæ reges componeret. Annuebat. Summus, inquam, Pontifex non eget meis consiliis, si tamen hic me adhibuisset, aliud suavissem. Quid, inquit Ammonius? Non expediebat, inquam, fieri mentionem pacis. Quamobrem? Quoniam pax, inquam, subito coire non potest. Atque interea dum Monarchæ tractant de conditionibus, milites ad odorem pacis pejora moliuntur quam in bello. Per inducias autem subito cohibentur militum manus. Inducias autem præscriberem trium annorum, quo liceret commode de duraturi foederis legibus dispicere. Approbavit Andreas, et hoc, inquit, opior, agit hic Legatus. His ita differtis redii ad id, quod Ammonius non responderat liquido. Estne, inquam, Cardinalis? Unde, inquit, tibi istuc in mentem venit? Quoniam, inquam, hoc narrant Itali. Et illi, inquit, unde norunt? Hic, inquam, te novi: si post annos aliquot te viderem in Brabantia, quæreret unde te agnoscerem? Subriserunt inter sese, me ne tantulum quidem etiam suspicante. Mox urgebam, num revera esset Cardinalis. Tergiversatus est Ammonius: tandem, Est, inquit, animo Cardinalitio. Hic ego suaviter arridens, Istiuc aliquid est, inquam, gerere animum Cardinalitium. Hæc aliaque multa Canossa audivit tacitus. Tandem dixit nescio quid Italice. Mox admiscuit voces Latinas, sed sic ut posses negotiatorem ingeniosum agnoscere. Quum nihil responderem, ad me versus, dixit: ° Demiror te in hac barbara natione velle vivere, nisi forte hic mavis esse solus, quam Romæ primus. Hanc argutiam demiratus in negotiatore, respondi me vivere in ea regione, quæ plurimos haberet insigniter doctos, inter quos mihi satis esset ultimum tenere locum, quum Romæ nullo in numero futurus essem. Hæc aliaque dixi, nonnihil iratus negotiatori. Puto mihi tunc genium aliquem bonum adfuisse, alioqui in summum discrimen me pertraxerat Ammonius, qui non ignorabat, quanta libertate soleam apud amicos effutire quicquid in buccam venerit. Surreximus. Andreas et ego diutius ambulavimus in horto, qui ædes dirimit, ac post diutinam confabulationem officii causa produxit ad ostium terrestre, nam ea pars domus, in qua pransi fueramus, spectat flumen Thamisin, malebam enim redire pedibus quam cymba. Post aliquot dies, quum redissemus in colloquium, aperit Andreas fabulæ scenam, ac mecum sedulo agit, ut Canossam comiter in Italiam, plurima testificans quam ille de me magnifice tum loqueretur, tum sentiret. Sed furdo canebat fabulam. At interim parum amice factum est ab Ammonio, qui non ignorabat linguæ meæ *παρρησία*. Poteram aliquid vel in Pontificem, vel in Legatum effutire, quod mihi post fraudi fuisset. Si nunc Canossa parum bene est in Erasmus animatus, nihil est novæ rei: solet spretus amor in iram verti. Et video quosdam esse, qui similem pestem conantur injicere studiis, qualem injecerunt religioni. Apud Italos fervet Ciceronianorum factio, quum nulli sint minus, quam qui vociferantur maxime. De fortuna tua non ignorabam, de animo

° Sed tu velim --- nos aliquando revisas: sed ibi malis esse ubi aliquo numero sis, quam istic ubi solus sapere videre. Cicero, Epist. ad Famil. I. 10.

tuo credo tibi, et gratulor. Sed arbitror dignitatem vel non adscitam accessuram. In Chrysostomo malueram te minus esse Callipidem, id enim fit luculenta fraude typographi. Bene vale. Friburgo Brisgoiæ, Anno 1532.
Ep. 1239.

Nº. X.

p A letter of Polydore Vergil to Edward Lee.

NOS 4 Septembris in Betica datas abhinc triduo accepi, quæ me summa perfuderunt lætitia, erant enim aliquot menses cum ne sacerdos tuus quidem quicquam literarum a te habebat. Perlegi Satyros Germani nostri omni prope tempore in te scriptos, quorum ipse bonam partem ignorabam, qui non libenter in iis versor scriptis, quæ de canina loquentia plena sunt. A principio cum Erasmus scripserit dolere se esse q vestras simultates senescere non sinerent, totum illud æqui bonique feci, ac idcirco ad te omnia detuli. Verum cum nunc sim a te recte edoctus, unde tantum injuriarum per vestros animos pervadat, si rem amplius t tetiger ego illi describam caput literarum tuarum, in quo reconciliationis condiciones existunt, id est, ut palinodiam cantet, id quod ei faciendum est, qui prior offenderit, cupidusque sit pacificationis. Quare proxime ad me scribas, an malis ut occasionem scribendi ab eo v g—ram, vel caput literarum tuarum ipse sponte recitem, quo intelligat, ubi culpa resideat. Nam in ejusmodi negotio cavendum censeo, ne noceas dum vis prodesse. Quod admones ut caute cum homine agam, sedulo cum omnibus facio, quos præsertim intus et in cute w n—. Quod etiam scribis me illius insinuasse amicitia, erras; nam mea illi multo, quam ejus amicitia mihi fructuosior est. Hoc tamen boni artificis est, qui modum fer—. Tu vero interim rogo, ne te maceres, quod x to —desta in te collata sint quæ apud posteros y auctori —fraudi, quam ullo homini tuo malo erunt. Sed dum ista scribo ipse jam jam z moveor, si tot conficta sint, cujus rei, si volueris, periculum faciam, an a ut Erasmo bellum quam pax potius sit. Hæc hæc. Expectabam a te aliquid de hominum locorumque ingenio istius Beticæ, cum tu nihil docuisti. Quare in posterum scribas, cum Hispania alia sit quam olim fuerit. Talia sunt cognitu digna, si tuto scribi possunt. Apud nos statuer, et recte, Dei opt. beneficio. Tu vale, et, ut facis, scribe. De Dialogo recte consulis, non enim res apud me tanti momenti committenda tabellariis, qui ob temporum calamitatem, nusquam facile inveniuntur. Ego putabam pacem diuturniorem,

p Life of Erasmi. p. 98. and 280.

q Transcribed by me from the original, in the Museum Britannicum, which is somewhat damaged.

r He means Erasmus, I suppose.

s Quæ, or qui.

t Tetigeris, or tetigerit, ego ---

v Perhaps quæram.

w Perhaps non novi.

x Perhaps tot immodesta. y Perhaps auctori potius fraudi. z Or minor.

a Perhaps et that is etiam.

quæ vix nata subito cecidit, id quod Turca in rem suam esse cognoscit, qui nos possessione multarum rerum sibi cedere in dies singulos cogit, ut nuper ad vos quoque fama amissæ Pannoniæ, credo, pertulit. Sed Deus faxit ut de altera vita, magis quam de imperio cogitationem suscipere maturam possimus. Iterum vale. Lond. die 19 Oct. MDXXVI.

Tuus Poly. Verg.

THE Superscription is preserved, and put at the bottom of the second page, by another and a modern hand.

Rdo. in Chro pri. D. Edouardo Lælio Regis Angliæ Eleemosynario, ejusque apud Cæsarem Oratori Digno. In Hispania.

It should not have been *Lælio*, but *Leo*.

It may seem from this letter, that Polydore sided with Lee against Erasmus.

There is also, in our *Museum*, a letter of Polydore Vergil to Queen Mary, complimenting her upon her accession to the throne, and exhorting her to reestablish true religion, and correct the faults of the licentious times, *pie, modice, severeque*; that is, by *fair* and by *foul* means. He concludes:

Ego vero homo senecta jam ætate volui te Dominam sicut servus literis salutare, officii causa, quod deinceps coram sæpius præstabo. Die 5 Augusti, 1553.

He begins his letter with an allusion to the Salutation of the Virgin Mary:

Salve, Regina, Virgo, Maria, brevi futura renaſcentis Regni Genetrix.

As though she had been the *Virgin Mary*, and he the *Angel Gabriel*! He understood the cant of the times; for the Papists extolled Mary beyond measure, vaunted her sobriety, and mercy, and love for her subjects (says Strype) called her a *Miroir* of these *virtues*, styled her *Mary the Virgin*, nay, blasphemously *The most blessed Virgin*. Memor. vol. iii. p. 12.

Polydore Vergil left England A. 1551. and died A. 1555. at Urbino, the city in which he was born. See Bayle, &c.

Nº. XI.

Extract from a letter of Wolfg. Fabritius Capito to Luther.

PROXIMIS tuæ charitati ex Argentina respondi, simul addens de te judicium Erasmi, quam videlicet honorifice, quam candide tuam Veniarum istam disputationem miratur. —

Habes non unum Theseum, Carolstadium, Spalatinum, Joannem Egranum, et Melanchthonem, quibus si communicaveris consilia, nihil vellicandum aut infirmum evulgabis. — Egrani libellum Erasmus mire probat, quam nervose agit, se statim expedit, arguit clare. Voluit ut Basileæ nunc denuo edatur, quem tamen sine stomacho hic primum impressum nunquam legisset. — Basileæ, A. 1518.

Hæſei Bibl. Brem. Class. iv. Fasc. v. p. 894.

^b Life of Erasmi. p. 112.

N^o. XII.• *Præfatio Erasmi in Suetonium, &c.*

CUM hanc editionem jam adornassem, commodum jam allatus est Suetonius, Aldinis typis excusus, sed emendatus opera Bapt. Egnatii, viri cum primis tum integri, tum eruditi: nam utrumque juxta requirendum arbitror in eo, qui veterum lucubrationes emendandas aut explicandas suscipit. Equidem Aldi mei mortem hoc fere moderatius fero, quod in hanc restituendi bonos auctores provinciam ei successerit, qui demortui per se clari gloriam obscuraret, si tamen hoc est obscurare, virtutem virtute vincere. Atque utinam ut Suetonium, Aurelium Victorem, et Eutropium dedit, itidem et Ælium Spartianum, cæterosque huic adjunctos nobis dedisset in quibus nos permulta restituimus. Nam omnia, qui poteram, nisi codicum antiquorum auxilio adjutus? Tametsi et in Tranquillo nonnulla restituimus, quæ Egnatium licet oculatissimum suffugerant. Velut in Cæsare Dictatore, 17. *Eodem modo Nonium Quæstorem, quod compellari apud se majorem potestatem passus esset.* Modo expunximus ex fide vetustissimi codicis, siquidem eodem heic adverbium est, ut subaudias, *conjecit.* Sunt hoc genus et alia nonnulla, sed minutiora, quam ut operæ pretium sit figillatim recensere. Ceterum quod in Othone 7. Egnatius legendum putat, *τί γάρ με δεῖ καὶ τοῖς μακροῖς αὐλοῖς αὐλεῖν*; ab illo dissentio, quod hæc fere verba Beroaldus ab erudito quodam admonitus ex Dione huc transfulerit. Neque variant heic quæ viderim exemplaria: tantum in nonnullis pro αὐλοῖς vitiatum erat αἰσυλοῖς. Legendum igitur haud dubie, *τί γάρ μοι καὶ μακροῖς αὐλοῖς*; id est, *quid mihi cum longis tibiis?* Qua de re copiosius nobis dictum in Adagiorum chiliadibus. In Caligula 38. pro *nec dicendi finem factum*, restitueramus ex exemplari pervetusto, *nec licendi finem factum*: etiam si post comperi locum hunc a Budæo nostro correctum in *Assē*. Hoc admonere visum est, quo plus ponderis habeat Budæana castigatio, quamquam ea nullius vetusti codicis præfert auctoritatem. Porro quod in Augusto 99. legitur, *Δότε κρότον, καὶ πάντες ὑμεῖς μετὰ χαρᾶς τι ποιεῖτε*, id est, *Date plausum, et omnes vos cum gaudio quippiam facite*: in quo et Egnatius hallucinatus est: ego, ni fallor, et unus, et primus restitui, idque ex qualibuscumque vestigiis antiquissimi codicis. Legendum igitur ad hunc modum, *Δότε κρότον, καὶ πάντες ὑμεῖς μετὰ χαρᾶς κλυπήσατε*, id est, *Date plausum et vos omnes cum gaudio plaudite.* Est enim versus trochaicus. Præcesserat autem in exemplari nostro et alter huic similis trochaicus, aut certe hemistichion, sed figuris elementorum adeo depravatis, ut quid scriptum esset, non quiverimus conjicere. Jam quod est in Vespasiano, 23. *ὦ Λάχης Λάχης, ὅταν ἀποθάνης, αὐθις ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς εἰρήσῃ Κήρυλος.* Si quid suffragarentur exemplaria, lubens legirim ad hunc modum, *ὦ Λάχης Λάχης, ὅταν δ' ἀποθάνης, αὐθις ἔσση Κήρυλος* id

• Life of Erasmi. p. 133.

est, *O Laches Laches, At ubi mortuus fueris, rursus eris Cerylus*: ut ὦ Λάχης Λάχης sit clausula prioris carminis, cui succedit integer Iambicus trimeter, tametsi hac de re nolim contendere. Ceterum de nummorum analogia, si quid a Budæo^c dissentit Egnatius, Portium suum secutus, quod nobis nec otium suppetebat, nec ad hunc laborem proprie pertinebat, non fuit studium excutere. Addidimus autem indicem, quo potissimum annotavimus, si quid nove, præterque superiorum auctorum consuetudinem, aut si quid etiam Græcanice dictum sit, ne nihil sit lucri, quod lectorem ad emendum invitet. Nec hoc tamen solum accedet, quin et quicquid adjecit Egnatius, heic habes, et præterea nonnulla, quæ nos soli etiam restituimus. Bene vale, carissime Lector, et hisce nostris laboribus feliciter fruire. Anno 1517.

N^o. XIII.

^a *A letter of Pace^e to Erasmus.*

^f *Ri. Pacæus Erasmo suo, S. P. D.*

^g **J** A M P R I D E M, suavissime mi Erasme, allatæ mihi fuerunt complures Epistolæ tuæ, Budæi, Ammonii, Mori, aliorumque doctorum virorum, Lovanii typis excusæ. Inter has unam tuam ad ^h Bovillum reperi, in qua mentionem facis literarum duorum ad te Cardinalium, Grymani et Georgiani, quas ais te nunquam accepisse; ejusque rei culpam in me transferre videris. A qua tamen, vel te iudice (nisi nimium fallor) facillime me liberabo. Etenim apertissime ostendam, nihil in illis literis ad te fidelissime perferendis a me factum esse, quod a nostra amicitia, quam ego religiosissime colo, semperque colam, alienum fuerit. Fateor igitur illas literas mihi ab Ammonio nostro fuisse missas atque redditas, cum in castris Elveticis essem prope Mediolanum. Sed eo tempore mihi fuerunt allatæ, quo non modo non tibi tuas, sed nec Regi meo (re id maxime postulante) tabellarium aliquem mittere potuerim. nam omnia itinera quæ Germaniam versus tendebant ab hostibus undique occupata fuere: idque consulto factum fuit, ut, et literæ meæ, et pecunia in stipendium militum missa interciperetur. Quo factum est, ut tuas apud me literas compluribus diebus retinere cogerer, ne negligentia mea manifeste perirent. Sed ut primum hostes, cum vi tum necessitate compulsi, illa reliquerunt loca, literas perferendas ad te dedi cuidam (ut videbatur) perquam honesto viro, recta Basileam profecturo, et cui fama tu (quod mihi pergratum fuit) fuisti notissimus. Uno vero post mense perveni Tridentum, ubi intellexi te ex Basilea nescio quo discessisse: id quod fortasse feceras ante adventum illius, cui tuas ad te dedi literas. Itaque

^c Life of Erasme. p. 551.
Britannicum.

^g Another hand.

^d Transcribed by me from the manuscript in the *Museum*

^e Life of Erasme. p. 145.

^f Pace's hand.

^h Ep. 148.

hinc conjicio evenisse, ut literæ illæ perierint, et fortasse nuncius una cum literis. Nam ut periculum ab hostibus imminens taceam, latronum plena erant omnia. Hac de re sæpius tibi scripturus eram: sed ab illo tempore nunquam ubi locorum esses audire potui, ante instantis mensis diem decimum quintum, quo literas a Moro nostro, non tam Britanno nunc quam Utopiano accepi, quibus intellexi tibi apud illustrissimum Principem tuum, Regem Catholicum, optime esse et honorifice. Es enim (ut audio) amplo auctus Sacerdotio; et in Consiliariorum Regionum ordinem ascitus. De quo ut vehementer gaudeo, ita supra modum doleo te Britanniam nostram reliquisse, nec ulla illic conditione retineri potuisse: tametsi, ut Morus mihi scripsit, a reverendissimo Domino Cardinali Eboracensi magnifica esset tibi oblata conditio. Sed ubicumque terrarum eris, Deum immortalem precor, ut omnia secunda fausta et felicia tibi eveniant. Postquam ex Basilea mihi scripsisti, vitam odiosissimam, et a natura mea alienissimam traduxi: nam partim bello (quod cum Musis nihil habet commune) interfui: (in quo magis strenue spoliatum est, quam pugnatum) partim Principum negotiis implicatissimus fui. In quibus maxime laboratum est, ut nihil bene fieret. nam quem finem hæc omnia sunt sortita, fama, certum scio, ad te perlatum est; vel saltem in nova Mori nostri Utopiana Republica clare intellexisti, ubi agit more suo de fugiente Neapoli et aliis omnibus huc spectantibus. In eadem, cujus supra mentionem feci epistola, effusissimum mihi risum movit Collegium illud, quod gravi, ut ais, senatus-consulto cavit, ne quis Novum Testamentum, tua industria maximisque laboribus instauratum, equis aut navibus aut plaustris aut bajulis intra ejus Collegii pomeria inveheret. Istud Collegium tu *θεολογικὸν* vocas: sed ego ne *θεόλογον* quidem, imo vix *ἀνθρώπινον* judico. Nam si esset inter illos vel pietas (quæ Theologorum præcipue mater esse debet) vel humanitas, vel doctrina, non optimum et doctissimum opus pessime et imperitissime vituperarent, convellerent, lacerarent; et quæ fortasse nunquam viderunt, et si viderent non intelligerent, turpissime damnarent: quæ in re judicium est nullum, sed malevolentia, quidvis potius quam Theologica, ne dicam plane impia. Quod nihil hujusmodi nisi ex auctoritate generalis Concilii fieri volunt, istud magis mihi ridiculum videtur, quam ipsi homines. Quasi vero non liceat errores emendari, et menda insignia ex libris tolli, nisi hoc Concilii mandet auctoritas! Quod si omnino volunt defendere, cur homines quotidie peccantes a peccatis absolvunt, absque Synodi auctoritate? Nam hoc, meo judicio, majus est quam quod tu fecisti; siquidem ad liberandam ipsam animam, vel perpetuis suppliciis damnandam pertinet: nisi fortasse volunt objicere hoc Synodi decretis imperatum esse. Quod si est, equidem nec illud a Synodi decretis abhorreere opinor, ut omnes libri vel continentes vel explanantes Christi præcepta, emendati, puri, et incorrupti legantur. Atque ut tibi et quid de isto Collegio, et Novi Testamenti Editione brevibus dicam, quod sentio; si nunc indicta esset Synodus, ego mallem tuis libris legendis, vacare quam illi interesse, si penes istud Collegium esset de rebus omnibus consulendi et judicandi potestas. Qui enim fieri potest ut recte de fide

Christiana consulere possint, vel velint, qui ejus praecepta incorrupta videre et legere gravantur. Præterea, quod ad istorum facundiam pertinet, barbaras eorum orationes Christus (ut opinor) ipse averfaretur, malletque fidem suam periclitari, quam tanta barbarie foedari. Sane miror, mi Erasme, cur in Epistola tua tam longa oratione usus es ad istos asinos ad lyram placandos; nisi fortasse illud eleganti gravique epistola agere velles, ut alios quoque id genus homines (quod difficile est) a consimili fatuitate deterres. Satis enim erat istis illud quod scripsisti de *mumpsimus* et *sumpsimus* nostri Sacrifici. Quod si ulterius progredi, et in eos scribere vis, cupio hoc unum abs te impetrare, ut hoc titulo Epistolam ad illos scribas: Τῇ τῶν ἀνοήτων συν-
 ὁδῳ κακῶς πράττειν. Principium autem Epistolæ: Ἀπαγε εἰς τὸ βάρεθρον τῆς αἰμαθίας ὑμῶν, ἀτεχνῶς ^k αἰλώσιον ἄχθος ἀερέης. Budæi viri eruditissimi atque humanissimi ad te epistolam, et tuam ad ipsum, in quibus disputatis de interpretando Lucæ Evangelistæ loco in operis præfatione, vidi; ac translationem tuam et illius opinionem notavi. Et, ut summatim loquar, nihil in illo loco difficultatis, aut δυσνόητόν τι, ut Budæus sentit, video, sed παρεκλογισθέντι in sua trita et vulgari significatione accipiendum censeo: ut cum dicimus, ταῦτα παρεκλογισθῆναι τῷ προσώπῳ, sequuntur. Ut sit sensus: *Visum est mihi ætate posteriori, et eis succedenti et sequenti, ut scriberem, &c.* Sequi autem Lucas se ait, non αὐτόπλος, ut opinatur Budæus, sed posterioris ætatis auctores, qui αὐτόπλος istos sunt secuti. Itaque nec *prosecuto*, nec *persecuto*, nec *assecuto* in hoc loco admitto. At vero in secundo loco, quem Budæus ex Demosthene citat, cum ipso sentio. Nam nullus alioqui ibi esset intellectus, sicut nec apud Galenum. Sed notandum est Demosthenem illo in loco ἀπικίλειν. Nam in primo, qui ab eodem Budæo citatur, loco, etiam in usitata significatione accipiendum est verbum παρεκλογισθῆναι, quod vel hinc liquet, quod verbum εἰδῶς præposuit. Nam si Demosthenes vidit Æschinis flagitia, necesse est eum fuisse secutum; nec intellectu assecutum illa, sed præsentem affuisse. Illud verbum ἐπεχείρησαν in principio positum videtur te movisse ut *diligenter persecuto* verteres. Scribis enim in tua in hunc locum annotatione, ἐπεχείρησαν dixit, ut intelligamus illos priores scriptores *maluisse magis quam præstitisse*. Sed ego de hoc quoque verbo tibi dicam quod sentio. Ἐπιχειρεῖν *aggredi* quidem significat: sed non magis de his dicitur, qui male vel parum bene, quam de his, qui optime efficiunt quod volunt, et præstant quæ pollicentur, cui est contrarium *conari* apud Latinos. Itaque magis probo tuum *aggressi*, quam alterius interpretis *conati* hoc loco: non solum propter verbi proprietatem, sed etiam propter ipsam sententiam. Non enim mihi videtur Lucas notare prioris ætatis scriptores, tanquam parum diligentes; quippe quos fatetur scripsisse, referentibus illis qui interfuerunt rebus gestis, et viderunt, a quibus solis, et non aliis veritas scribenda intelligi potest. Ego de illo λόγῳ quod sequitur, longe magis dubito; ad Christumne referendum sit, ut Valla sentit (quem tu cavillari dicis) an ad res gestas. Nam si ad res gestas Lucas referri voluisset, deberet potius

^k He should have said αἰώσιον.

uti numero plurali quam singulari, meo quidem iudicio, ideo quod sic magis Græce fuisset locutus. Præterea non video cur hic locus non possit commode sic verti: *Sicuti tradiderunt nobis ii qui Christum viderunt, eique ministrarunt* Sed istud tibi discutiendum diligentius relinquo. Sed heus tu, Richarde, retrahere calamum. Sentisne quantum deliras, quantumque bellum tibi paraturus es, ut qui imbecillis homuncio duos conaris robustissimos provocare in certamen Hercules? Bona verba, quæso. Neminem provoco, neminem improbo, meo memet metior pede, amice amicis meam dico sententiam, ut amice, si quid erro, corrigar. Vale. ¹ *Ex Constantia ix Idus Aug.*

*Non potui per negotia manu mea in præsentia ad te scribere. Ignosce igitur dic-
tanti, et epistolæ male scriptæ: male autem scriptæ non modo ad manum et ^m*

N^o. XIV.

ⁿ *A letter of Pace to Wolfey.*

° **P**LEASITT your Grace. I advertise the same as of myselfe, that we be nowe troblydde here wyth fere of the greate plage: for the yonge Lorde Graye is thys nyght past deade of that syknesse, and an Almayne servante to the Kynge dyede affore him off the same, and some othre be disseasydde here in lyke manner as it is thoght. *Deus bene vortat.* Here arrivydde thys daye a Spanishe frere, namydde by his cumpany a Saynte: allégynge that in the late grete tempeste in the see, he by hys prayers schewede miracles, and causydde the sayde tempest to cease: *ipso cælo id protestante, dimissis in navim magnis luminaribus.* The sayde frere desyrydde to have wyth the Kynge secrete communication, and hadde by the space of ^p ooy houre: but of what matiers I know nott. Albeitt thys I knowe, that the Kynge este-myth hym more a frere than a Saynte. He haith professydde the Ordre off S. Hierome many yers; and yitt haith no maner of lernynge. *Audaciam enim habet plusquam Hispanicam.* The Kynge is passe tyme nowe is all in hawkyng. And thus Jesu preserve your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. Ffrom Wyndesore this xv off Octo. By your Graces most humble and faythfull servant

Ri. Pace.

ⁱ Pace's hand. ^m Thus it breaks off, abruptly. ⁿ Transcribed by me from the manuscript in the *Museum Britannicum.*

^o Life of Erasme. p. 145. ^p Perhaps one.

N^o. XV.

Richardi Pacei De Fructu qui ex doctrina percipitur Liber. Basil. apud Frobenium, A. 1517.

T H E R E is a Preface of Paulus Bombasius to this treatise. Pace takes occasion in it to praise Bombasius, Colet, Erasmus very often, John Clerke, Thomas Langton, Bishop of Winchester, who had been his first patron, Pope Julius II. (but ironically, I fancy) Leo X. very seriously, Sir Thomas More, Linacer, Leonicus, Leonicens, Budæus, Tonstal, Latimer, Stokesly, Henry VIII. and Wolsey.

He gently blames Erasmus and More for spelling some Latin words contrary to the rules of orthography. He insults those who censured the New Testament, and the Adages of Erasmus. He defends him also against the cavils of some illiterate Italian Scotist.

He introduces a sort of English Esquire and Fox-hunter railing at learning, and saying :

Abeant in malam rem istæ stultæ literæ : omnes docti sunt mendici ; etiam Erasmus ille doctissimus (ut audio) pauper est, et in quadam epistola vocat execrandam Paupertatem uxorem suam, &c.

Afterwards Pace says :

Doctrina [Erasmi] tam admirabilis est et multiplex, ut Pontifices Maximi, omnes Cardinales, omnes Reges et Principes, uno consensu de eo certare videantur, nec immerito. Nam apud quemcumque is orbis doctrinæ erit, is vivam habebit imaginem, quam omnibus suis stemmatis longe possit anteferre. Verum, quod risum mihi movit, Erasmus ipse dixisse fertur, nihil sibi hoc certamine longo tempore infelicius accidisse. Nam dum illi strenue certant, ipse misere eguit, propterea quod hujus tempestatis homines libentius admirantur doctos quam nutriunt.

Cujus [Henrici VIII.] doctrinæ experientiam ego non ex hoc solo habeo, quod audiui eum promte et expedite lingua loqui Latina, sed etiam quod olim adhuc pene puer, ausus est Erasmus nostrum, epistola sua ipsius manu scripta, provocare, quæ nihil non Latinissimum sapiebat : nam hanc mihi Erasmus Ferrariæ legendam olim exhibuit. Solebat enim eam, quocumque ibat, in arcula quadam, ceu thesaurum reconditam, secum circumferre.

These are some of the passages which seem to have offended Erasmus.

There is in this Book, as Erasmus truly observed, a perpetual endeavour to be arch and witty, which disappoints and disgusts the Reader.

¹ Life of Erasmi. p. 145.

Nº. XVI.

*Preface to Livy.**Erasmus Rot. Misobarbaris atque iisdem Philomusis omnibus S. D.*

SI laudem haudquaquam vulgarem meruerunt, qui Origeni et Hieronymo notarios ac membranas suppeditaverunt, quantum vero laudis debetur typographorum officinis, quæ nobis cotidie bonorum voluminum effundunt examina, idque minimo pretio? Si Ptolemæus ille Philadelphus memoriam apud posteros sibi paravit immortalem, ob bibliothecam Alexandriæ comparatam, insignem quidem illam ac locupletem, sed tamen unam, quid præmii debetur iis, qui nobis cotidie totas bibliothecas totosque, ut ita dixerim, librorum mundos in omni genere linguarum ac literarum subministrant? Atque hujus quidem laudis præcipua portio debetur, hujus pæne divini dixerim opificii repertoribus, quorum princeps fuisse fertur totius ævi memoria celebrandus Joannes Faust, avus ejus, cui Livium hunc, tum auctum duobus voluminibus, tum innumeris locis ex codice vetustissimo castigatum, debemus; ut hoc egregium decus partim ad Joannem Scheffer velut hæreditario jure devolvatur, partim ad Moguntiæ civitatis, et alias multis nominibus inclytæ, gloriam pertineat. Etenim si de laude reperti tormenti, quod novo vocabulo *Bombardam* vocant, non pauci certant, quanto justius laudibus vehendi sunt, quorum industria pulcherrimum hoc eruditionis ac veræ felicitatis instrumentum contigit? Atque utinam ut inventum est eximium, ita non nisi libris ac disciplinis egregiis excudendis dedicetur. Atque hic rursus malim veterum monumentis restituendis, quam novis adglomerandis, operam dari. Tametsi non desunt his quoque temporibus, fateor, qui scribant haud indigna posteris. In hujus igitur pulcherrimæ laudis studium incumbat nostra Germania, cui multos bonos authores, ab inferis in lucem revocatos, cum olim debet orbis, tum nuper Cornelii Taciti libros aliquot. Pergat ex tam vasto librorum ac disciplinarum omnium incendio, ex inaudito naufragio, ex miserabili ruina, fragmenta, quæ licet, rapere, rumpantur ut ilia Codris istis, qui cum rursus in hoc conspirarunt, ut sub prætextu tuendæ religionis, quicquid est elegantioris eruditionis, conspurcent atque extinguant, nihil aliud assequantur, quam ut, quod oppugnant, reddant illustrius, et suum livorem stoliditati parem magis ac magis denobilitent. Hanc laudem expetant Germani Principes, hætenus ornamentis rei bellicæ abunde clari. Fuit hoc olim Regum studium, aut exstructis pontibus, aut communis fluminum ripis, aut alio deductis annibus, tum thermis, porticibus, basilicis, aquæductibus, stratis viis, oppidis erectis, aliove quopiam insigni monumento sui memoriam posteris relinquere; nunc fere ex miserandis urbium ac vicorum ruinis, ex vastatis atque incensis agris nobiles sunt. Belli glo-

ria tum verum habet decus, cum ad id coëgit necessitas, aut patriæ pietas; hujus laudis semper parata seges est, neque defunt exempla. Huc provocat insignis ille nobilitatis pariter ac religionis antistes Albertus Cardinalis et Archiepiscopus Moguntinus. Huc clarissimus Saxoniae Dux Fridericus, ne quid dicam de notæ inferioris proceribus. Porro tametsi ex hac editione non ita multum accessit Tito Livio, tamen habenda non mediocris gratia primum incomparabili viro Theodorico Tzobel, ædis Moguntinæ summæ Scholastico, et Reverendissimi Domini Moguntinensis Vicario, qui singulari studio curavit hoc laudis suæ civitati asserere; deinde non vulgariter erudito viro Nicolao Carbachio, quinquennium jam Titum Livium publico salario summa cum laude profitenti, tum Wolphgango Augusto, a quibus quantum laboris exhaustum sit, dum ex codice non scripto sed picto coguntur addivinare quid sit legendum, difficile fuerit æstimare. Nullum autem tam depravatum exemplar, unde solers conjectator non multa queat restituere. Proinde, juvenes optimi, Livium illum, olim orbis delictum, veluti renatum emite, complectimini, legite, ediscite, præter uberrimam rerum gestarum cognitionem, haud mediocrem eloquentiæ fructum lucrifacturi. Bene valete. VII Cal. Mart. An. MDXIX.

From *Drakenborch's Livy*, tom. vii. p. 267.

Nº. XVII.

* *Petri Mosellani ad Jul. Pflugium, de Disputatione Lipsiensi epistola.*

— ^t Q U O D ad Martini [Lutheri] Theologi causam tanta tot sophistarum æmulatione in summam invidiam hic adductam attinet, cujus historiæ te imprimis cupidum video, quamquam ita habet mea sententia, ut eam literis quantumvis obsignandis committere parum sit tutum, ne tamen Julio meo negare videar quicquam, paucis totius tragœdiæ summam bona cum fide repræsentabo. Sed heus tu, cave quenquam præterea spectatorem admittas. Alioqui scito mihi personam in media actione casuram. Principio satis constat, ut nullus repetam, quantæ fuerit invidiæ Martino suus conatus apud omnes, et qui vel Romanensium istorum impietatem ignorant, vel eorum vitiis aluntur, et qui totam ætatem in sophisticis tricis consumserunt; quamque conclusionibus per totam Germaniam sparsis utrinque sit pugnatum, dum ille philosophiam Aristotelicam, quam solam, quamvis nunquam intellectam, isti tenent, ex Theologorum theatro explodit, hi eam ceu amasiam suam mordicus tenent, et quibus possunt armis tueri student, dolone an virtute, quis in hoste requirat? Non enim soli Lipsienses nostri conclusiones suas Martinianis opposuerunt, sed et Eccius in Bavaris Theologum agens, ἀεροβαίων τε καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ὡς πρὸς Σωκρά-

* From *Gerdesius*, H. Evang. Renov. tom. i. Append. p. 192.

^t Life of *Erasmus*. p. 157.

της ἀπὸ τὰ ῥῆζ ὑπερφρονῶν, rei novitate permotus, Episcopo Eistettenfi corollaria aliquot contra Martinum exhibuit. Quod ubi Martinus per amicos rescivisset, mox Carolo stadium, Wittembergensem Archidiaconum, in eum immisit, hominem ad παλινωδίαν cogere nifus. Ille semel atque iterum respondit, sed, meo iudicio, frigidius, quam ut doctrinæ alicujus eminentis fidem lectori cordato facere videatur. Neque enim Eccius, quam est lingua promptus, tam et calamus habet expeditum, δεινὸς μὲν λαλῆν, ἀδύνατος δὲ λέγειν. Quare hoc genere pugnæ victoriam desperans, ad theatricum illum publicæ disceptationis congressum provocat: nimirum ἵππῳ εἰς πεδίον. Non detrectant certamen Wittenbergenses. Sic utrisque pugnandi fit copia in Theologorum nostrorum vere φροντιστηρίῳ, xxvii Junii mensis die ad congregandum condita. Mature utrique advenerunt. Eccius solus cum solo ministro eoque commodatitio, Principi nostro * Fuccari literis commendatus. Martinus ac Carolo stadium optimam Academiæ partem secum trahebant: inter quos insignis erat Barnimus, Pomeranorum Princeps, juvenis modestissimus, et literarum amantissimus, et mihi peculiariter favens. Confluebant autem eventus videndi studio omnis ordinis homines, Abbates, Comites, Equites aurati, docti simul atque indocti, ut ex tot auditoriis, quot amplissima habet hæc schola, nullum tantæ multitudinis capax esset. Qua in re Principis providentia clarissime exstitit. Is enim quod futurum erat animo prospiciens, capacissimum illud atrium, quod est in arce, in præsentem usum destinatum apparari jusserat. Et quia invito Episcopo Merseburgense, reclamantibus Theologis nostris, partibus disputandi copiam fecerat, in se quoque omne procurandæ rei onus sponte suscepit. Dat negotium Senatui, ut pro hospitum dignitate hospitia procurent, et, ne in re tanta quid tumultus oboriatur, in armis esse jubet. Curantur omnia recte: præsertim cum Principis nomine x pater tuus non solum omnibus interesset, sed et præesset. Jam dies condita illuxerat, cum mane hora (ut hic numeramus) sexta in prosperiorem cœpti negotii successum, apud Divi Thomæ, Sacrum, omne genus musicis adhibitis, magnifice peragebatur. Post magnifica plane instructa pompa agminatim in arcem festinarunt omnes. Verum ne turba omnis citra delectum irrueret, armatis aliquot, qui fores obsidebant, cautum erat. Ut vero introgressi jam quisque pro suo ordine sedem cœperant, miser ego homuncio nonnihil adhuc febricitans per posticum intromissus suggestum ascendo, Principis nomine, et summa omnium exspectatione dicturus. Terrebat me primum, fateor, tantus tantorum hominum confessus, tanta omnium exspectatio, tanta tanti Principis persona: cui gerendæ ut par futurus essem, verebar. Dixi y tamen, si non magna cum laude, ita tamen ut cum optimis quibusque id Princeps ipse boni consuleret. Ubi jam peroratum esset, et jam omnes finem cuperent (effluxerant enim duæ pene clepsydræ) musici aliquot, meo consilio in hoc

* Id est *Fuggeri*.

x Cæsar Pflugius, Ducis Georgii Minister primarius. Ejus mentionem facit Seckendorffius, Hist. Luth. p. 89. et 389.

y Inseruit hanc Mosellani Orationem Ven. Loescherus Actis Reformationis. --- Edita ea primum fuerat Lipsiæ, et Ottoni à Pack inscripta, ipso illo anno 1519.

adornati, itidem per posticum introducti canticum illud, cuius initium est: *Veni, sancte Spiritus*, suavissimo concentu modulabantur, auditoribus omnibus in genua venerabunde procumbentibus. His quasi *ἀπογευαῖς* antemeridiano tempore consumto, in prandium discessum est, et per præconem totum auditorium a prandio redire iussum. Rediere omnes expectabundi. Caroloſtadius atque Eccius, uterque pro se ex more veniam præfati in arenam descendere. Inter hos certatum est de libero arbitrio, videlicet ut illud se haberet erga opus hominis salutare. Nam Caroloſtadius obtinere studebat, quicquid in dictis ac factis hominis salutare esset, id totum Deo ceu soli bonorum omnium fonti deberi; porro hominis voluntatem suo consensu nihil bonitatis addere, sed tantum cœlestis gratiæ influxum excipere: breviter Deum esse fabrum, nostrum arbitrium malleum, quo ille nostram salutem fabricet. Cui sententiæ haudquaquam absurdæ (si quid in his ipse intelligo) totum pene triduum ab Eccio reclamatum est, opus meritorium (sic enim vocare solebat) partim gratiæ, partim hominis voluntati tribuente. Huc tandem res devolvebatur, ut Eccius daret, totum opus bonum esse a Deo, sed non totaliter. — Quam distinctiunculam non tantum in præsens eluſit Caroloſtadius, sed et postea longissima epistola in vulgus edita frigidissimum commentum confutavit. — Successit Caroloſtadio Martinus, sustenturus hoc, Romanam Ecclesiam ejusque Episcopum cæteris superiorem probari tantum ex decretis nuper natis: contra quæ staret et Scripturæ et Niceni Concilii auctoritas. Quam sententiam ut everteret, Eccius nihil non tentavit, hucque omnes ingenii sui machinas admovit, et dies continuos octo impendit, obiter illud potissimum studens, ut plerisque Bojemicæ factionis articulis objectis, hominem in maiorem invidiam adduceret. Quas insidias statim intelligens Martinus, graviter et velut spiritu quodam infremuit, huc se *παρεργως* insidiosè trahi. Porro objecta dogmata partim magna cum indignatione rejecit, partim etiam ut Christiana amplectebatur, nifus ubique vel Scripturæ libratissimis testimoniis, vel veterum Conciliorum decretis. In summa, nihil tam studuit, quam Bojemici diffidii per se approbandi suspicionem procul a se amovere. Rursus Eccius in hoc erat totus, ut hanc de Martino opinionem omnibus ingereret, ipso Martino quantumvis reclamante. His et id genus aliis, de statu animarum in Purgatorio degentium, de pœnitentiæ scintilla timore, de ² condonationibus, viginti pene dies consumebantur — Itaque sic est discessum, ut utraque factio victoriæ palmam sibi vendicaret. Eccius enim triumphat apud omnes, qui vel *οἱ τοὶ λυγροὶ ἀνεροὶ* totum negotium non intelligunt, vel jam inde a pueris in Petro Hispano consenuerunt, vel qui alia aliqua ex causa Wittenbergenſibus male volunt. Martini ac Caroloſtadii victoria eo minus est celebris, quo docti et iudicio præditi sunt pauciores, et in suis rebus deprædicandis modestiores. Habes fabulam breviter et quasi saltuatim, multis parum ad causæ statum facientibus in medio relictis, a me tibi perscriptam. Sed quid? non plausum etiam attollis? ineptus fortasse tibi videor *ὑποκρίτης*, aut necdum satur plura expectas. Explebo igitur te vel ad fastidium uf-

² i. e. indulgentiis.

que his epulis, et ipsos belli hujus duces tibi quasi in tabula depictos ostendam. Martinus statura est mediocri, corpore gracilento, curis pariter ac studiis exhausto, sic, ut propius intuenti omnia pene ossa liceat dinumerare; ætate virili adhuc et integra: voce acuta et clara: doctrina vero et Scripturæ cognitio in eo admirabilis, adeo ut omnia pene in numero habeat. Græce et Hebraice hætenus didicit, ut de interpretationibus judicium facere possit. Nec ei deest dicendi materia; suppetit enim et rerum et verborum silva ingens. Judicium fortasse et utendi rationem in eo desideres. Porro in ipsa vita ac moribus civilis et facilis, nihil Stoicum, nihil superciliosum præ se fert, imo omnium horarum hominem agit: in congressibus festivus et jucundus nugator: alacris et securus, ubique et semper læta facie florens, quantumvis atrociam comminentur adversarii: ut haud facile credas, hominem tam ardua sine numine Divum moliri. Sed quod ei vitio dant plerique omnes, in reprehendendo imprudentior paulo et mordacior quam vel tutum sit τῷ τὰ θεῖα καὶ νομοῦν, vel decorum homini Theologo. Quod vitium haud scio, an non cum omnibus τοῖς ὀψιμαθείσιν habeat commune. Hæc pleraque omnia in Carolo studio paulo minora deprehendas: nisi quod huic statura est brevior, facies et nigricans et adusta, vox obscura et inamœna, memoria infirmior, et iracundia promptior. Jam Eccio status est procerus, corpus solidum et quadratum, vox plena et plane Germanica, lateribus fortissimis subnixa, ut non tragœdis tantum, sed et præconibus sufficere possit; aspera tamen magis, quam expressa. Tantum abest ut nativam illam Romani oris suavitatem, Fabio ac Ciceroni tantopere laudatam, referat. Os et oculi, totus denique vultus, sunt ejusmodi, ut hinc certe quemvis lanium aut Carem militem citius quam Theologum, possis agnoscere. Quod ad ingenium attinet, memoria pollet insigni: quæ si in parem incidisset intellectum, jam omnibus numeris naturæ opus fuisset absolutum. Deest homini intelligendi prompta vis, deest judicandi acumen: sine quo cæteræ dotes omnes frustra contingunt. Atque hæc causa est, quod, cum disputat, tot argumenta, tot Scripturæ testimonia, tot auctorum dicta citra ullum omnino delectum congerit, interim non advertens, quam pleraque sint frigida, quam suis locis recte intellecta ad præsens nihil faciant, quam denique sint ^a ἀπόκευφα, vel sophistica. Hoc enim tantum curat, ut copiosam farraginem spargens auditoribus magna ex parte stupidis fucum faciat, et victoriæ opinionem de se præbeat. Adde his incredibilem audaciam, quam admirabili tegit vafricie. Etenim si quando per hanc in adversarii laqueos incidisse se sentit, disputationem paulatim alio deflectit: nonnunquam vero et adversarii sententiam aliis verbis conceptam pro sua amplectens, absurdam suam in adversarium mirabili calliditate detorquet: ut quemvis Socratem vincere videri possit: nisi quod ille τὸ εἰρωνεύεσθαι professus nihil decernebat; hic Peripateticam sciendi fiduciam professus, τὴν ἀπορίαν exprimit. En tibi bona fide Apellem, si non, quam fuit ille, artificem, sedulum tamen et industrium. Jam vero animus erat et de meis rebus ad te perscribere. Sed quia vel hæc epistolæ modum excedunt, et

^a Id est, *supposititia*.

Decanus tuus major est, quam ut plurimis chartis sit onerandus, finem faciam, paucula prius aliena si adjecero. Non credis, quam pene omnes, ex quo huc concessimus, in Martinum mitiores redditi sint: imprimis ^b ὁ γραμματοφόρος: tantum abest, ut in eum quicquam scribat: quid enim scriberet γέρον παλίμπαις? Doctor Heinritz tuus de hoc negotio recte sentit, Doctor Gabelentz item, Henricus monachus, Doctor Hermestorf, Joannes de Maltitz, homo optimus, hoc est, tui simillimus. Cum reliquis non multum mihi nec rei est nec spei. At vero Archiepiscopus Trevirensis, cui Martini causa a Pontifice est commissa, homini non admodum vult male: id quod ex mutuo colloquio, cum nuper in patria ad prandium ab eo vocatus essem, didici. Hic Heros prudentissimus est, et animi plane magni; ut Romanenses istos nihil moretur. Franciscus de Sickengen, ille magnus in Germania ductor, Hogestratum ac suos sodales graviter urget, quo Capnioni nostro rei familiaris jacturam, quam propter eos fecit, intra statum tempus resarciant: alioqui se eos pariter et Coloniensem rempublicam afflicturnum. Devoluti enim sunt hostes Reuchlini in expensarum condemnationem, ut vocant. Ulrichus Huttenus Principis sui sumtibus Moguntiae trium linguarum scholam adornat. Vides quam paucis annis tota Germania literas coeperit amplecti. Et in hac laude Friderico, Principi Electori, primae debentur. Is jam ingentibus praemiis ^c Matthaeum Hadrianum, Hebraeum nostrae memoriae doctissimum suae linguae, medicum, e Lovanio Wittenbergam accersit. Quod Gymnasium, velimus nolimus, in Lipsiae perniciem, supra quam credi possit, accrescit: usque adeo, ut me Lipsiensium pœniteret, nisi spes quaedam in te tuique similibus juvenibus meliorum temporum ostenderetur. Paravit me in Treviris detinere nuper Princeps meus. Idem Erphurdenses aliquoties sunt conati. Nec Moguntia excipere nos dedignatur. Quid tu nobis suadeas, nescio. Ipse hoc animo sum, ut non libenter hirundinum ritu migrem ac remigrem. At Italia certe tituli Doctorei coëmendi causa omnino est adeunda: cui rei annum destinavi unum aut alterum, non amplius. Sed consilia in hac re mea ad te alias per otium scribam. Princeps mihi faventior reddi videtur, item pater tuus, cæterique magnates. Imprimis autem me fovet nunc exulem Reverendus Pater, Martinus, Abbas Cellensis, e cujus aedibus, quas Misnæ habet, hæc ad te scribo. Wolfgangus Fabricius Capito, doctissimus trium linguarum Theologus, Moguntinae Ecclesiae concionator lectus est: quod quæstuosum illic est sacerdotium, hætenus a Theologistis possessum. Theologia in pristinam sinceritatem strenue restituitur. Quod ut pro mea virili adjuvem, quatuor libros de Theologia Gregorii Nazianzeni in Latinum vertere coepi. Verum haud scio an feliciter. Nam his diebus scripsit Œcolampadius, concionator Augustanus, et se idem moliri: quare cupere se, ut meis literis de meo instituto certior reddatur; se enim si resciat nos idem conari, nobis cessurum. At me tanto viro cedere æquius, opinor, erit. Erasmus in Paulo illustrando commentariis versatur. Germania jam a bellis

^b Id est, Emserus.

^c Erat Judæus gente, religione Christianus. Videtur idem esse, quem laudavit Wolfius. --- De eo satis discas e Colomesii Hispania Orientali. De eodem multa collegit Kraftius.

quiescit

quiescit, sed pestilentia pene tota laborat. Vix angulum habemus, in quo tuti resideamus. Hæssum nostrum rectissime valere cupio, cui libellos Croci, quos cupit, jamdiu misissem, si haberi possent. Nusquam, quod sciam, prostant. Is noster Crocus in aula Regis sui agit, et me jam literis in Angliam vocat. Sed an fidendum sit nescio. Meas nugas, quas edidi, propterea ad vos non mitto, quod Italorum nasum metuam: tametsi Beatus Rhenanus ad me scripsit, eas Basileæ denuo excusas, a Calvo bibliopola istuc in Italiam deportari. Spigelio omnia fausta precor. Petrus^d Suavenius, Eques Pomeranus, meus discipulus, tui amantissimus, quia simillimus, te reverenter salutatur. Insinuabo te tuasque virtutes hic omnibus, præsertim doctis. Neque enim est aliquis in Germania celebriter doctus, cum quo mihi non intercedat familiaritas: Laus Superis. Plus mihi tribuitur, quam vel ipse agnoscam, vel hæc ætas et tenuitas capere possit. Tu bene vale, et longissimis literis per Decanum nobis responde. Tecum jam agerem in Italia, si de reditu tuo quicquam præscivissem, et in hoc res meas domi et hic cum Principe composuissem. Iterum vale. — Misinæ octavo Eidus Decembr. an. MDXIX, raptim ac celerrime, ut vides,

N^o. XVIII.

^e *Ph. Melanchthonis ad Jo. Oecolampadium Epistola de Colloquio Lipsiensi.*

— ^f **H**ÆC disceptandi provincia primum non ob aliud suscepta est, nisi ut palam fieret, inter veterem et Christi Theologiam, ac novitiam et Aristotelicam, quantum intersit. — Varia proculdubio fama ad vos perferet, quapropter fide historica, et^g quæ simplicissime subnotatis capitibus disceptationis agam. — Lipsiam veniunt Joannes Eckius Ingolstadiensis, Andreas Carolostadius et Martinus Lutherus Wittenbergenſes. — Congrediuntur Eckius et Carolostadius. De libero arbitrio propositum est. — His auctoribus primum didici, quid sit, quod veteres σοφιστεύειν dixerunt. Mirum hæc omnia, quo tumultu, quam tragice tractata sint, quo minus mirum est parum profectum esse. — Sub hæc et D. Martinus Lutherus in arenam descendit. — Agi cœptum est de Romani Pontificis auctoritate. — Posthæc de Purgatorio agicœptum, cujus quæstionis arbitror scopum ne attigisse quidem. — De Indulgentiis minore contentione disputatum est, imo ipsi Eckio jocum et ludum ciebant. Ad summum de pœnitentia actum est. — Cæterum apud nos magnæ admirationi plerisque fuit Eckius, ob varias et insignes ingenii dotes. Carolostadium e scriptis, credo, novisti. Bonus est vir, et rara doctrina, planeque nonnihil extra vulgi aleam

^d Hujus pro præceptore Petro Mosellano, Apologia, hoc ipso anno 1519. edita, exhibetur a Loescherio.

^e From Gerdesius H. Ev. Ren. tom. I. Append. p. 203.

^f Life of Erasmi. p. 157.

^g Read quam.

eruditus. In Luthero, longo jam usu mihi familiariter cognito, vivax ingenium, eruditionem et facundiam admiror, sincerum et pure Christianum animum non possum non deamare. — Scis, quod dici Græcis solet, πολέμῃ καὶ πολλῇ. Quare non est ut de hujus disceptationis eventu, neque famæ, neque iis qui in ea famæ studuerant, omnia credas.

Melancthon afterwards wrote a defence of himself, and of this Epistle, against *Eccius*, who, it seems, had been greatly, but unreasonably displeased at it. See *Epist. Melancthb.* p. 127. *Ed Lond.*

N^o. XIX.*A character of More.*

Erasmus Rot. Ulrico Hutteno S. D.

QUOD Thomæ Mori ingenium sic deamas, ac, pene dixerim, deperis, nimirum scriptis illius inflammatus, quibus, ut vere scribis, nihil esse potest neque doctius, neque festivius, istuc, mihi crede, clarissime *Hutteno*, tibi cum multis commune est, cum *Moro* mutuam etiam. Nam is vicissim adeo scriptorum tuorum genio delectatur, ut ipse tibi propemodum invidiam. Hæc videlicet est illa *Platonis* omnium maxime amabilis sapientia, quæ longe flagrantiores amores excitat inter mortales, quam ullæ quamlibet admirabiles corporum formæ. Non cernitur illa quidem oculis corporeis, sed et animo sui sunt oculi, ut hic quoque verum comperiatur illud Græcorum, ἐκ τῆς ὁρᾶς γίνεσθαι ἀνθρώποις ἐρᾶν. Per hos fit aliquoties, ut ardentissima charitate conglutinentur, inter quos nec colloquium, nec mutuus conspectus intercessit. Et quemadmodum vulgo fit, ut incertis de causis alia forma alios rapiat: ita videtur et ingeniorum esse tacita quædam cognatio, quæ facit ut certis ingeniis impense delectemur, cæteris non item. Cæterum, quod a me flagitas, ut tibi totum *Morum* velut in tabula depingam, utinam tam absolute præstare queam, quam tu vehementer cupis. Nam mihi quoque non injucundum fuerit, interim in amici multo omnium suavissimi contemplatione versari. Sed primum ὁ πᾶν ἀνδρὸς ἐστὶν omnes *Mori* dotes perspexisse. Deinde haud scio an ille laturus sit, a quolibet artifice depingi sese. Nec enim arbitror levioris esse operæ *Morum* effingere, quam *Alexandrum* magnum, aut *Achillem*, nec illi quam hic noster immortalitate digniores erant. Tale argumentum prorsus *Apellis* cujuspiam manum desiderat: at vereor, ne ipse *Fulvii Rutubæ*que similior sim quam *Apellis*. Experiar tamen tibi totius hominis simulacrum delineare verius quam exprimere, quantum ex diutina domesticaque consuetudine vel animadvertere licuit, vel meminisse. Quod si quando fiet, ut vos

^b It should be καὶ. Cicero ad Attic. V. 20. Scis enim dici quædam πᾶν καὶ: dici item τὰ καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ.

ⁱ Life of Erasmus. p. 174.

aliqua legatio committat, tum demum intelliges, quam non probum artificem ad hoc negotii delegeris, vereorque plane, ne me aut invidentiæ incuses, aut cæcutientiæ, qui ex tam multis bonis tam pauca vel viderim lippus, vel commemorare voluerim invidus. Atque ut ab ea parte exordiar, qua tibi Morus est ignotissimus, statura modoque corporis est infra proceritatem, supra tamen notabilem humilitatem. Verum omnium membrorum tanta est symmetria, ut nihil hic omnino desideres; cute corporis candida, facies magis ad candorem^k vergi, quam ad pallorem, quanquam a rubore procul abest, nisi quod tenuis admodum rubor ubique subluet, capilli subnigro flavore, sive mavis, sufflavo nigrore, barba rarior, oculi subcæsi, maculis quibusdam interspersi, quæ species ingenium arguere solet felicissimum, apud Britannos etiam amabilis habetur, cum nostri nigrore magis capiantur. Negant ullum oculorum genus minus infestari vitiis. Vultus ingenio respondet, gratam et amicam festivitatem semper præ se ferens, ac nonnihil ad ridentis habitum compositus; atque, ut ingenue dicam, appositior ad jucunditatem, quam ad gravitatem aut dignitatem, etiamsi longissime abest ab ineptia scurrilitateque. Dexter humerus paulo videtur eminentior lævo, præsertim cum incedit, id quod illi non accidit natura, sed assuetudine, qualia permulta nobis solent adhærere. In reliquo corpore nihil est quod offendant, manus tantum subrusticæ sunt; ita duntaxat, si ad reliquam corporis speciem conferantur. Ipse omnium quæ ad corporis cultum attinent semper a puero negligentissimus fuit, adeo ut nec illa magnopere curare sit solitus, quæ sola viris esse curanda docet Ovidius. Formæ venustas quæ fuerit adolescenti, nunc etiam libet ἐκ τῆς καλᾶμης conjicere: quanquam ipse novi hominem, non majorem annis viginti tribus, nam nunc non multum excessit quadragesimum. Valetudo prospera magis quam robusta, sed tamen quæ quantilibet laboribus sufficiat, honesto cive dignis, nullis aut certe paucissimis morbis obnoxia. Spes est vivacem fore, quando patrem habet admodum natu grandem, sed mire virenti vegetaque senectute. Neminem adhuc vidi minus morosum in delectu ciborum. Ad juvenilem usque ætatem aquæ potu delectatus est, id illi patrium fuit. Verum hac in re ne cui molestus esset, fallebat convivas e stanneo poculo cervisiam bibens, eamque aquæ proximam, frequenter aquam meram. Vinum, quoniam illic mos est ad idem poculum vicissim invitare sese, summo ore nonnunquam libabat, ne prorsus abhorre videretur, simul ut ipse communibus rebus assuesceret. Carnibus bubulis, fassamentis, pane secundario ac vehementer fermentato libentius vescebatur, quam his cibis, quos vulgus habet in deliciis. Alioqui neutiquam abhorrens ab omnibus quæ *volutatem* [voluptatem] innoxiam adferunt etiam corpori. Lactariorum, et eorum foetuum, qui nascuntur in arboribus, semper fuit appetentior; esum ovorum in deliciis habet. Vox neque grandis est, nec admodum exilis, sed quæ facile penetret aures, nihil habens canorum ac molle, sed plane loquentis est: nam ad musicam vocalem a natura non videtur esse compositus, etiamsi delectatur omni musices genere. Lingua mire explanata articulataque, nihil habens nec præceps nec hæsitans.

^k It should be *vergit*.

Cultu simplici delectatur, nec sericis, purpuræ, aut catenis aureis utitur, nisi cum integrum non est ponere. Dictum mirum, quam negligens sit ceremoniarum, quibus hominum vulgus æstimat morum civilitatem: has ut a nemine exigit, ita aliis non anxie præstat, nec in congressibus, nec in conviviiis, licet harum non sit ignarus, si lubeat uti. Sed muliebrem putat, viroque indignum, ejusmodi ineptiis bonam temporis partem absumere. Ab aula Principumque familiaritate olim fuit alienior, quod illi semper peculiariter invisa fuerit tyrannis, quemadmodum æqualitas gratissima. Vix autem reperias ullam aulam tam modestam, quæ non multum habeat strepitus atque ambitionis, multum fuci, multum luxus, quæque prorsus absit ab omni specie tyrannidis. Quin nec in Henrici octavi aulam pertrahi potuit, nisi multo negotio, cum hoc Principe nec optari quicquam possit civilius ac modestius. Natura libertatis atque otii est avidior, sed quemadmodum otio cum datur lubens utitur; ita quoties poscit res, nemo vigilantior aut patientior. Ad amicitiam natus factusque videtur, cujus et sincerissimus est cultor, et longe tenacissimus est. Nec ille metuit ^{ᾠδὴν} πολυφιλίαν ab Hesiodo parum laudatam. Nulli non patet ad necessitudinis fœdus. Nequaquam morosus in deligendo, commodissimus in alendo, constantissimus in retinendo. Si foris incidit in quempiam, cujus vitiis mederi non possit, hunc per occasionem dimittit, diffuens amicitiam, non abrumpens. Quos sinceros reperit, et ad ingenium suum appositos, horum consuetudine fabulisque sic delectatur, ut in his rebus præcipuam vitæ voluptatem ponere videatur. Nam a pila, alea, chartis, cæterisque lusibus, quibus vulgus procerum temporis tædium solet fallere, prorsus abhorret. Porro ut propriarum rerum est negligentior, ita nemo diligentior in curandis amicorum negotiis. Quid multis? si quis absolutum veræ amicitiae requirat exemplar, a nemine rectius petierit quam a Moro. In convictu tam rara comitas, ac morum suavitas, ut nemo tam tristi sit ingenio, quem non exhilaret: nulla res tam atrox, cujus tædium non discutiat. Jam inde a puero sic jocis est delectatus, ut ad hos natus videri possit, sed in his nec ad scurrilitatem usque progressus est, nec mordacitatem unquam amavit. Adolescens comœdiolas et scripsit et egit. Si quod dictum esset falsius etiam in ipsum tortum, tamen amabat; usque adeo gaudet salibus argutis, et ingenium redolentibus; unde et epigrammatis lusit juvenis, et Luciano cum primis est delectatus, quin et mihi ut Morias Encomium scriberem, hoc est, ut camelus saltarem, fuit auctor. Nihil autem in rebus humanis obvium est, unde ille non venetur voluptatem, etiam in rebus maxime feriis. Si cum eruditis et cordatis res est, delectatur ingenio: si cum indoctis ac stultis, fruitur illorum stultitia. Nec offenditur morionibus, mira dexteritate ad omnium affectus sese accommodans. Cum mulieribus fere, atque etiam cum uxore, non nisi lusus jocosque tractat. Diceret alterum quendam esse Democritum, aut potius Pythagoricum illum philosophum, qui vacuus animo per mercatum obambulans, contemplatur tumultus vendentium atque eumentium. Nemo minus ducitur vulgi judicio, sed rursus nemo minus abest a sensu commu-

¹ See Hesiod, *Eg.* 715.

ni. Præcipua illi voluptas est spectare formas ingenia et affectus diversorum animantium: proinde nullum fere genus est avium, quod domi non alat, si quod aliud animal vulgo rarum, veluti simia, vulpes, viverra, mustela, et his consimilia. Ad hæc si quid exoticum, aut alioqui spectandum occurrat, avidissime mercari solet, atque his rebus undique domum habet instructam, ut nusquam non sit obvium, quod oculos ingredientium demoretur: ac toties sibi renovat voluptatem, quoties alios conspicit oblectari. Cum ætas ferret, non abhorruit a puellarum amoribus, sed citra infamiam, et sic ut oblatis magis frueretur quam captatis, et animo mutuo caperetur, potius quam coitu. Bonas literas a primis statim annis hauserat. Juvenis ad Græcas literas ac philosophiæ studium sese applicuit, adeo non opitulante patre, viro alioqui prudenti proboque, ut ea conantem omni subsidio destitueret; ac pene pro abdicato haberet, quod a patriis studiis desciscere videretur, nam is Britannicarum legum peritiam profitetur. Quæ professio, ut est a veris literis alienissima: ita apud Britannos cum primis habentur magni clarique, qui in hoc genere sibi pararunt auctoritatem, nec temere apud illos alia via ad rem ac gloriam parandam magis idonea. Siquidem pleramque nobilitatem illius insulæ peperit hoc studiorum genus. In eo negant quenquam absolvi posse, nisi plurimos annos insudarit. Ab hoc igitur cum non injuria abhorreret adolescentis ingenium, melioribus rebus natum, tamen post degustatas scholasticas disciplinas, sic in hoc versatus est, ut neque consulerent quenquam libentius litigatores, neque quæstum uberiores faceret quisquam eorum, qui nihil aliud agebant. Tanta erat vis ac celeritas ingenii. Quin et evolvendis orthodoxorum voluminibus non segnem operam impendit. Augustini libros de Civitate Dei publice professus est adhuc pene adolescens auditorio frequenti, nec puduit nec pœnituit sacerdotes ac senes a juvene profano sacra discere. Interim et ad pietatis studium totum animum appulit, vigiliis, jejuniis, precationibus, aliisque consimilibus progymnasmatibus sacerdotum meditans. Qua quidem in re non paulo plus ille sapiebat, quam plerique isti, qui temere ad tam arduam professionem ingerunt sese, nullo prius sui periculo facto. Neque quicquam obstabat quominus sese huic vitæ generi addiceret, nisi quod uxoris desiderium non posset excutere. Maluit igitur maritus esse castus, quam sacerdos impurus. Tamen virginem duxit admodum puellam, claro genere natam, rudem adhuc, utpote ruri inter parentes ac sorores semper habitam, quo magis illi liceret illam ad suos mores fingere. Hanc et literis instruendam curavit, lit omni Musices genere doctam reddidit, planeque talem finxerat, quicum ebuisset universam ætatem exigere, ni mors præmatura puellam sustulisset e medio, sed enixam liberos aliquot, quorum adhuc supersunt puellæ tres, Margareta, Aloysia, Cecilia, puer unus Joannes. Neque diu cœlebs vivere sustinuit, licet alio vocantibus amicorum consiliis; paucis mensibus a funere uxoris viduam duxit magis curandæ familiæ quam voluptati, quippe nec bellam admodum nec puellam, ut ipse joculari solet, sed acrem ac vigilantem matrem familias, quicum tamen perinde comiter suaviterque vivit, ac si puella foret forma quantumlibet amabili. Vix ullus maritus a sua tantum obssequii impetrat imperio atque severitudine, quantum hic blanditiis jocisque.

Quid

Quid enim non impetret, posteaquam effecit, ut mulier jam ad senium vergens, ad hoc animi minime mollis, postremo ad rem attentissima, cithara, testudine, monochordo, tibiis canere disceret, et in hisce rebus quotidie præscriptum operæ pensum exigenti marito redderet? Consimili comitate totam familiam moderatur, in qua nulla tragœdia, nulla rixa. Si quid exstiterit, protinus aut medetur, aut componit. Neque quenquam unquam dimittit ut inimicum, aut ut inimicus. Quin hujus domus fatalis quædam videtur felicitas, in qua nemo vixit, qui non provectus sit ad meliorem fortunam, nullus unquam ullam famæ labem contraxit. Quin vix ullos reperias, quibus sic convenerit cum matre, ut huic cum noverca, nam pater jam alteram induxerat; utramque non minus adamavit, ac matrem. Nuper induxit tertiam, hac Morus sancte dejerat se nihil unquam vidisse melius. Porro erga parentes ac liberos, sororesque, sic affectus est, ut nec amet moleste, nec unquam desit officio pietatis. Animus est a fordido lucro alienissimus. Liberis suis semovit e facultatibus, quod illis satis esse putat, quod superest largiter effundit. Cum advocationibus adhuc aleretur, nulli non dedit amicum verumque consilium, magis illorum commodis prospiciens quam suis; plerisque solitus persuadere, uti litem componerent, minus enim hic fore dispendii. Id si minus impetrabat, tum rationem indicabat, qua possent quam minimo dispendio litigare, quando quibusdam hic animus est, ut litibus etiam delectentur. In urbe Londiniensi, in qua natus est, annos aliquot judicem egit in causis civilibus; id munus, ut minimum habet oneris (nam non sedetur nisi die Jovis usque ad prandium) ita cum primis honorificum habetur. Nemo plures causas absolvit, nemo se gessit integrius, remissa plerisque pecunia, quam ex præscripto debent, qui litigant. Siquidem ante litis contestationem actor deponit tres drachmas, totidem reus, nec amplius quicquam fas est exigere. His moribus effecit, ut civitati suæ longe charissimus esset. Decreverat autem hac fortuna esse contentus, quæ et satis haberet auctoritatis, nec tamen esset gravibus obnoxia periculis. Semel atque iterum extrusus est in legationem, in qua cum se cordatissime gessisset, non conquievit serenissimus Rex Henricus, ejus nominis octavus, donec hominem in aulam suam pertraheret. Cur enim non dicam pertraheret? Nullus unquam vehementius ambiit in aulam admitti, quam hic studevit effugere. Verum cum esset optimo Regi in animo familiam suam eruditis, gravibus, cordatis, et integris viris differtam reddere, cum alios permultos, tum Morum in primis accivit, quem sic in intimis habet, ut a se nunquam patiatur discedere. Sive feriis utendum est, nihil illo consultius; siue visum est Regi fabulis amœnioribus laxare animum, nullus comes festivior. Sæpe res arduæ judicem gravem et cordatum postulant, has sic Morus discutit, ut utraque pars habeat gratiam. Nec tamen ab eo quisquam impetravit, ut munus a quoquam acciperet. Felices res publicas, si Mori similes magistratus ubique præficeret Princeps. Nec interim ullum accessit supercilium. Inter tantas negotiorum moles, et veterum amiculorum meminit, et ad literas adamas subinde redit. Quicquid dignitate valet, quicquid apud amplissimum Regem gratia pollet, id omne juvandæ Reipublicæ, juvandis amicis impendit. Semper quidem adfuit animus de cunctis

bene merendi cupidissimus, mireque pronus ad misericordiam : eum nunc magis exserit, quando potest plus prodesse. Alios pecunia sublevat, alios auctoritate tuetur, alios commendatione provehit : quos alioqui juvare non potest, his consilio succurrit, nullum unquam a se tristem dimisit. Diceres Morum esse publicum omnium inopum patronum. Ingens lucrum sibi putat accessisse, si quem oppressum sublevavit, si perplexum et impeditum explicuit, si alienatum redegit in gratiam. Nemo lubentius collocat beneficium, nemo minus exprobrat. Jam cum tot nominibus sit felicissimus, et felicitatis comes fere soleat esse jactantia, nullum adhuc mortalium mihi videre contigit, qui longius abesset ab hoc vitio. Sed ad studiorum commemorationem redeo, quæ me Moro, mihiq; Morum potissimum conciliarunt. Primam ætatem carmine potissimum exercuit, mox diu luctatus est, ut prosam orationem redderet molliorem, per omne scripti genus stylum exercens, qui cujusmodi sit, quid attinet commemorare ? tibi præsertim, qui libros ejus semper habeas in manibus. Declamationibus præcipue delectatus est, et in his, materiis adoxis, quod in his acrior sit ingeniorum exercitatio. Unde adolescens etiamnum dialogum moliebatur, in quo Platonis communitatem ad uxores usque defendit. Luciani Tyrannicidæ respondit, quo in argumento me voluit antagonistam habere : quo certius periculum faceret, ecquid profecisset in hoc genere. Utopiam hoc consilio edidit, ut indicaret quibus rebus fiat, ut minus commode habeant Respublicæ, sed Britannicam potissimum effinxit, quam habet penitus perspectam cognitamque. Secundum librum prius scripserat per otium, mox per occasionem primum adjecit ex tempore. Atque hinc nonnulla dictionis inæqualitas. Vix alium reperias, qui felicius dicat ex tempore, adeo felici ingenio felix lingua subservit. Ingenium præsens et ubique prævolans, memoria parata, quæ cum omnia habeat velut in numerato, promte et incunctanter suggerit quicquid tempus aut res postulat. In disputationibus nihil fingi potest acutius, adeo ut summis etiam Theologis sæpe negotium facebat, in ipsorum arena versans. Joannes Coletus, vir acris, exactique judicii, in familiaribus colloquiis subinde dicere solet, *Britanniæ non nisi unicum esse Ingenium* ; cum hæc insula tot egregiis ingeniis floreat. Veræ pietatis non indiligens cultor est, etiamsi ab omni superstitione alienissimus. Habet suas horas, quibus Deo litet precibus, non ex ^m more, sed e pectore depromptis. Cum amicis sic fabulatur de vita futuri seculi, ut agnoscas illum ex animo loqui, neque sine optima spe. Ac talis Morus est etiam in aula. Et postea sunt, qui putent Christianos non inveniri nisi in monasteriis. Tales viros cordatissimus Rex in familiam suam atque adeo in cubiculum non solum admittit, verum etiam invitat, nec invitat modo, verum etiam pertrahit. Hos habet arbitros ac testes perpetuos vitæ suæ, hos habet in consiliis, hos habet itinerum comites. Ab his stipari gaudet, potius quam luxu perditis juvenibus, aut mulierculis, aut etiam torquatis Midis, aut insinceris officiis, quorum alius ad voluptates ineptas avocet, alius ad tyrannidem inflammet, alius ad expilandum populum novas technas

^m Some may conjecture, *ex ore* ; but it is not necessary to alter the place.

suggerat

fuggerat. In hac aula si vixisses, Huttene, sat scio, rursus aliam aulam describeres, et *misfaulos* esse desineres, quanquam tu quoque cum eo Principe vivis, ut integriorem nec optare possis. Neque defunt qui rebus optimis faveant, veluti Stromerus ac Copus. Sed quid ista paucitas ad tantum examen insignium virorum, Montjoii, Linacri, Pacæi, Coleti, Stocschleii, Latimeri, Mori, Tonstalli, Clerici, atque aliorum his adsimilium? quorum quemcumque nominaris, mundum omnium virtutum ac disciplinarum semel dixeris. Mihi vero spes est haudquaquam vulgaris, fore ut Albertus, unicum his temporibus nostræ Germaniæ ornamentum, et plures sui similes in suam allegat familiam, et cæteris Principibus gravi sit exemplo, ut idem et ipsi suæ quisque domi facere studeant. Habes imaginem ad optimum exemplar a pessimo artifice non optime delineatam. Ea tibi minus placebit, si continget Morum nosse propius. Sed illud tamen interim cavi, ne mihi possis impingere, quod tibi minus paruerim, neve semper opprobres nimium breves epistolas. Etiam si hæc nec mihi scribenti visa est longior, nec tibi legenti, sat scio, proluxa videbitur: id faciet Mori nostri suavitas. Verum, ne nihil ad postremam tuam epistolam respondeam, quam prius excusam legi quam scriptam, clarissimi Principis Alberti humanitatem ex ipsius etiam ad me literis intellexi. Sed qui, quæso, factum, ut patera prius ad omnes pervenerit tuis literis quam ad me? Certe per neminem certius mittere poteras, quam per Richardum Pacæum, serenissimi Angliæ Regis Oratorem, sive me haberet Brabantia, sive Britannia. Tu, quantum video, et calamo et ense gnaviter belligeraris, nec minus tamen feliciter, quam fortiter. Nam apud Cardinalem Cajetanum audio te magnam etiam iniisse gratiam. Capnioni bene esse gaudeo. Francisci Sichnii nomen non finent emori literæ, nisi velint ingratitude postulari. De rebus nostris alias: nunc illud tantum. Res hic sordidissimis sycophantiis agitur, quibus artibus ut imparem me fatear, necesse est. Si quis est isthic, qui cupiat artem sycophanticam discere, indicabo illi quendam hujus disciplinæ mirum artificem, quem huic rei plane natum dicas. Minus bonus orator Cicero, quam hic sycophanta: et reperit dociles multos apud nos. Nondum tempus est, verum brevi vobis hominem commendabo, ut quo dignus est, quodque misere ambit, omnium eruditorum literis celebretur, portentum verius quam homo. Bene vale. Antuerpia 23 Julii, Anno 1519.

Ep. 447.

Nº. XX.

N^o. XX.*A character of More.**Erasmus Rot. Guil. Budæo, S. D.*

— ⁿ **E** S T quod Moro gratuleris : nam Rex hunc, nec ambientem, nec flagitantem, munere magnifico honestavit, addito salario nequaquam poenitendo : est enim Principi suo a Thesauris. Ea functio apud Britannos, ut est splendida cum primis atque honorifica, ita non admodum est obnoxia nec invidiæ, nec molestis negotiis. Erat ^o competitor, homo sat gratiofus, qui sic ambiebat hoc muneris, ut non gravaretur suo victu ciboque gerere. At Rex optimus hic certissimum in Morum favoris argumentum dedit, qui non ambienti salarium etiam addere maluerit, quam gratuitum magistratum admittere. Nec hoc contentus Princeps benignissimus, equitis aurati dignitatem adjecit. Neque dubitandum est, quin illum sit amplioribus ornamentis aliquando cumulaturus, quum sese offeret occasio. Siquidem cœlibes evehere longe proclivius est Principibus. At Morus sic est admixtus ordini conjugum, ut nec uxoris obitu sit emancipandus. Priorem enim, quam virginem duxerat, extulit, et hanc viduus viduam duxit. Sed hunc Principis animum hoc magis gratulor Moro, quod quicquid huic accesserit vel auctoritatis vel gratiæ, id existimem bonis studiis accedere, quibus ille sic favet, ut si pares essent animo facultates, non deesset apud Britannos felicibus ingeniis candidus ac benignus Mæcenas. Solent aulæ Principum idem facere quod Medici, qui corpus sibi traditum primum inaniunt, mox implent ac vegetant. Nec dubito quin Moro nostro simile quippiam acciderit hætenus. Quid tibi venerit usu, tute melius nosti. Et tamen illius benignitatem senserunt ingenia, quum adeo non abundaret illi quod largiretur, ut ære gravaretur alieno. Nec hac parte solum ornat studia, quod ipse doctissimus cãdide favet doctis omnibus, verum etiam quod universam familiam honestissimis literarum studiis excolendam curat, novo quidem hætenus exemplo, sed quod brevi plures, ni fallor, sint imitaturi : adeo feliciter succedit. Habet filias tres, quarum maxima natu, Margareta, jam nupta est juveni, primum beato, deinde moribus integerrimis ac modestissimis, postremo non alieno a nostris studiis. Omnes a teneris annis curavit imbuendas, primum castis ac sanctis moribus, deinde politioribus literis. Filiabus tribus quartam adjunxit puellam, quam benignitatis gratia alit, ut illis sit sodalis. Habet privignam mira forma raroque ingenio puellam, annos jam aliquot nuptam juveni non indocto, sed cujus moribus nihil sit magis aureum. Habet filium ex uxore priore, natum annos plus minus tredecim, ex liberis natu minimum. Ante annum visum est Moro mihi

ⁿ Life of Eraslm. p. 284.

• Who was he ?

specimen aliquod exhibere, quantum in literis profecissent. Jussit ut omnes ad me scriberent, et quidem suo quisque Marte: nec argumentum est suppeditatum, nec in sermone quicquam est correctum; etenim cum illi schedas obtulissent patri castigandas, ille velut offensus incommoda scriptura, jussit ut eadem accuratius ac purius describerent. Id ubi factum est, ne syllaba quidem mutata, literas obsignatas ad me misit. Crede mihi, Budæe, nihil æque sum admiratus. In sensibus nihil erat ineptum aut puellare: sermo talis, ut sentires esse quotidie proficientium. Hunc chorum amabilem una cum sponsis duobus domi habet. Nullam illic videbis otiosam, nullam ineptiis muliebribus occupatam. Illis T. Livius est in manibus. Nam eo progressæ sunt, ut auctores hujusmodi legant et intelligant citrà interpretem, nisi si quod incidat verbum, quod me quoque fortassis aut mei similem fuerat remoraturum. Uxor, ingenio magis ac rerum usu quam eruditione valens, mira dexteritate moderatur omne collegium, *ἐργασίας* cujuspiam vicibus fungens, pensum cuique præscribens atque exigens, neque finens cessare quemquam, nec frivolis occupari. Soles in literis tuis subinde queri, quod tua causa male audiret philologia, quæ tibi duo mala conciliaffet, valetudinis ac rei familiaris dispendium. At Morus hoc agit, ut omnibus nominibus, et apud omnes bene audiat, hoc literis debere se prædicans, quod prosperiore sit valetudine, quod optimo Principi, quod suis et exteris charus et gratosus, quod re lautiore, quod sibi, quod amicis jucundior, quod patriæ, quod cognatis et affinibus utilior, quod ad aulæ commercium, quod ad procerum convictum, quod ad omnem vitæ consuetudinem accommodatior, denique quod Superis gratior. Primum male audiebant studia, quod sensum communem adimerent addicto cultori. Nulla est profectio, nulla negotia tam multa, tam ardua, quæ libellos Moro de manibus excutiant, et tamen vix alium reperies, qui magis sit omnibus omnium horarum homo, qui ad obsequium facilius, ad congressus magis obuius, in colloquio magis alacer, quique tantum veræ prudentiæ cum tanta morum suauitate conjunxerit. Quibus rebus factum est, ut quum ante paucos dies literarum amor ad omne vitæ vel præsidium, vel ornamentum haberetur inutilis, nunc nemo pene sit magnatum, qui liberos ut majorum imaginibus dignos agnoscat, nisi bonis literis eruditos. Quin et Monarchis ipsis bona regaliū decorum pars abesse videtur, in quibus literarum peritia desideretur. Jam neminem fere mortalium non habebat hæc persuasio, sexui foeminino literas et ad castitatem et ad famam esse inutiles. Nec ipse quondam prorsus ab hac abhorruī sententia; verum hanc mihi Morus penitus excussit animo. Etenim quum duabus rebus potissimum periclitetur puellarum castitas, otio ac lasciuvis lusibus, ab horum utroque literarum arcet amor. Nec alia res melius tuetur famam integram, quam mores incontaminati. Nec ullæ firmitus castæ sunt, quam quæ judicio castæ sunt. Neque vero improbo consilium eorum, qui manuariis operis prospiciunt pudicitiae filiarum. Verum nulla res sic totum puellæ pectus occupat, ut studium. Atque hinc præter hoc fructus, quod animus ab otio pernicioso prohibetur, hauriuntur optima præcepta, quæ mentem ad virtutem et instituunt et inflamment. Multis simplicitas et rerum inscitia pudicitiae jacturam attulit,

lit, priusquam scirent quibus rebus tantus thesaurus periclitaretur. Neque video cur maritis sit metuendum, ne minus habeant morigeras, si doctas habeant, nisi si qui tales sint, ut ea velint exigere ab uxoribus, quæ non sunt exigenda a probis matronis. Imo mea sententia nihil est intractabilius incititia. Certe hoc præstat animus cultura studiorum exercitatus, ut intelligat æquas probasque rationes, videatque quid deceat, quid expediat. Atqui propemodum persuasit, qui rem docuit. Ad hæc quum jucunditas firmitasque conjugii magis ab animorum benevolentia, quam corporum amore proficiscatur, multo tenacioribus vinculis junguntur, quos ingeniorum quoque charitas copulat: magisque veretur maritum uxor, quem agnoscit et præceptorem. Néc ideo minus habebit pietatis, quia minus habebit superstitionis. Equidem malo talentum auri puri, quam tria talenta multo plumbo scoriaque vitiata. Audimus passim alias mulierculas sic a concione redeunt, ut prædicent mirifice fuisse concionatum qui dixit, ac vultum hominis graphice depingunt. Cæterum neque quid dixerit, neque quale sit quod dixit, recensere possunt. Hæ tibi totam pene concionem ordine referunt non sine delectu; si quid stulte, si quid impie, si quid extra rem effutiit Ecclesiastes, quemadmodum hodie non raro fieri videmus, id norunt vel ridere, vel negligere, vel detestari. Atque hoc demum est audire sacras conciones. Cum hujusmodi demum vere jucundum est convivere. Plurimum enim ab istis dissentio, qui conjuges non in alium usum habent, quam ad obsequium voluptatis, quam ad rem magis appositæ sunt semifatuae. Pectus habeat oportet, quæ familiam contineat in officio, quæ liberorum mores fingat ac formet, quæ marito per omnia satisfaciat. Cæterum cum proximo colloquio illud objecissem Moro, quod si quid humanitus accideret, fore ut gravius disaceruaretur earum desiderio, in quibus instituendis tantum insumsisset operæ, respondit incunctanter, si quid acciderit, quod vitari non potest, malim eas mori doctas quam indoctas. Moxque mihi venit in mentem Phocionis, ni fallor, apophthegma, cui bibituro cicutam cum uxor acclamaret, Mi vir, innocens morieris: Quid, inquit, ais, uxor, an me malles nocentem mori? Interim illa cogitatio subiit animum meum, ut vos duos ceu duces quosdam eximios in hoc laudis genere componam, veluti si quis Camillum committat cum Scipione Africano. Tu et pluribus annis et iniquiore seculo cum literarum hostibus es conflictatus, hoc certe calculo Moro superior. Cæterum quod tu in filiis tantum ac fratribus ausus es moliri, hoc ille non dubitat et in uxoribus et in filiabus facere, fortiter contempta novi exempli invidia. Quo nomine vicissim ille te præcellit. Tu rursus libris editis utriusque literaturæ proventum magis auxisti quam ille, copiosius etiam, uti nobis pollicemur, in posterum aucturus, si modo coeperis opes tuas e scriniis depromtas in populum elargiri. Quanquam et a Moro magnum aliquid exspectat juvenus, quod ille multum adhuc absit a senectute, et patrem habet non minorem annis octoginta, mire virenti senectute, ut vix alium reperias, qui bellius gestet ætatem. Unde licet et Moro longævitatē ominari. Video qua in re plurimum adjumenti possis adferre Græcanicis studiis, nimirum si copiosissimo Lexico nobis non tantum recenseas vocabula, verum etiam idiomata, et Græci sermonis tropos non

non quibuscumque notos et obvios explices. Est quidem, fateor, hoc argumentum humiliter et infra tuam dignitatem, sed arbitror esse boni viri, publicæ utilitatis gratia semet aliquo usque demittere, quod a sapienti suo exigit Plato. Aleander jam diu apud nos est, sed hujus hactenus nobis maligna fuit copia, quod fategerit in hoc Lutherano negotio, in quo sane fortem ac strenuum virum se præbuit. Hoc ubi defunctus erit, imo quia jam prope defunctus est, licebit aliquoties hominis consuetudine frui, non minus amœna quam erudita. Vives in stadio literario non minus feliciter quam gnaviter decertat, at si satis ingenium hominis novi, non conquiescet, donec omnes a tergo reliquerit. Amo vos omnes, quod Brixium vestro consilio viceritis, et illum amo, quod se amicorum judiciis permiserit. Morus adeo nihil molietur hostile, ut ne meminerit quidem superioris conflictationculæ. Valde mihi placuit, quod ad exemplum tuum, sese bilinguibus epistolis exercet: nec dubito quin illi sit successurum quod tu sane juveniliter, sed felicissime primus es ausus, et apud Gallos, et hoc seculo. Ejus literis non minus humanis quam eruditis respondebo, si quid dabitur otii. Hæc scripsimus ex rure Anderlacensi, quando tuo exemplo provocati, cœpimus et ipsi rusticari; sed utinam liceat et tuo exemplo ædificare. Utcumque habet, sic mihi successit hæc rusticatio, ut posthac singulis annis eam sim repetiturus. Bene vale. Anderlaco, Anno 1521.

Ep. 605.

Nº. XXI.

A letter of Hutten to Erasmus.

HUTTENUS Erasmo suo S. Tuas infinitas ad me epistolas non vidi: nam unam accepi in exercitu cum Tubingam obsideremus, eamque perbreve: quod videre te oportet, cui infinitas illas committas. Verum de eo, quem huc cum libro ^r Principi offerendo misisti, nihil est quod sollicitus sis: omnia pertulit. Neque ego segnius rem curavi tuam; et Principem habui ad id negotium alacrem. Non egebat præconio meo tuum munus; ornabat ipsum semet abunde. Ut legendo percurreret: En dignam, inquit, Erasmo rem! sic ille ut diu faciat, diu nobis supersit! precatusque est felicitatem tibi omnem, plenus optimæ de te spei. Quippe intelligit quam tu lucem studiis, quod studiosis commodum invehas. Venit post Stromer; nam in Saxonia uxorem duxerat, neque statim secutus erat aulam, qui quum tua alioquin omnia, magis quam ^s credas aliquis, admiretur, tum vel in primis hoc opus adorat. Gregorium Coppum, alterum Principis medicum, fecisti totum Erasmicum. Habet tuos labores in manibus semper, legitque, ut vix alius, avide. Hoc nomine irascuntur

^p This letter was printed in some editions of Erasmus *De ratione veræ Theologiæ*. I have taken it from Burckhard's Life of Hutten. T. iii. p. 167. It was written A. 1519.

^q Life of Erasmi. p. 202.

^r Alberto Archiep. Moguntinensi, &c.

^s Perhaps credit.

tibi multi, quod ex Medicis aiunt Theologos facere te. Jam et Jureconsultis molestus es, quosdam a Bartolo transversos agens, qui in tuis nunc otiantur, relicto penitus foro. Eandem cladem Theologistarum studio quum intuleris, adhuc miraris quod te oderint? faciunt ipsum hoc suo quodam jure: nam bene raro faciunt aliquid. Fuit totum hic mensem rumor, et credo ad vos usque pervenit, in bello occubuisse me. Hoc illi exultabant, hoc triumphabant. Quod si mihi accidisset, certum habeo, a Christo hoc impetrasse se, dicturos fuisse. Jam scio enim, male precari nobis. Legi Dialogum Latomi, et risi. Tu vero non debes putare te hoc perdidisse tempus, quod scribendæ Apologiæ dedisti; nam id nobis magni lucri vice fuit. Quod scribis de Ferdinando, mire placet, studia nostra amare adolescentem. Erexisti animum mihi speranti fore ut orbis capita adversus barbariem nobiscum conspirent. Albertus Cardinalis strenue nos tuetur, meque adhuc habet liberaliter; et tui desiderio tenetur maximo. Inique facis, qui te non offers illi; non credens mihi toties clamitanti propensam illius erga te benignitatem. Mihi commisit munus, quo te vicissim honorat. Patera est ex argento deaurato, præter id quod pondere permagna est, arte adhuc commendabilis. Non judicabis indignum Principe munus: quamquam ipse dicat, hoc se dare fugienti tibi, daturum, si quando accedas, ampliora multa; vocatque *Amoris* hoc *Poculum*. Ipse quo tibi mittam dubius sum. Nam in Angliam aiunt abire te. Scribe quid fieri velis de Patera primum, deinde quid tibi proponas. Belli prospere omnia evenerunt. Magno Germaniam periculo, publico metu liberavimus. Quid magnopere curemus enim, quod vivat ille, cui, quia ademimus omnia, vivendum misere est? totam aliquando rem leges. Stutgardia Capnionem conveni, positum magno in timore. Militares furores metuebat bonus pater. Sed ego, Francisco ductore apud duces intercedente, caveram, si vi capienda Stutgardia esset, in exercitu ut proclamaretur, Capnionis penetibus ne quis noceret. Hoc nescis quantum ille et quale beneficium interpretetur: quum ego conscius mihi sim, officii mei fuisse ut viderem ne quid pateretur se indignum vir doctissimus atque optimus. Præcipue eo in negotio magnitudinem suam ostendit Franciscus, vir, qualem diu non habuit Germania; et qui meretur ut eum tuis quoque literis posteritati commendes. Mihi quidem spes est, magnam hoc ex viro laudem accessuram huic nationi. Nihil in antiquis admiramur, quod non studiose imitetur ille. Viget in homine consilium, viget eloquentia: alacriter omnia adgreditur: industria est, qualem in summo Duce quæras: nihil humiliter dicit; nihil facit. Et jam forte rem molitur longe pulcherrimam. Deus opt. max. fortissimi viri conatus adjuvet. Mecum ipse Capnionem adfatus est perquam familiariter, qui nos salutando *Flagellum Dei* appellabat. Promisitque Franciscus opem nobis omnem suam. Quid multa? Intelligis quale nobis ex illo præsidium esse possit: in primis Capnionem non patietur opprimi. Hæc magna nobis fiducia esto. Vale, mihi que ocyssime scribe de rebus communibus copiose. Quid enim breves tuas epistolas mihi objicis? Iterum vale. Moguntia.

: Ulrichus Wirtenberg. Dux,

y Sickingio;

N^o. XXII.*Letters against Lee.*

IN a collection of Tracts in Quarto, which was put into my hands by a Friend, there is, besides some pieces of Erasmus, and a Dialogue of Jacobus Latomus, a Book called :

* *Epistolæ aliquot eruditorum virorum, ex quibus perspicuum quanta sit Eduardi Lei virulentia. Basileæ, ex Ædibus Joannis Frobenii, A. 1520.*

It contains :

1. A letter of Hermannus Nuenarius to Erasmus.
2. Of Erasmus to Lupset; which is in the Edition of Leyden, Ep. 481. c. 523.
- * 3. Of Lupset to Nefenus.
- * 4. Of Nefenus to Lupset: with two epigrams of Contr. Goclenius against Lee.
- * 5. Of More to Lee.
- * 6. Of Lupset to Lee.
- * 7. Of Lupset to Paynell.
8. Of More to Lee.
9. Of More to Lee.
10. Of Pace to Lee.
- * 11. Of Bonif. Amorbachius to Erasmus.
- * 12. Of More to an anonymous Monk. In this long and elegant letter, there is nothing against Lee.
13. Of Marquard de Hasten to Colet.
- * 14. Of Capito to Erasmus.
15. Of Listerius to Rhenanus.
16. Of Hutten to Lee.
17. Of Buschius to Erasmus; which in the Ed. of Leyden, is Ep. 513. c. 559.
18. Of Pirckheimer to Erasmus; which in the Ed. of Leyden, is Ep. 504. c. 549.
19. Of Pace to Erasmus.
20. Of Engentinus to Erasmus.
21. Of Zasius to Rhenanus.
22. Of Volzius to Dorpius.
23. Of Beatus Rhenanus to Spiegellius.
24. Of Sapidus to Lee.
25. Of Henner to Herm. Buschius.
26. Of Buschius to Henner: with a poem against Lee.

Then follows another Book, without the name of the place or printer. The title is :

* Life of Erasmi. p. 98.

B b b 2

Epistolæ

Epistolæ aliquot Eruditorum, nunquam antebac excusæ, multis nominibus dignæ quæ legantur a bonis omnibus, quo magis liqueat quanta sit insignis cujusdam Sycophantæ virulentia.

This is a smaller collection, containing only those eight letters above-mentioned, which are marked thus,*.

The same Friend lent me a collection of poems against Lee. It is a very thin book in Quarto.

In Edvardum Leum quorundam e sodalitate literaria Erphurdienſi Erasmici nominis studioſorum Epigrammata. Moguntia M. D. XX.

These books are very scarce. I imagine that Lee and his friends destroyed as many copies as fell into their hands. From this collection of letters I have here given five, addressed to Erasmûs.

Nº. XXII.

I.

Doctissimo Erasmo Roterodamo Theologo Hermannus y Nuenarius Comes, S. D.

PR O D I I T tandem larvatus iste Leus, non Leo, sed Asinus ille Cumanus, cujus rugitus toto biennio studiosis hominibus magnum minabatur periculum. Sed nunc demum minus nobis incussit terroris illius ferox conspectus, quam qui de illo sonitus ferebatur. ὁ γὰρ Λεῖς ἔστι, ὃν ἡμεῖς ὡς ἄγριόν τι καὶ μάλα θυμολέον ἐφοβήσαμεν, εἰδ' ὀνύχας εἰδὲ κράτος ἔχει, μόνον δὲ καὶ τῷ σώματι ἀμέτρητον ὄν, ἀναθλῆναι καὶ πάντῃ γελῆναι, πρὸς τὴν μάχην εἰσεπήδησεν. ^a Hæc sunt illæ adnotationes cœlum atque terram (si Diis placet) obturbaturæ? Hic ille triumphus de quo tantam tragœdiam præluserunt apud nos atrati quidam? Quod si sic triumphant, Leo ac suis plausoribus, nihil aliud his optamus, quam perpetuo ut agant triumphos. Cum primum huc perlata sunt exemplaria Leicarum adnotationum, cœpimus conferre loca Gerardus noster et ego, anxii interim, ne id esset Leus quod dicebatur. Sed vidimus statim rem in tuto esse. Nihil enim nisi meram invidiam, et odii fraterni seminaria continet hæc seditiosa charta. Cæcus ira odioque non intelligit quid loquatur, sed fundit sine mente sonum. Apologiam illius ideo nolui perlegere, quod videbatur mihi Christianas aures ferre vix posse tam contentiosam objurgationem, quæ parum contineret eruditionis, multo minus utilitatis, prorsus vero nihil charitatis. Nunquam mihi sic displicuerunt sophistica hæc ingenia, etsi displicuerint semper illa, quod ad excitandas in religione Christiana turbas seditionesque, et ad publicam pacem pervertendam nata. Si hoc est sacras profiteri literas, quem non pudeat Christianum dici? Si his artibus ornatur Theologiæ studium, quid non

^y Life of Erasmi. p. 129.

^z Read γελοῖος.

^a Read Hæc.

esse malim quam Theologus? Est enim temperantiæ quædam ratio, quam ne vulgus quidem mortalium facile transgreditur; sed hæc adeo nihil obtinet loci apud quosdam qui se Theologiæ ornant ἐπιθέτω, ut incidere in latrones, quam in horum manus præstare videatur. Expertus hæc Capnion noster vix etiamnum respirat. Hoc ego malum sensi: eadem te fors manet, o Erasme. Me nihil æque pudet quam non tacuisse; requiro nunc meam modestiam: sed quis non aliquando limitem excedat temperantiæ, nimirum tantopere provocatus? Tu vero germanum veri Theologi animum geres, nec acceptam dissimulabis, nec agnitam atrocius ulcisceris injuriam, ut salva tibi maneat Theologicæ et gravitatis et modestiæ palma; neque quid egerit ille curandum tibi est, sed quod te deceat, quod bona studia promoveat, quod nos ornet. Hæc cum mihi monitor esses nuper tu ipse sentiebas, et erat sane digna te sententia, qua meæ modestiæ consultum cupiebas; nunc invicem moneri a me, et quidem tuis verbis, non feres gravate, καίτοι πρεσβύτης ὑπὸ νέῃς. Augebit fiduciam atque spem X. Leonis Pont. patrocinium, sub quo quantum incrementi bona studia ceperint, nemo tam stupidus est, qui non intelligat. Porro pro Cæsare Maximiliano ortum est nobis Sidus Carolinum, in quo paternus et avitus adhuc splendor relucet, imo, si dicere licet, in quo parentum radii velut in sole quodam luculentissimo deficiunt. De Germanis nostris polliceor tibi faustissima, tot habet hæc natio principes, satrapas, cives plebeios in bonis artibus versatos et candidos ut alia nulla. Pauci adhuc restant^b πτωχοὶ κολοιοὶ καὶ μέλανες ἄνδρες, illa filix nullo mansuescit aratro. Sunt qui putent ab iis subornatum esse Leum, quo ad hoc negotium perficiendum velut emissario abuterentur, interim ipsi in suis culinis satis tuti. Quod hominum genus quo pacto nobis exemplum patientiæ exhibeat Christi, satis exploratum tibi credo, nam et ipsos suis coloribus depinxisti. Deus vero hoc nunc agit, quod in apologo^c ἡ μὲν ὄντι ἐν τοῖς πειθήκοις. Sed caveat sibi ne reliquum fabellæ absolvat, priorem enim partem satis infelicitate lusit. Apologiam tuam avide expectamus, fac ut exeat brevi, et clamorosas istas obtere ranas. Qua in re si quid est quod ipse tibi præstare queam, non deero; me semper fidum experieris Achatem. Satis felicem me puto si ab hoc hominum genere persecutiones sustineam, εἶναι γὰρ τῆς ἀκακίας ἀκόλουθός ποθῶ. Adventum tuum ad proximum ver expectamus. Nulla hic pestilientia grassatur, qua absterri debere; tantum huc advola, et inter nemora Bedburtina miscebimus prolixiorum de nostris rebus sermonem. Nam multa adhuc dicenda restant. Vel si libebit invisere nostrum Principem, accedes mecum, factururus illi proculdubio rem gratissimam. Favent tibi in illius aula primarii, ipse quoque Princeps de te honorificentissime sentit, ac itidem factitant illius germani fratres. Breviter nobilitas Germaniæ ad mentem redit, incipit nunc odisse barbariem, amplecti candorem. Meus frater cum tota familia et cognatione te observant. Vale feliciter. Coloniae XIIII Martii, Anno 1520.

^b Read πτωχοὶ κολοιοὶ.

^c Read ὁ μὲν. Concerning this proverb see Erasmus *Adag.* c. 198.

Nº. XXII.

II.

Magno Erasmo Roterodamo Bonifacius Amorbachius S. D.

V I D E nunquid verum sit, quod Græci dicere solent, unicum seculi decus Erasme, ὅτι ἡ ἀμαθία θρασεία, ὀκνηρὰς δὲ τὸ λελογισμένον ἀπεργάζε-ται. Quousque tua humanitate abutor? Scio quantæ in maximis veræ Theologiæ studiis sint occupationes tuæ. Scio quam hæc te velut ἀλεξίκακον Herculem continuo implorare soleant, quamque pro illis indefatigabili excubens animo, nec tamen interim meis nugis te molestare cesso. Verum si quid temeritatis ea in re incurro, nemini acceptum referas velim, nisi summo meo in te amor, qui cum semper solliciti timoris plenus sit, quo plus scribo, hoc minus mihi ipsi satisfacio. Quippe vel nolentem trahit, vel invitum cogit, ut animi studium in te meum novis subinde, velim nolim, literis declarem. Qua de causa si forsan tibi molestior sum quam me deceat, et magna tua patiantur studia, non gravaberis quicquid id erit in meliorem interpretari partem. Esto, tuo favore sim indignus, habeasque alios amicos eruditionis nomine insignes, quæ tamen tua est humanitas, non averfaberis hominem tibi toto pectore addictissimum. Certe ut omnibus eruditione sum inferior, ita studio et amore in te meo nulli, quisquis ille fuerit, cessurus sum unquam. Quare ne semper longo verborum paratu tibi æquo molestior sim, breviculo hoc rursus animum meum tibi testatum volo eum fore, quem a tuorum deditissimo expectare et conveniet et par est. Quod felix faustumque sit, audio Martinum Dorpium resipuisse, nuncque a tuis doctrinis, imo a veræ Theologiæ stare præscriptis. Id tum omnibus apud nos, tum maxime D. Ulrico Zazio maximo Jureconsulto summæ voluptati fuit. Gratulatus sum homini per literas, licet invitus, nempe alieno stomacho, compellente huc me Zazio, et sacramento suo adigente. Cui cum nihil denegare debeam, certe hac in parte morigerari volui, præsertim cum Dorpius tuus factus sit, quo quid poterat nobis evenisse optatius? Felicem te et vere magnum, qui non solum optima studia in integrum restituis, sed in debellandis etiam barbarorum copiis, ex sophistis homines, ex mænologis Theologos facis! De rebus nostris quid attinet dicere? Ni fallar, quam misere præteritus annus nos acceperit, tenes. Brunonem fratrem peste jugulatum non sine spirantibus lacrymis amisimus. Cujus obitus quin tibi vulnus inflixerit haud dubito; non enim nobis tam sanguine, quam tibi summa devotione erat conjunctissimus, qui tua adorare, te complecti solebat religiosissime. Sed mortuus est, quem vivum cupieramus; decessit, qui nunc primum literas adjuvare poterat; obiit non sine summa nostra jactura. Ego Basileæ hucusque ob fratris mortem me continui. Vere tamen ineunte ad Avenionam proficiscor, cœpta studia prosecuturus, et ordini
juridico

juridico si e re mea videbitur, nomen daturus: tametsi nesciam si quid minus possim quam linguam habere venalem; verum aliud vitæ institutum erit. Domino Ulrico Zazio Principum quorundam negotiis involuto nunc scribere non fuit integrum. Proximo tamen nuncio ad te et ad Dorpium literas dabit, interim omnia fausta tibi adscribi iussit. Sed heus tu, quisnam iste et re et nomine λαϊός, qui in tuas in Novum Testamentum annotationes non tam sinistre quam sophistice cavillare pergit? o deploratum ingenium, quam eximium insignis suæ stoliditatis specimen præbuit? Cave quicquam me tuis auribus dare putes: ex animo loquor. Quæ, malum, impudentia est frivolis nugis vera et inexpugnabilia oppugnare? Unde homini tantum licentiæ, ne dicam amentię? Quam valide pugnat conviciis, quam pueriliter, imo stulte, rationibus? Sicne a Sycophantæ morfu nihil uspiam tutum est? Bene ab Apollonio dictum est, sapienti magis periculum imminere ab invidia, quam vel naviganti a tempestate, vel prælianti ab hostibus. Quamquam quid culex contra elephantum? sed quid ego te hæc majoribus occupatissimum? Deus opt. max. te omnibus nobis et bonis studiis longævum foveat atque conservet. Salve et vale feliciter, orbis literati lumen Erasme, Bonifaciumque te quam maxime amantem, colentem et observantem tuo favore prosequi, quin et redamare non cessa. Basileæ Rauracorum XIIII Cal. April, Anno 1520.

Paucis abhinc diebus, cum quædam mihi Zazio scribenda fuerant, inter cætera etiam de novis Lei annotationibus facta est mentio. Dum hæc scribo, is mihi ad omnia respondit, nescio tamen si ad quæ vel verius vel elegantius, quam ad istud Lei attentatum facinus. Hæc, quoniam ad te pertinere videbatur, nolui committere quin his meis subjungerem literis, quo doctissimi illius viri de te iudicium vel eo certius deprehenderes, quod ad alium hæc, non ad te scripsisset. Sed audi.

“ De sophista Edvardo quid scribis? Quam bene maiores nostri dicere solebant in fatis aliquando esse, ut ad perniciem adcurratur velut ad brabium? Quod nisi esset, non tentassent Gigantes oppugnare cælum. Quid enim aliud sophista ille, quam cælum, quam omnium divinarum humanarumque literarum præsidium oppugnare aggreditur? Tantum laborum heros ille incomparabilis exantlat, semper ad novos labores integer, ut nobis post Hieronymos, post Cyprianos Theologiæ majestatem nobis adferat, applaudentibus Diis atque hominibus quotquot aut adest eruditio, aut mentis sanitas: et exoritur e suis tenebris iste gurgulio, qui tam eximiam segetem nobis arrodant, ipse nullo literarum genere conspicuus. Si grammaticam requiras, solœcissat subinde; si rhetoricam, balbutit et Battalum agit; si dialecticam, pistillum esse jures, aut si quid magis etiam abest ab acumine. Philosophiæ nusquam ullum sese exserit specimen. Theologicam suppellectilem his modis tractat, ut ipsa res clamitet ei quod adfert ab aliis suggestum esse. Et hujusmodi nugones audent libros scribere hoc seculo tam erudito: et audent scribere in Erasmus. Quis enim non ausit posthac, postquam ausus est Leus? Væ tibi, sophista infelix, væ matri quæ te peperit, væ utero, væ fideri quod tibi præsidet. Ineptias tuas cum viderint Germani, viri doctissimi, quid credis futurum esse? Quam tu misere tractaberis? Quam tu infame

fame traduceris? Mille modis et te et tua^d laceras, non erit satis nisi usque ad exitiosum interitum concerparis."

Hactenus Zasius noster. Denuo vale, bonis avibus, omnis eruditionis princeps et monarcha.

Nº. XXII.

III.

Guolphangus Capito Erasmo Roterodamo, S. D.

SCRIPSI proximis literis, opinor nudius quartus, de libro Eduardi Lei, quem Conradus bibliopola Parisiensis Frobenio affinis, suo illic sumtu excusum huc attulit. Si pateris ut Capito consilium det Erasmo, hoc est, sus Minervæ, præstiterit rem totam, et inane fulgur ex vitro quod aiunt, negligere ridereque secure. Non est enim quod metuas, ne liber tam infusus, ne dicam rabiosus, apud graves et eruditos viros noceat existimationi tuæ. Verum hoc ambit gloriosulus, ut tecum videatur fuisse congressus. Si teipsum satis nosti, non dignaberis illum hoc honore. Nemo non perspicit Leum ad tantam impudentiam exstimulatum nominis et famæ desiderio. Postquam extorquere non potuit ut et sui memoria exstaret in annotationibus tuis, tentavit vel suo periculo noscitari. Dolet ingenio gloriosulo, quod quicquid habes eruditionis, ipsi non tuleris acceptum. Famam sitiit misellus, et habebit quod sitiit, usque ad satietatem. Nam reddemus illum et Erostrato nobiliorem, si quid poterunt styli Germaniæ. Mihi blanditur etiam laudatiuncula fucata. Adeo nos judicat hebetes, ut non odoremur tales technas. Habeat sibi suas laudes: nemo Germanus feret talem præconem, a quo laudari turpius sit quam vituperari. Blanditur etiam Hutteno et Capnioni stultulus iste. Nos, credo, pro stipitibus habet, non pro hominibus. At sentiet homines, non fungos. Tractabitur cornicula ut meretur, nec hac poena erimus contenti, ut illi plumas non suas detrahamus. Audio Hutteni stylum jam esse in opere. Æcolampadius tametsi mitissimus est ingenio, tamen ac tam insignes sycophantias mirum quam excanduerit, homo vere Christiani pectoris. Eximius Cæsarei juris professor Zasius, non potest satis admirari in homine tam indocto tantum arrogantia; in sacerdote tantum Diabolici veneni. De eo quod bis jam admones, faciam quantum potero. Nam quod suades ut nihil omnino respondeam, non possum imperare animo meo. Porro quod proximum concedis, ut siquid respondeam, modeste respondeam, facturus sum, quatenus illius patitur modestia. Quanquam ille magis eget medico quam redargutore, si satis ex illius scriptis ingenium colligo. Certe genti parceretur, ut jubes, et æquum jubes. Nihil enim illa commeruit: non magis quam hortulus in quo suboriatur aconitum, alias optimorum olerum ferax. Jam

^d This is not sense. Perhaps: *lacerabunt.* Non, &c.

nunc ad te misissem operis mei gustum, si certus aliquis obtigisset. Non edam tamen nisi recognitum aut approbatum a Rhenano, ne mihi novitas inventionis imponat. Lei libellum nondum perlegi totum. Illud video, si ademeris calida convicia, et mendaces indices, reliqua esse frigidissima. Plura scripturus eram, sed ultima navis jam hinc abit Frankfordiam: properandum erat. Agam amici partes fidelissimi. Res ipsa declarabit brevi. Vale. Basileæ xvi Cal. April. A. 1520.

Nº. XXII.

IV.

Pacæus Erasmo suo.

EPISTOLIO mihi significasti te Lei respondisse apologiis. Legi ipse versum, imo perlegi ἀμύσσει a capite ad calcem, pellectus admiratione illius qua uteris ubique modestiæ: quod nunquam in tali re credidissem te præstare potuisse, nisi vidissem. Res mirifice arridet eruditibus auribus. Cavebunt, opinor, in posterum alii, ne te impetant conviciis, qui tam modestè et sanctè mordere nosti. Quod Germani frendent in Leum, sicut non miror, ita vehementer doleo. Non miror idcirco, quod conetur Leus coronæ Germanorum pretiosissimam conspurcare gemmam: doleo, quod frendendi ansam in conterraneum meum et amicum nacti sint. Vale. Ex Grenvico, ii. April.

Nº. XXII.

V.

Erasmo Roterodamo Theologo Philippus Engentinus S. D.

NON possum non scribere ad te, Erasme candidissime, præsertim cum ad manus nunc sit qui meas tibi commodissime reddere potest. Intellexi autem Zasium nostrum et Bonifacium Amorbachium idem facturos. unde piaculum arbitrarer, si literariæ militiæ, quamquam forte satis infelicer, eodem sacramento adstrictus, ex hoc munere me subtraherem, quamquam non sim nescius te esse in bonis literis amplificandis longe occupatissimum, ut ad te scribentium quantumvis breves epistolas vix legere queas. Tamen ut tibi veteris convictus memoriam refricem, simulque admoneam me esse tui nominis studiosissimum, nolui committere ut absque meis literis tam opportune oblatus nuncius ad te proficisceretur. Atque eo nomine minime gravari debes, poteris enim tantillum temporis suffurari tuis negotiis ut citrà nauseam, quasi ludendo mihi nonnihil impertias. Neque a tua hu-

manitate alienum fuerit, si candidum meum in te animum meliori calculo comprobaveris: quod si feceris, exilii mei perpetuam meam molestiam sublevare videbere, quod usque adeo me fregit pene, ut etiam post reditum ad nostra studia vix mihi ipsi constem. Exsulavimus autem mensibus decem ob inclementem aëris intemperiem, quæ multas centurias hominum, imo chiliadas absorpsit. Eo tamen gratior fuit mihi isthæc absentia, quod publico Senatus nostri literarii decreto decenter abesse licuit. Interim a quibusdam accepi esse quendam, qui, egregie cordatus homo (si Diis placet) contra tuas in Novum Testamentum annotationes ingentem pararit Iliada. Erant qui summo desiderio talem censuram expectare videbantur, ut vel ea nomenclatura elevaretur in Erasmo summæ eruditionis auctoritas. At rursus qui te extra omnem ingeniorum aleam positum venerabantur, in hoc tantummodo efflagitare eas se nugas dicebant, ut viderent quam novitatis speciem camelus Bactriana esset allatura. Hic vero eandem audivimus cantilenam, accessione tamen facta auctoris, qui in te superciliose talia meditatur, quem in postrema tuæ farraginis epistola satis luculenter expressisti, * amicus admonuisti, ne in eam arenam descendat. Statim partum istum addivinabam, non qui alicubi a te dissentiret, quando hoc semper inter eruditos licuit, ut interim homini ignoto eam doctrinæ gloriam condonemus, sed conjecturam faciebat felix illa tardidiscencia, qua tantum intra paucos menses Græcitatibus et Hebraïsmi devoravit, ut tanquam ad Lesbiam regulam omnis earum literarum usus ad hunc unum devolvi debeat, qua potissimum ratione eam foeturam anxie expectamus, ut ea novitas mirifice suis gratiis nos oblectet, et fortassis pariet, quod nunc ad biennium non sine laboribus parturiit, nisi Elephantum conceperit. Apologiam autem contra istum tuam nunc animo fingimus; neque enim tibi deesse poteris, qua ita adversarium conficies, ut eo nihil unquam miserius futurum ducam, habebit enim Marsyas suum Apollinem. Quanquam ex mediocriter illis eruditis nullus unquam sit dignus cui tu respondeas, merebitur tamen hoc quorundam colluvies, qui ex tua taciturnitate amplissimum sibi triumphum sperarent: scis enim quale sit hoc hominum genus, quod sub eximia religionis specie tyrannidem exercet impudentissimam; utcumque ferendam, nisi in bonas quoque literas debaccharetur. Tale quoddam portentum nuper ad plebem rudere audivimus, non sine risu, nam plerumque excogitat *Grande aliquid, quod pulmo animæ prælargus anbelet*; quod ubi introspexeris, cum Evangelicis doctrinis nihil habet commune. Tu macte ingenio, Erasme, Theologiæ maxime antistes, tuorum laborum pensum (ut facere soles) nunquam intermitte; plane enim persuasum est omnibus eruditis ad infelicia monstra conficienda te natum esse Herculem. Nemo ex hoc fastigio te dejiciet, quando tua omnia Christum Deum opt. max. feliciter spirant. Salutat te frater meus Antonius tibi addictissimus, qui nunc Spirensis ecclesiæ suffraganeum agit Episcopum. Vale, optime Erasme. Ex Friburgo Brisgoico, Nono Calend. Junias, Anno MDXX.

* Perhaps *amicusque*.

Nº. XXIII.

* *Erasmus Rot. Thomæ Moro S. D.*

QUÆ tibi narrata sunt de concertatiuncula, quæ mihi fuit apud hujus Academiæ Rectorem, cum Nicolao Egmondano, nec omnino vera sunt, neque tamen nihil habent veri: sic enim solet rumor, et augere quod gestum est, et variare fabulas: neque vero mihi tam inimicus est, ut patiar illum mendaciis traduci. Rem igitur ut habet accipe; quandoquidem video vobis isthic tantum esse otii, ut quid hic ineptiamus vacet cognoscere. Ubi literis exposulassẽ apud hujus Academiæ Rectorem, quod Egmondanus in concione nos perstrinxisset, rescripsit ille: Si placeret ipsum audire coram sua verba sonantem, fortasse rem posse componi. Respondi, me nihil detrectare, tametsi non essem nescius, ab illo μηδεν ὑγίης prodituum. Convenimus, confedit Rector; huic ego dexter affedi, sinister ille. Nec erat inanis ordo; noverat Egmondani mores, ac de me sibi falso persuaserat eum esse, qui possem irritari: proinde medius confedit, quo pugnam dirimeret, si forte λογομαχία ad ungues ac pugnos effervesceret. Rem igitur paucis exponit Rector. Ibi composito ad miram, sed ridiculam gravitatem vultu, infit Egmondanus: Ego nulli feci injuriam in sacris concionibus; si Erasmus se putat læsum, proferat, sum illi responsurus. Rogabam, an putaret ullam atrociorẽ injuriam, quàm hominem immerentem in publica concione traducere mendaciis. Ibi continuo permotus homo, et relicta quam ceperat persona, magis etiam purpurascens (nam rubebat et antea, erat enim tempus pomeridianum.) Et cur, inquit, tu nos traducis tuis sacris libris? In libris, inquam, meis nusquam est nomen tuum. Nec in concionibus, inquit, meis auditum est nomen tuum. Negavi libros meos esse sacros, in quibus aliquando narrem etiam somnia mea, nihilque non nuger; non idem licere in sacris concionibus. Præterea longe minus, inquam, scripsi de te quam res habet. Tu de me publice mentitus es, dicens favisse Luthero, cui nunquam favi in eum sensum, in quem tua dicta interpretatur populus, et ipse sentis. Ibi jam non commotus, sed furenti similis: Imo, inquit, tu es auctor horum omnium, tu es versipellis ac veterator, et nihil non intorques cauda quadam. Atque his similia multa evomuit verius quam dixit, quæ illi tum suggerebat splendida bilis. Sensi et mihi concitari stomachum, jamque ^f vox quædam eruperat, sermonis non satis temperati procœmium, non quidem *racba*, sed aliud quiddam, quod pejus oleat quam sonat. Sed repressi me illico, satius ducens et meæ (nam parum valebam) et Rectoris parcere valetudini, cui et ipsi cum medicis res erat, postremo stultum et indecorum ratus adversus furentem furere: itaque subridens verti me ad Rectorem: Possem, inquam, testari de insigni contume-

* Life of Eras̃m. p. 236.

^f Perhaps it was, *serquilinium*.

lia, possem regerere convicia: appellat me versipellem, liceret ipsum vicissim appellare vulpem: appellat me duplicem, possem ipsum appellare quadruplicem: ait me cauda contorquere omnia, possem dicere illum lingua sua inficere omnia: sed hæc nec viris digna sunt, ac vix etiam mulieribus. Agamus argumentis: Finge me — Hic ille protinus interpellans magno clamore nautico: Non fingo, inquit, nolo fingere, hoc vestrum est, vos poëtæ fingitis, ac mentimini omnia. Jam magis ridere libebat, quam indignari. Si fingere non vis, inquam, da igitur. Nolo, inquit, dare. Fac, inquam, ita esse. Non faciam, inquit. At pone ita esse, inquam. Non ponam, inquit. Sit igitur ita, inquam. At non est, inquit. Quid igitur, inquam, vis me dicere? Dic, inquit, ita est. Vix Rector impetravit, ut fineret me loqui. Ut verum sit, inquam, me in libris meis quædam scripsisse secus quam oportet, non tamen hoc erat tuum, ad animi tui vindictam abuti sacri loci, sacræ concionis auctoritate, et populi simplicis credulitate. Poteras vicissim in me scribere, poteras me in jus vocare. Nunc non tam mihi facis injuriam, quam toti huic Academiæ, quam toti populo, quam sacræ concioni, quæ longe aliis fabulis dicata est. Hic quum deesset homini quod responderet, alio, ut solet, deflexit. *Ja*, inquit, optares tibi similem auctoritatem. Quam, inquam, concionandi? Annuvit. Atqui, inquam, et olim sum concionatus, et arbitror me posse meliora dicere, quam audio te aliquando proferentem. Quin igitur, inquit, facis? Quia puto me, inquam, majus operæ pretium facere scribendis libris, tametsi tuam industriam non improbarem, si modo doceres ea quæ faciunt ad bonos mores. Ibi venit homini in mentem quod scripsissem ad Rectorem (legerat enim) hæc mihi immerenti, imo bene merenti, indigne fieri. Ubi, inquit, tu bene merearis? Fatentur, inquam, hoc plurimi, me non male meritum de bonis literis. *Ja*, inquit, sic vos eas appellatis, sunt malæ literæ. Et in sacris, inquam, Literis multa restitui. Imo, inquit, multa falsasti. Cur igitur, inquam, approbat Romanus Pontifex suo diplomate? *Ja*, diplomate, inquit: quis vidit tuum diploma? subindicans a me confectum esse. An postulas, inquam, ut diploma per singulos circumferam, aut in foro exhibeam? Exhibui Atensi, vidit Dorpius. *Ja*, Dorpius, inquit, additurus et in illum aliquid convitii, ni Rector illum suo vultu compescuisset. Videbis et tu, si voles, inquam. Nolo, inquit, videre tua. Cur igitur damnas, inquam? Cur in Luthero damnando tantum apud te valet Pontificis auctoritas, in meis probandis pluma levior est? Hoc sermone omisso, coepit commemorare, jam velut affectum moturus arte rhetorica, quantis honoribus affecissent me Theologi Lovanienfes, priusquam in eos scripsissem. Quid non fecimus, inquit, tibi? Cæterum de virulentis obtreptionibus, quibus me lanierat Egmondanus, etiam priusquam Lovanium commigrarem, nulla mentio. Respondi, non esse mei moris extenuare cujusquam in me beneficium: cæterum me hætenus Theologorum beneficio non admodum usum fuisse. Ibi nescio quo pacto factus mitior. Verum, inquit, quia non potuimus, Ergo, inquam, ne imputes, quod non præstitistis. Nam quantum potueritis male faciendo sensi; officii nihil expertus sum, nisi quod me vocastis ad *Aetus*, quos vocatis, et convivia quædam solennia, a quibus
nemo

nemo magis abhorret quam ego: tantum abest ut existimem me hoc nomine multum debere vobis. Vos me ultro invitastis ad amicitiam; ego ut nunquam ambii, ita nunquam dedi ansam dirimendæ. Ex hoc sermone venit homini in mentem, de facta inter nos amicitia, uno ipso nondum satis placato, cum nemo stolidius læsisset, quam ille. Putant hoc esse religionis Colophonem, ut illis supplices sint, etiam qui non ferendis injuriis sint affecti: tantum abest ut quenquam ipsi reconcilient, aut juxta doctrinam Evangelicam benefaciant ei qui læserit. Bene mones, inquit, jactas inter nos factam fuisse concordiam. Quid? an non fuit, inquam? Nonne computavimus splendide in Collegio Falconis? (Constiterat hoc prandium ejus domus Moderatori non mediocri pecunia. Et quoniam erat dies Mercurii, tantum piscium erat paratum uni Egmondano, quantum satis esset quatuor athletis) nonne proposita pacis conditio, ut utrinque deleteret offensas omnes amnestia? Negavit ille fortiter, quod tot testibus actum erat. Rector interpellans ita moderatus est litem, ut fateretur inter omnes Christianos esse aliquam concordiam, cæterum eam pacem non fuisse numeris omnibus absolutam. Ego arridens rogabam, quota computatione pax Theologica absolveretur. Me simplicem arbitrari, vel sine computatione confici pacem inter bonos. Hinc rursus aliud illi venit in mentem. Recte admones, inquit, tu nos habes ludibrio, et traducis tanquam ebrios. Expostulante me ubi vocassem eum ebrium, Scribis, inquit, me fuisse uvidum a prandio largiore, quid hoc aliud est, quam esse ebriosum? Hoc, inquam, neque te nominato scripsi, et narro ab aliis dictum: nam tui *Carmelitæ* hoc lemmate te excusabant, ne quis gravius ferret, quod dixeras uvidus a prandio largiore. *Ja*, tui, inquit, indignans opinor, quod *tui* dixissem, non *vestri*. Quod si maxime, inquam, edidissem nomen, quid erat flagitii, si quod tu publice ausus es dicere, ego simili libertate retulissem? nunc honoris tui gratia supprimo nomen tuum, et rem atrocem civiliter narro. Dixeras *Fabrum*, ac me, qui nunc pugnaremus inter nos, olim pugnatueros in profundo tartaro. *Ja*, inquit, hoc ab aliis audisti. Verum, inquam, non ab uno, sed audes tu negare dictum? Obtulit, qua quidem in re primum sum admiratus novum hominis pudorem. Mox in alium campum exspatiatus, negavit se unquam facturum finem vociferandi in Lutherum, donec illum confecisset. Respondi, per me licere illi vociferari usque ad ilium diruptionem, modo ne in me blateraret: neque me queri, quod in Lutherum clamasset, sed quod in me: quod ipsum, si illi usque adeo cordi esset, pergeret, nihil tamen lucri facturum, nisi ut esset bonis omnibus ludibrio, quandoquidem in ea concione vidissem passim omnes ridentes. Hic ille, *Ja*, inquit, illi tui erant. Quam mei sint, inquam, nescio, plerosque ne de facie quidem novam. Inter cætera crimina objecit et hoc, quod allegarem epistolas illustrium virorum, qui mihi nonnihil tribuerent; significans eas a me confingi, nec ullos esse qui mea probarent, cum ego ferme totum hoc epistolarum genus premam: simulque indicans nihil oportere probatum haberi, quod ipsius calculo non esset commendatum. Hinc conjicere licet simul et modestiam hominis, qui sibi tam parum tribuat, et simplicem pureque Christianum animum, qui nihil mali non suspicetur de proximo. Cum inter cætera dixissem,

dixissem, non debere videri mirum, sicubi querar nonnihil de Theologis in libris meis, cum *Joannes Standitius* Minorita, Theologus, Episcopus a *Sancto Asino*, apud regem et reginam Angliæ, multis proceribus et eruditis adstantibus, impudentissime me detulerit tribus nominibus, primum, quod tollerem resurrectionem: deinde quod nihili facerem sacramentum matrimonii: præterea, quod male sentirem de Eucharistia: cum in omnibus libris meis nihil magis asseram quam resurrectionem, ac matrimonium, edita declamatione, sic prædicarim, ut Theologi putarint errorem esse hæreticum, quod matrimonio plus satis tribuerim: postremo cum de Eucharistia nusquam neque scripserim, neque locutus sim, nisi sicut decet, id est, summa cum reverentia. *Ja*, inquit, hæc omnia fortasse sunt vera. O vocem impotentis animi, sibi que nihil non indulgentis! Cur hæc potius in me vera essent, quam si quis dicat *Egmondanum* compilasse sacrarum ædium gazophylacium? quam incantasse morituros, ut sibi traderent hæreditatem, frustratis hæredibus? quam ad quæstum prodidisse, quæ audivit in arcanis confessionibus? hæc fortasse probabilius in illum competerent, quam quæ volebat ille videri non abhorrentia a veris in me. Huic divo committant parentes liberos suos ut imbibant veræ religionis semina. Quid tibi nunc referam singula? quicquid quocunque casu dicebatur, rapiebatur in occasionem convicii; non aliter quam solent pueri rixantes, ac mulierculæ procaces, quicquid dixeram regerebat in diversum. Objiciebat epistolam ad Lutherum scriptam. Illic, inquam, moneo quæ debuerit vitare. Imo, inquit, doces eum scribere. Etiam hoc videbatur male habiturum hominem, si Lutherus aliquanto melius scripsisset: adeo illum perire cupiebat, non corrigi. Sed illud nullo modo concoquebat, quod adjecissem: *Non admoneo quid facias, sed ut quod facis perpetuo facias*. Hic cum excusarem civilitatem rhetoricam, qua negamus nos admonere, cum maxime admoneamus, rursus incanduit. Pulchre, inquit, dixti, hoc vere rhetorum est, omnia fucare, fingere, mentiri. Arridens fassus sum aliquando mentiri Rhetores, sed interim mentiri nonnunquam et *Magistros nostros*. Rursum cum dicerem me consuluisse dignitati Theologorum, respondit: Nobis hanc curam relinque, nos prospiciemus. Cum adderem exurendis Lutheri libris, eum e bibliothecis eximi posse, ex animis non item. *Ja*, inquit, ex animis: ibi eum tu posuisti. Cum nihil inter nos conveniret, adeo ut si dicerem literas bonas, ille continuo vocaret malas: si librum castigatum, ille falsatum: si me dixissem alienum a factione, ille protinus caput factionis appellaret, negaturus et intra oleam esse duri quicquam, si quid tale affirmassem, Rector interfecans rixam jam nimis longam, negavit hæc esse digna Theologis: se lubentius auditurum, si quid faceret ad concordiam faciendam. Age, inquam, quando negas eam concordiam unica computatione potuisse coire, quid superest ad consummandam? Hortante Rectore, dixit: ut sarcias famam nostram abs te læsam. Ubi, inquam? in epistolis? annuit. Illis, inquam, jam evulgatis, mihi non est in manu quod petis, quanquam illic nullius famam læsi. Ergo palinodiam, inquit, cane. Quam? scribe Lovanii sinceros et probos esse Theologos. Id, inquam, haud unquam negavi; sed quos ego taxavi, si mihi præbebunt probam materiam,

materiam, magnifice de illis scribam. Hic irritatus: Et tu, inquit, si nobis præbueris bene loquendi materiam, bene de te loquemur. Tu stylum habes, nos linguam habemus. Taxas, inquit, nos quod tibi oblatremus a tergo, audeo tibi in os dicere. Nec mirum, inquam, tu quibus es moribus, auderes etiam conspuere os boni viri. Negavit se adhuc esse tam contumacem. Hoc sermone interrupto, Rector admonuit ut de Luthero, quod erat caput, ageretur. Age, inquit, scripsisti pro Luthero, nunc scribe adversus illum. Hic inficiatus me scripsisse pro illo, sed pro Theologis potius adversus illum, cum excusassem multa, otium, imperitiam, metum, inter alia prætexui suspicionem crudelitatis; si sævirem stylo meo in hominem prostratum ac victum. Imo hoc ipsum, inquit, scribe, Lutherum a nobis victum esse. Respondi non deesse qui vociferarentur, vel me tacente. Præterea magis fore decorum, si ipsi suam celebrarent victoriam, qui peperissent. Postremo mihi non constare, quod eum vicissent, cum libri illorum nondum prodissent in lucem. Sub hæc desperans, versus ad Rectorem ait: Nonne prædixi nos nihil acturos? Quamdiu, inquit, detrectat scribere adversus Lutherum, tamdiu habebimus eum pro Lutherano. At isthoc, inquam, nomine tu mihi Lutheranus eris, qui nihil scribas adversus illum, neque tu solus tantum, sed innumeri tecum. Atque ita non dicto, sed significato Vale, Rectori, non mihi, discessit: quemadmodum qui in gladiatoria schola vulnus præter certaminis leges acceperunt, cæteris quidem dant dextram, ei a quo læsi sunt non dant. Habes fere summam illius præclari colloquii, quod illi tamen visum est admodum blandum, cum hoc ageretur, ut me pelliceret eloquentia sua ad insectandum stylo meo Lutherum. Neque passus est ille sibi perire hujus conflictationis gloriam. Jactitavit apud compotores suos, quam fortiter obstitisset in os Erasmo. Rector eadem suis denarrans, non sine risu, negavit se unquam crediturum fuisse, mihi tantum esse temperantiæ. Quanquam non hinc mihi laudem hanc arrogo, qui prorsus insanus fuisset, si cum illo contendissem. Et tamen est unus aut alter hoc sceleratior. Nam hic ut molestus est et pertinax, ita minus habet fuci, semper sui similis, Talem aiunt fuisse puerum, talem magistrum, talem Baccalaureum, talem Theologiæ Professore, qualis nunc est Carmelita. Ne Vulcanus quidem hunc recudat, neque refingat Mercurius. Sibi tamen videtur præcipua basis Christianæ religionis, et Ordinis Carmelitici decus. Tam jucundus est huic Academiæ, quam sunt fici in oculis. Sed vomitum hanc nemo potest excutere. Bene vale, mi More. Lovanio, Anno 1520.

Ep. 554.

N^o. XXIV.

Thomas Morus D. Erasmo Rot. viro optimo atque doctissimo S. P.

ECQUID vidisti unquam, Erasme optime atque doctissime, suavior^s rem quemquam quam sit hic noster Brixius? qui simulatque ipsi quicquam dissimulare libet, reliquos idem mortales omnes satis ^b *elatum* putat. Nam quando homo quantumvis stupidus non sentire non potuit, quam esset absurdum, odiosum, infame, sine causa quenquam jurgiis et conviciis impetere; iterum atque iterum narrat, infigit, inculcat, epigrammatibus meis provocatum se defendentis tantum partes obtinere, ut diris et execrationibus impetitus, non nisi jocis contra, salibus et facetiis repetat adversarium. Cæterum de petulantia, mendaciis, probris, quibus omnem prius provocarat Angliam, verbum interim nullum, ut nec de eo quidem, quod quæ similtas inter nos olim agitata fuit in mediis belli tumultibus, eam ille jam olim mortuam, nunc demum in summa pace redintegrat. Et sic agit Phormiana confidentia, ut quum suam causam facile sentire possit nulli non esse damnatam, qui quidem rem pernorit, tamen velut eam bene ac dilucide quibus oportuit iudicibus approbasset, jam suo jure scilicet quidvis debacchetur in me, et totam pectoris sui sentinam lepidus et facetus exhauriat: qui postquam unum atque alterum epigramma scriptum joco, statuit habendum esse pro diris, tanquam dixisse modo, foret omnibus prorsus persuasisse; simul persuasit sibi rem se plausibilem facturum, si paucos versus et adversus petulantissimum ejus libellum, et in bellico tumultu ludentes olim, nunc denique tot annis post factam ac firmatam pacem, in quanta nunquam fuit ullorum populorum concordia, libro virulentissimo rependeret: sperans videlicet neque tam oculatum fore quenquam, ut id posset cernere ad quod ipsi libet connivere, neque tam importune severum iudicem, ut aliud exigat probamentum quam narrantem Brixium, præsertim suæ causæ æquitatem tanta cum fiducia jactantem. At mihi certe visus esset aliquanto minus impudens, si has ad populum tantum phaleras exposuisset; in quo reperire potuisset aliquos quibus res adhuc esset incognita, multos quibus alteruter nostrum, quosdam quibus vel ⁱ inique placent rixæ; ac non hoc pacto bos ejusmodi se jactaret ephippiis apud te, qui non tantum pro-ram puppimque certaminis (nisi non legisti *chordigeram*; nam cætera legisse te scio) verum etiam certatores ipsos intus, quod aiunt, et in cute nosti: tum cui sciat ejusmodi rixas, etiamsi quæ justa sint exortæ causa, tamen pro tui ingenii candore atque humanitate ociosas invisasque esse, nedum hanc illius ineptissimam, injustissimam, inhumanissimam, et quam abs te vidisset epistola ad se missa, velut præjudicio damnatam, adjectis etiam tuæ sententiæ causis, altera in honorem utriusque civili ter magis excogitata quam vere,

^s Life of Erasme. p. 237.

^b Read *celatum*.

ⁱ Perhaps *ini. u. e.*

quasi,

quasi nos essemus hi quos literarum intersit concordēs esse: altera certe iustissima, quod quæ olim flagrante lufimus bello, ea nunc, facta pace, conveniat obliterari. Ex his causis illam quæ civilior erat quam verior, quanquam de me contemptius admittit, de se tamen candidus atque modestus agnoscit: alteram illam, quæ tam vera fuit ut negari non posset, dissimulante præterit, ac rursus ob oculos fundit provocationis pulverem, qua se laceffitum a nobis et prius prædicat, et hostiliter. Et profecto si Brixius, ut totus est in metaphoris comicis, ab epigrammate meo velut ab epitafi jubeat hanc auspicari fabulam, negare non possum ^k *quem* ipse provocaverim. Sin communi more patietur addi suo loco protasim, non erit, opinor, ambiguum, quod nihil habeat comicum illius turbulenta catastrophe. Nam primum quis non admiretur insignem impudentiam toties occlamantis prius laceffitum se; quum sciat interim suam passim prostare *Chordigeram*, quam non fuisset prosequutus epigrammate, nisi nostram gentem totam mendacibus impetisset conviciis? Qua in re quid comminisci potest, quod isti prætendat calumniæ? An quod epigrammata mea præcesserint ejus libellum, quum non ad aliud quam ad ejus libelli ludant inscitiam, furta, mendacia? Aut ut est acutus rhetorculus, contendet in *Chordigera* nihil esse convitiis? At idem quantumvis impudens, non negabit in primo limine *Chordigeræ* omnes ^l fœdifragos vocare se, et petulanter appellare perjuros. Et tamen audet præfari, olivam sese mediis in armis gessisse, homo nimirum sic affectus erga mendacia, ut perjurium quoque et fœdifragium habeat in blanditiis. An nihil ad me pertinuisse censet, mendaciis et calumniis ab illo laceffitam patriam, quod ipse non attingar nominatim? Nam id videtur innuere, quasi non hac ratione, atque adeo eadem præclara oratione latroni liceat in jus vocare viatorem, a quo sit fortasse repulsus inclementius, quum non illum impeteret, sed insidias tentaret pecuniæ. At fortassis etiam si non in illum prius, saltem scripsi acerbius. Est enim et in ulsciscendo modus. At ego Polyphemi barbariem imitatus præ stomachi rabie Brixium, alterum videlicet Ulyssē, diris et execrationibus infectatus sum. Ita sane disputat, nihil habens pensi quam falso. Nam eo solatur se, quod sperat fore multos quibus cum totam rem non didicerint, ista facile persuaserit, atque ita sine pugna vicerit: apud te vero et si qui sint consilii, satis habet si consequatur id laudis genus: Ni causam nossē, putarem vera hunc loqui. At ego aut veritate me tuebor, aut vinci potius volo, quam judicis ignoratione vincere. Quamobrem non imitabor hac sane parte Brixium, qui versus meos in Abyngdonium (quos per jocum effutiveram, ut cujusdam asininas auriculas demulcerem, quod ei nihil placeret absque consonantiis rhythmicis) in extremo limite insanæ Sylvæ suæ collocavit, ademtis duobus epigrammatis meis in idem argumentum, quibus illorum jocus versuum aperiēbatur. Quare nihil efficere potuit magis sycophanticum. At ego certe contra faciam. Nam et *Chordigeram* curabimus excudendam, et Epigrammata nostra subjungemus. Quin adjiciemus et Sylvam ejus, ne quid causetur ademtum: atque hoc pacto spero me facturum, ne sit tam arduum atque acclive

^k Read *quin*.^l Perhaps *omnes nos*.

literatis omnibus judicare, an tam bonam habeat causam quam habere se jactat atque gloriatur Brixius. Nam cum nos perjuros appellasset ac foedifragos, cum totam rei seriem in suorum gratiam ac nostrum probrum, ut ipse vocat, fictionibus, ut res vere habet, impudentibus invertisset mendaciis, eademque omnia tam absurde tractasset, ut nihil unquam quisquam tractarit absurdius, ita versibus obvestivisset alienis, ut Valeriæ Probæ te putares legere Centones, nisi quod ^m eas illa concinne coaptavit, Brixius ita confarcinat inepte, ut ⁿ commissuræ tanquam cicacitrosus vulnus exstet in modum, aut velut arida siti tellus hiulcet; ego non aliud illis epigrammatis quibus se queritur tam capitaliter offensum, quam in ea quæ dixi vitia lusi, et certe nihil opinor acerbæ: eoque vehementer admiror in quo meorum epigrammatum reperiat illas diras atque execrationes, quas homo lepidus, ut jactat, convertit in jocos. An illud execrationes appellat ac diras, quod in uno meorum epigrammatum per jocum excusans ejus mendacia, quasi nemo redierit e *Chordigera* domum, qui rem ut erat gesta doceret, eum adjeci dignum fuisse Brixium qui fuisset in ipsa nave, ut suis oculis rem videret quam esset scripturus, ne ad eum modum tam turpiter mentiri cogere-tur, et falsa pro veris commendare memoriæ? Extra hoc unum certus sum nihil unquam reperturum Brixium, in quod possit tendere ullam vel dirarum vel execrationis calumniam. Quanquam in hoc ipso aut calumniator egregie, aut certe quid execratio, quid diræ significant, egregie sese declarat inscium. Erit fortasse qui mordaculum putet (et tamen idem si Brixii expenderit parum *Chordigeram*, spero non difficulter ignoscet) execrationes aut diras haud sane quisquam erit qui vocet, qui quidem Latine sciet: utpote ad quas nec illud quidem Martialis, nostro tam longe mordacius, accedit in Theodorum vatem, Brixio vati fortasse non absimilem, de quo poëta magnum fuisse facinus ac Deorum crimen exclamat, quum Theodori penates ignis absumeret,

Non arsere simul quod domus et dominus.

Ego vero, etiamsi dignum duxi Brixium, qui, quo vitare tam impudenter mentiendi necessitatem posset, in media fuisset *Chordigera*; non optavi tamen istud ei, nec ignem imprecatus sum, quem effugerunt etiam multi qui fuerunt in nave. Neque enim quisque statim imprecatur ea cuilibet, quibus illum censet ac pronuntiat dignum. Nam et Brixius, opinor, fures dignos ducit suspendio, dignos ducit adulteros, dignos, haud dubie, perjuros, a quibus haud ita multis absunt parasangis mendaces; nec tamen, reor, usque adeo immitis est, ut iis omnibus, tantæ nimirum parti mortalium, semel imprecetur interitum. Quod voti genus ut inclementissimum fuerit, ita nec ipsi fortasse Brixio satis tutum. At præter illud epigramma super sunt novem, quorum in primo (id quod etiam verum est) admoneo simpliciter, ademtum iri scriptoribus omnibus fidem, si assuescant ipsius exemplo non ex fide sed ex affectu scribere. Duobus in id ludo, quod Herveum fecerit tam prodigiose pugnantem. Uno jocatus sum in Brixii et jactantiam simul et incogi-

^m Perhaps he wrote *eos*.

ⁿ This is perplexed, and hardly intelligible.

tantiam,

tantiam, qui præter alia multa perquam vehementer absurda, finxerit Herveum de ipso vaticinantem, velut alumno Phœbi, et ut id fieri posset, fecerit illum in mediis flammis diu concionantem tanquam in summo otio. Porro quod cum servati sint ex utraque nave multi, succurrentibus nostrorum naviculis aliquot, ille maluerit universos prorsus exurere, quam relictum esse quemquam a quo videri potuisset audivisse quæ scriberet. Uno allusi ad eos versus, quos Brixius effinxit in cenotaphium Hervei. Duobus ad id lusi, quod Brixius *Chordigeram* suam veterum poetarum furto surreptis versibus exornasset. Duobus ostendi, me mentis et ingenii plusculum in *Chordigera*, cum in inventione rerum, tum in dispositione requirere. Hæc cum scripserim et laceffit, et turbulentis temporibus, et vere tamen, nunquam vel edidi vel ostendi sola, sed ita conjuncta cum aliis, ut lectoris cogitatio vel plurimum averteretur ab illis, vel non tota certe detineretur in illis: cum ejus *Antimorus* contra nihil profiteatur aliud, quam in meum nomen non minus delira quam contumeliosa convicia. Postremo cum accepissem id agi ut excuderentur Epigrammata mea Basileæ, scis ipse quid egerim, ut ea quæ in Brixium scripseram, una cum nonnullis * emitterentur: quod quædam mihi non satis severa videbantur, etiamsi procul absint ab ea obscœnitate, qua ferme sola quorundam Epigrammata video commendari quibusdam: et simul neminem volebam, quantumvis justa de causa, tantillum a me perstringi nominatim. Qua in re, quod ad Brixium attinet, meum conatum frustratum esse vehementer gaudeo: adeo se declarat dignum, in quem longe alia scriberentur. Nam in illis quibus non minus crebro inculcat quam falso, se provocatum prius, et tot probris, tot conviciis, tot maledictis, tot diris, tot execrationibus offensum capitaliter, si ea quæ recenset invenerit, quanquam, ut tum res erant et illius merita, meum factum potuissem omnium gentium jure defendere; tamen agnoscam profecto Cyclopi illam Polyphemi barbariem, quam mihi Brixius impingit. Quod si contra non invenerit illic ea quæ causatur, tunc æquum censeo ut agnoscat Brixius, eum locum quo de diris objicit atque execrationibus, ab ipso fictum totum, ut esset sedes in quam Polyphemum vastum sane gigantem posset admittere: quando adeo illi tam lepida blandiebatur inventio, ut potius quam cogeretur excludere, fingendum quippiam duxerit, in quod posset aliquid facete dicere. Verum ni cæcior esset ipso Polyphemo Brixius, facile profecto cerneret, eam rem non admodum multum illi parituram gloriæ, si dissimulanter præteriens quod in eum dicitur, alia contra se subornet ipse, quæ commode possit vincere. Scripseram epigramma in quandam nostratem, qui ridicule cum nobis bellum esset cum Gallis, in Gallicos mores totus abierat. Alio loco quoniam Brixius nos appellarat foedifragos atque perjuros, tetigeram obiter nostram causam in Gallico bello fuisse piam et officiosam in Ecclesiam Christi, cujus Vicario sumus opitulati: Gallorum contra, quod foverent schisma, et oppugnarent Pontificem. Quod ipsum neque nunc disputo rursus, neque olim me volente prodiit. Et tamen si finxisset Brixius (cui tam impenso placet fingere) commotum illis locis fuisse sese, potuisset homini fortassis ignosci facilius: ut cui videretur imposuisse falsa quædam honesti species, nempe amor importunus in pa-

* Rather, *omitterentur*.

triam, quo videretur vel vere in eam dicta non perpeti, vel certe foederibus condonata vendicare. Nunc vero stupidissime delegit eam causam, in qua et eosdem habet obices quos haberet illic, nempe ipsum scripsisse prius, praeuisse occasionem, impegisse falsa, litem esse judicatam, imo peremptam atque abolitam foederibus publicis. Sed et hoc praetereo turpissimum, quod quum publice prior læserit, privatim sese sic offensum queritur, quomodo non potest docere: sed diras et execrationes in se ingestas a me, ipse a se finxisse convincitur. Quamobrem cum prior scripserit in nos, eaque etiam falsa, cum ego tantum epigrammata contra, in quibus ea scripsissem, quæ si neget esse vera, nihil assequetur aliud, quam ut eum intelligant omnes, bis fuisse mentitum; non solum potuit honeste desistere, verum debebat etiam. Atque adeo fecisset scio, nisi maluisset omnibus declarare quam insigniter esset impudens: qui quæ peccasset ante, quum donari vel juventæ ejus potuissent, vel imputari temporibus, nunc tot annis elapsis, in tanta pace, in tanta concordia, atque in ipso ferme duorum Principum hospitio (nam id nunc adornant) de integro renovet omnia, et epigrammata pauca quæ in illius librum lusimus, virulentissimo libello retaliat; in quo cum nihil inveniret quod respondere posset pro se, totus in me conversus, nihil effundit aliud præter meras calumnias, et plusquam furiosa convicia. Primum quicquid usquam fere vel cessatum est ab operis Frobenii, vel ab ipso quisquis exscripsit exemplar, id omne objicit mihi, quum videat nullum unquam librum tam feliciter excusum esse ut nihil insit errati, et illic nullum legat erratorum indicem. Et tamen in illis ipsis plerumque feliciter errant illi, quam castigat Brixius. Quam seditiose calumniatur me lacerare parentem Principis; quum ipse tantum commemorem, quæ mala Princeps, dum auspicaretur imperium, incomparabili gloria correxerit; quibus aliquot ante annos afflictabatur Respublica, nonnullorum perfidia, quibus hujus regis parens nimium credidisset; impar aliquamdiu ipse rebus administrandis per adversam valetudinem, alioqui vir omnium regnandi prudentissimus. Et tamen Brixius quum ea mala quæ aliorum contigere malitia, ipse improbe vertat in regem, mirum quam virulenter ibi debacchatur in me: ut pugnos, ut colaphos, ut exilia congerit; ut tanquam, velut carcere, stringeretur metro, ne tam libere quam libebat liceret excurrere, addidit viperæ glossas in margine, quibus in ea loca duceretur lector, si quis fortassis parum esset attentus ad carmina. Atque hoc pacto cum demonstret insigniter, nihil sibi ad nocendum defuisse præter vires pares virulentiae, tamen homo lepidus gloriatur se dixisse facete, dum risum ridet Ajacis. Nam ut is abjudicatis armis insaniens, cum appensas verberaret pecudes, effuse risit interim, et earum gemitu mire plaussit sibi, ut cui furor persuaserat, eas Agamemnonem esse atque Ulysses, in quos cupiebat ulcisci: sic Brixius improbum interpretamentum suum insectans, et ad perniciem usque exagitant, suaviter arridet sibi, dum præ mentis inopia non advertit omnes, imo omnes prorsus homines quibus ulla scintilla aut boni pectoris, aut sensus insit communis, in hoc Brixiano risu non minus animum gladiatorium detestari, quam deridere dementiam. Atque hæc quum ita se habeant, tamen tanquam ista Corœbo cuiquam scriberet aut Margitæ, non Erasmo, tanquam ipso

ipso connivente ad suam petulantiam, qua prior debacchatus est in nos, omnium simul sic eruiſſet oculos, ut quod ipſi cernere non liberet, idem nemini prorsusliceret aspicere, tanquam adhuc hostilia durarent tempora, ut eiliceret olim jactata verba, eademque prorsus innocua, nunc demum venenatis vindicare calumniis, quum uterque Princeps, quum totus utrinque populus ita coaluit in concordiam, ut milites obliviscantur etiam vulnerum, quorum cicatrices adhuc gestant in corpore; tanquam ipse acerbiter essem inſectus, ac diras omnes imprecatus in illum, tanquam ille vicissim meros jocos, meras facetias, meros sales effudiſſet, ac non insana convicia deblaterasset in me, ac plus quam virulenta deliria; operæ pretium est videre, ut securus ac certus spondeat sibi, non veniam tantum velut necessariæ responsionis, sed laudem etiam clementiæ, qui videlicet impetitus diris et execrationibus (quæ nusquam exstant) quum illi fas esset paribus armis in certamen descendere, mira tamen indolis benignitate, atque admirabili dextertate ingenii mordere se jactat absque dente, joculari sine calumnia, ridere citra convicium, ludere citra maledictum, commonefacere sine objurgatione, erudire sine ferula; imo adeo mea maledicta in lusus, convicia in risus, probra in jocos, execrationes in ironias, diras denique in scommata convertiſſe. An non videatur belle perorasse Brixius, si quis hæc forte legat, qui nihil omnino cognoscat de causa? Nam si quis lector inciderit, qui *Chordigeram* ejus, qui mea Epigrammata, qui moricum ejus *Antimoron* inspexerit (si quis forte sic abundet otio, ut ei vacet bonas horas tam male perdere) quum in illis Epigrammatis meis neque maledicta, neque probra, neque convicia, neque execrationes, neque diras inveniet; quum apud illum contra nihil inveniet aliud, præter meras sycphantias, maledicentiam, et virulenta jurgia; quum dentes videbit, sed fractos in coticula; ferulam videbit, sed absque literis; quum videbit hominem sic admonere, ut stultissime carpat quod non intelligit; sic erudire, ut calumniatur improbe si quid intelligat, is quanto risu ridebit eos risus Brixii, qui Brixium reddant ridiculum? quibus scommata, quæ multo scommate redeant in auctorem? Quos ei jocos exhibebit ita jocans Brixius, ut se videre putet saltantem camelum? quantam præbebit ludendi materiam tam inepte ludens? Germanus, ut germanus videatur *Æsopici aselli*, qui non multo minus absurde imitatus lascivientem caniculam, quam Brixius æmulatur poëtas, lutosos et corneos pedes impegit in heriles humeros, fustibus inde retrusus in stabulum? Denique quam lepidis ironiis eludet ironias Brixii? quippe tam illepidas ut lectorem admoneant pictoris cujusdam omnino talis, qualis Brixius est poëta, qui cum leporem atque canem depinxisset ita similes ut internosci non possent tandem uter canis esset, uter lepus, subscriptione solers indicavit. Ita Brixius ejusmodi ferme ludit ironiis, ut misere metuat sibi ne quas velit accipere per jocum dictas laudes, earum plerasque multi agnoscant pro veris: cujus periculi non aliud vidit effugium, quam ut *εἰρωνεύειν* se protestaretur marginali glossmate. Nimirum homo cautus ita cavit sibi ne sua teneretur syngrapha, quasi me laudasset ex animo. Uno loco tantum putavit non necesse esse ut marginali nota nos admoneret ironiæ suæ, adeo fidebat ejus loci elegantiae; quum in indice (ut ille vult videri) meorum erratorum, ut

res indicat, calumniæ atque inscitæ suæ meminit. Ridet in Utopia mea dialogum, in quo fraterculus cum morione disceptat; in quo, inquit Brixius, dialogo enarrando exornandoque Morus ingenii sui acumen, phraseos vim, ac judicii integritatem facile explicat. Equidem, Erasme doctissime, non usque adeo contemno Brixium, aut mihi tam impense placeo, quin facile fatear, neque elegantem fraterculorum phrasin, neque acutas morionis argutias tam belle unquam me potuisse exprimere, quam ad verum ac vivum potuerit expressisse Brixius. Adeo efficax res est talibus orationis deliciis assuescere, et ad morionem non nomine (quod * jam civiliter tam sæpe Brixius concedit mihi) sed natura (quo illum suo sibi jure vindicat *Antimorus*) accedere. Porro quod de judicio dicit, quo nimirum significat absurdum esse, barbaram Fratrum phrasin ei libello inferere, quem cupias esse Latinum (ut omittam interim et græcos Latinis barbaros esse, et Latinos Græcis, quorum sermonem cum laude quoque Romano sermoni scriptores omnes tam frequenter interferunt) non exspecto ut, non dico mea oratio (in qua Brixius undique tam manifestarios solœcismos ac barbarismos, sed manifestariâ sycophantiâ, manifestariâ deprehendit inscitâ) sed nec ipsius Brixii (cui Veneres omnes atque omnes prorsus Gratias putat affusas Brixius) ad Latinitatem aliquando sit perventura Plautinam: qui nec absurde tamen sibi facere visus est, nec Romanum sermonem dehonestare, quum in comœdia Latina Pœnum interdum faceret loquentem Punice. A quo exemplo non multum, opinor, abest, si quis in eo scripti genere quod prope accedit ad comicum, Fratrem id genus producat in proscenium lingua loquentem sua, hoc est, Latino-barbara. Et tamen scis ipse, mi Erasme, quam non valde mihi placuerit ille dialogus, quamque libenter fuerim omissurus, nisi supra quam dico placuisset illis, quos neque literis neque judicio quisquam, qui quidem literas habeat ac judicium, non tam longe anteponat Brixio,

Quantus ad æthereum patet hinc suspectus olympum.

Quorum aliquos hic quoque commemorarem, nisi quod et frustra commemorarem conscio, et non est animus viros cum honestos tum etiam honorabiles objicere invidissimi viri latratibus; qui aliena laude sic intabescit, ut plane pereundum homini fuerit, nisi aliquid rabiei suæ ^p ablaterasset in Beatum Rhenanum, æmulatus Æschinis odium, a cujus eruditione non minus abest, quam ego absum a Demosthenis, cujus gloriæ invidet Æschines, ut Ctesiphontem quoque, quia laudaverat, accusaret publice, et ei machinaretur exilium, quod merito mox in ipsum recidit. Ita quoniam Epigrammata mea Rhenanus Bilibaldo, doctissimus doctissimo atque optimus optimo, laudatione sua commendavit, mirum quam insanit Brixius, quam virulento animo, quam infirmis viribus hebetem plumbei gladii cuspidem stringat in Rhenanum. Adulatorem vocat, aut si hoc non agnoscat, inscium, indoctum, ac plane cæcum, qui non viderit meos versus tales esse, quales visi sunt per invidiæ ^q conspicienda pervidenti Brixio. Sed frustra involat in elephantem culex. Nam Brixius cujusmodi sit, declarat ipse. Rhenanum

* Read *tam*,

^p Read *oblaterasset*.

^q *Conspicilla*.

laudare, ego nec, ut nunc res habet, volo, ne illud audiam: *Mutuo muli scabunt*: nec certe si vellem, satis possem, ut quo (quod omnes norunt, fatentur, ac prædicant) tot feliciū ingeniorum ferax Germania nihil habeat, si linguam spectes, elegantius; si disciplinas, eruditius; si mores, melius. Verum demiror hercle, cur in unum furit Rhenanum Brixius. An ejus unius judicium de meis studiis dissentit a Brixio? Quasi nihil honorifice de me scripsissent (ut omittam te ac Petrum Ægidium, quibus videri possit amor nonnihil imponere) Buslidius, Huttenus, Paludanus, Noviomagus, Vives, Grapheus, Zasius, ac Budæus; quibuscum eo tempore adeo non amicitia contracta est ulla, ut nec litera quidem ulla intercesserit; at neque cum ipso Rhenano: ut omittam plurimos eruditione non incelebres. Quasi Brixius fingat hos omnes adulari mihi, multum ei debeo, qui tam magnum virum me facit: sin cæcos, inscios, atque indoctos omnes pronuntiet, quoniam sic ab eo dissentiant, ut quem ille toties stultum vocat, toties appellat insanum, ei (ut nihil recenseam amplius) aliquanto certe plusculum tribuant prudentiæ, quam adhuc audio, præter Brixium, quemquam tribuisse Brixio; nemo ei tam absoluta potestate dictaturam detulit, ut ejus unius sententiam ita ratam esse oporteat, quin ad populum saltem super sit provocatio. Nam quod hoc ita moleste fert, quod Rhenanus epigrammata mea Marulli et Pontani prætulit, debebat aliquanto pressius Rhenani laudationes expendere: qui etsi multo mihi tribuit amplius quam meus pudor possit agnoscere, tamen ea parte qua potissimum Brixius offenditur, non adeo effusus est in laudes meas, ut Brixius invidere debuerit. Neque enim me Pontano aut Marullo undecumque præfert Rhenanus, aut confert. Natura tantum comparat, non Græcarum literarum peritia, ne sit opus ut ita stomachetur Brixius Græco conferri Britannum. Etenim natura quid impedit etiam parem quempiam

Verecū in patria crassoque sub aëre nasci?

Quamquam ipse neque tam superbus sum, neque tam nescius mei, ut quæ mihi tribuit Beatus Rhenanus agnoscam; qui me, quod dixi, talibus viris natura confert, utilitate vero præfert hætenus, ut censeat plus frugis adferre lectoribus, si quid affero salubrium sententiarum, quam quicquid illi chartis illinant obscenitatis ac nequitiae, ac plus juvare putat quæ simpliciter ac aperte cano, quam Marulli delectant ænigmata: qua in re quid aliud Rhenanus, quam siquid est virtutis in me, id illorum præfert vitiis? quod laudis genus quum nihil obstet, quo minus eorum virtutes meis possint (ut certe faciunt) longe antecellere, non debuit, ad invidiam usque videri benignum: quum interim (ut præteream reliquos) Budæus unus, vir non minus publicæ rei peritus quam literariæ (in qua plane principatum quendam obtinet) quæ de me scripsit ejusmodi sint, quæ sicuti nunc hominis candidissimi civilitati tribuo, non aliter quæ in Brixii *Chordigeram* præfatur eruditissimus Aliander, ita longe magis optem esse vera, quam Pontanum aut Marullum superare carmine, aut utrumque simul utraque

^r Perhaps *Quod si*.

^s *Aliander*, I suppose.

lingua vincere. Et tamen mirum est, quam subito mutatus Brixius incumbit in famæ meæ curam etiam ipse, utpote cujus non nisi favore ac studio tot erratorum meorum me tot millium, tam pudendorum, amice, benevole, fideliter commonefecerit, videlicet ut ipsius opera subducantur clanculum, quæ circumferri diutius absque insigni traductione mea ac perpetua quadam ignorantia nota non poterant: quo nomine censet tantum etiam debere me tam amicæ ejus industriæ, quantum alteri quisquam debere possit. Hoc tam elegans ac bellum schema tam vehementer arrisit Brixio, ut quod nemo non irrisit quum legeretur in Antimoro, nunc velut repetit; serio oblitus interim illorum versuum, quibus miro ingenio comminiscitur, qua arte nunc verisimile sit me tantæ mederi infamiæ, nempe hac, ut omnes libros qui jam excusi sunt usquam, curem undique reportatos ad me, atque ita repurgatos post emittam denuo. Et tamen hoc ipsum ita veretur Brixius, ne videlicet emissis in omnes undique terras plus quingentis legatis, omnia exemplaria recipiam, ut minetur se facturum, uti apud se atque aliquot etiam alios (quod nisi emissis in id vicissim legatis difficile, opinor, fuerit) corrupta exemplaria exstent, quæ meos errores (quorum nunc id me admonet ut tollantur clanculum, ne quis posthac possit exprobrare) sic omnibus essent exhibitura, ut nec Oceani fluctus omnes sordes mihi possint abluere. Ejusdem vel memoriæ vel constantia etiam illud est, quod cum in illa epistola ad te neget *Antimorum* suam dentatam esse, ut in qua mordeat sine dente, tamen in hendecasyllabis (quos ita belle concinnat, ut in unum versum interdum syllabas intrudat tredecim) ait suos elegos se meo cruore oblinere. Et plane quemadmodum non minus ridicule poëtas imitatur, quam hominem simia, nec minus inepte dissimulat, quam aut mugil, aut cuniculus, qui simulatque caput in glebam condiderit, totum corpus satis occultatum putat: ita nullus ^t lupus unquam fuit deteriore memoria, nulla pluma, nullus ventus magis constanter inconstans. Jam quod ait, se tuo consilio fuisse paritum, nisi liber jam tum fuisset in manibus typographi, demiror admodum, quum tantam vim obtineat apud illum vel solus nutus Erasmicus, tam leve pondus habuisse monitoriam epistolam, ut potius suam famam pergeret infamare tam furioso libello, præsertim siticulofus gloriæ, quam perderet pauxillum pecuniæ; homo cui (ut ipsius verbis utar) non victus aut vestitus modo, sed famulitium quoque atque equitatus insuper, et crumena denique semper ære gravis abundet; cui domus sint et hortuli, in quos Apollo ac Musæ omnes (nisi Brixius pessulum obdat ostio) cupiant relicto Parnaso prorsus immigrare. Et tamen miror, si tibi fuisset paritum, qui re adhuc integra, toties admonitus, neque Budæo, neque Beraldo, neque Lascari, neque Deloino parere voluit, neque Reverendissimo Cardinali, qui nuper obiit in Gallia. Cæterum ut bonitatis fuisse judicat quod *Antimori* dehortareris editionem, ita nisi probaris editam, plane jam te censet injustum, qui aliud jus illi nunc dicas in me, aliud in Fabrum olim statueris tibi. Nec dubito quin sibi videatur acutus admodum Brixius, et peritus judiciorum, qui te tam gravi

^t What doth he mean?

stringat præjudicio, ut ni videri velis injustus, adversus eum pronunciare non possis. Ego, mi Erasme (quod sicuti apud omnes profiteor, sic apud neminem libentius profiteor, quam apud te, cujus animum hac sane parte comperi penitus conspirare cum meo) Jacobum Fabrum sic observo, suspicio, veneror, quomodo virum debeo, quo non aliquot ante seculis exstitit quisquam literis ac virtute venerabilior; qui an plus annis sit, ut, præter sacrarum literarum studium, in quibus illustrandis utiliter est versatus, scholas aliquando ab inepta ista garrulitate atque absurdis argutiis ad sobriam ac severam philosophiam atque ad neglectas jamdiu disciplinas traduceret, ambigo. Quæ res adeo in confesso est, ut ii quoque perquam honorificis calculis illi attestentur in summa, qui ab eo longissime in uno atque altero interdum dicto dissentiunt, nec alia re provocati tamen, quam quod Faber quædam, ut videtur multis, quæ dicta ac disputata moderatius offendissent neminem, nimis aliquanto fortiter asseveret, ac majore quam par sit contentione definiat: ita bonos viros plerumque longius pius quidam fervor abducit. Verum quam nihil habeat simile tua defensio cum istac absurdissima querela Brixii, nemini potest esse dubium, nisi cui res prorsus erit ignota. Quamobrem consilium non est, hunc explicare locum, et causam cum causa, libellos cum libellis conferre, quasi non aliter patere possit, neque in initio quicquam, neque in toto rei progressu, Brixii vesaniam cum tuo facto congruere: ne vel rem^v charissimam facere controversam puter, vel sopitum atque obrutum ignem importune videar suis eruisse cineribus, vel Fabrum, quem toto colopectore, aliqua cogar offendere, vel tuum judicium apud quem nunc causam dico, tentare credar, et favorem conciliare blanditiis. Hoc unum certe (nisi quod ludere se posuit pro furere) alioqui dicit non omnino falsum, te videlicet cominus pugnasse, quum ipse rem egerit eminus. Nam ut tu rem non gladio quidem, ut ait Brixius, qui te videtur gladiatorem fingere, sed acu prorsus attigisti, ita ille deliriis tantum velitatus eminus, et ejaculatus convicia, quæ vel anus ebria effutire potuisset in quemlibet, et quæ in ipsum commode competeabant plurima; ad rem,^x inquam, profecto quivit accedere, aut si fors^y attinget aliquando breviter, tum quemadmodum solet in duriore solo infirmis viribus emissum telum, protinus aut prætervolavit, aut excidit. Itaque eminus sic commissæ pugna hætenus plane profecit, ut ediderit specimen, posse quidem sagittam sese non incommode prorsus emittere, si quis tantum, quem in locum ejus sagitta ceciderit, eo scopum semper officiose transferat, et belle posse jurgari, si quem nactus esset in quem illa competerent, quæ ipse ex inexhausto probrorum suorum puteo posset haurire: quibus quando deest in quem hæreant, quid aliud interim quam ipse perfundit sese? Verum aliquando tandem velut tuis literis permotus incipit esse placatior, ac si mihi videatur posteaquam uterque in proscenium prodit, ut ait, personatus (sic enim prodire solebant pugnaturi) ac suas pro virili partes egisse visus est, ego videlicet epigrammatis aliquot, Brixius integris voluminibus, ego provocantis, ille respondentis (nam hoc, ne quis alioqui non credat, accurate repetit) non recusat tandem quo minus

^v Read *clarissimam*.^x Perhaps *nunquam*.^y Perhaps *attingat*.

dextris invicem junctis, Erasmo patre patrato (qui mos olim fuit peculiaris histrionibus) feriamus foedus, praesertim cum tu me sentias illius amore dignissimum. Cæterum ne pax tam facile impetrata fieret aliquanto contemtor, aut mihi inde surgerent cristæ, ita rem temperavit, nusquam suæ majestatis immemor, ut si tragoediæ ipsius exitum spectare malim, nihil item moretur quo minus ea ad postremum usque actum deducatur: utpote cui mea hypocrisis non sit tam admirabilis, ut illum a proskenio deterreat; nec vires item usque adeo formidabiles, ut, si manus conferre voluerim, detrectare debeat, modo meis, non, ut Patroclus Achillis, armis concertaturus in palæstram descendam, et ante conflictum insonet tuba. Ut miris artibus istam conflictatiunculam (qua ferme duntaxat ipse pugnat secum)^z exornet Brixius atque ἀποσεμνύνει! Nam velut histriones nos committit, comicos, tragicos, palæstritas, bellatores; et mirum est quanto cum artificio hæc inter se tam diversa commisceat; quam concinne pugnantibus aptat personas, mimis scenicis arma, et adhibito patre patrato inter imperatores histriones feriat foedera: ut dimicantes producit in proskenium, bellatores in palæstram: denique scita ἐπιμονῇ tam belle persistit in metaphora, ut in tribus fere versibus conficiat nobis comicotragicopolemon! Quod ad hoc foedus attinet, Erasme charissime, noli laborare: neque enim tam ingens instat rei literariæ periculum, si congregiantur hinc Morus homuncio perpusillus, hinc generosa illa palma, palma^a non aliter una Brixius, ut Erasmo sit opus patre patrato qui faciat pacem: nisi literarum proceres similiter affectos reddat hujus duelli cura, quomodo apud Homerum sollicitos habet Superos Giganteo bello formidabilior illa βαλεγχόμνομαχία. Nam quod me scribis esse illius amore dignissimum, tuam bonitatem agnosco, qui undique studes paci. Verum ego, mi Erasme, me^b tam dignor honore ut inter amicos satrapis tam potentis adnumerer, cujus nunc utcunque respondi *Antimoro*, non sat fortasse reverenter pro tanta viri dignatione; sed pro re certe, ut censent alii, nimis aliquanto modeste: tu vero, mi Erasme, quid sentias, cupio scire. Nam quod tam propere curavi excudenda quæ scripsi, quæ tutius fortasse fuerat per otium polire, praesertim objicienda tam oculato æmulo, ut et ibi cernat mendum ubi mendum non est, malui ei ossa multa relinquere in quibus exerceat dentes, fatiget, aut frangat denique, quam mihi diu talibus nugis occupare pectus. Et profecto non fuisset tam insanum libellum responso dignaturus ullo, ni mihi visum esset amicorum quorundam obscurare consiliis, suadentium ut me tuerer adversus hominis absurdissimas calumnias. Quæ res una mihi scopus fuit: non commutare convicia, ac paria vicissim in illum spargere: alioqui si statuissem non respiciendum potius quid me deceret dicere, quam quid illum conveniebat audire, quantumvis magnifice meum contemnat stylum Brixius, tanquam imbellem, enervem, nihilque masculum, effecissem saltem ut intelligeret quam verus sit ille Nasonis versus:

In causa facili cuivis licet esse disertum.

Nunc vero quum ille non in ingenium tantum ac mores meos debacchatus sit, verum etiam in perniciem meam, quoad ejus fieri potuit, sit grassatus,

^z Perhaps exornat.

^a This is obscure.

^b Perhaps me tali non dignor honore.

in literis vero, ^c in eum nihil intactum reliquerit, quod non arroserit; ego contra nihil illius attigi, præter illa ipsa volumina, quibus aut ipse petor, aut patria. In universum vero quid præstare possit, neque pronuncio neque excutio. Scio enim quam leve pondus habiturum sit de illo iudicium meum, quod tamen etiamnum magis benignum est in illum, quam sit multorum quos ille minus offendit. Verum enimvero neminem adhuc audio tam candido calculo suffragantem Brixio, ut non idem sentiat, nihil hætenus ab eo prodiisse tam magnificum, quod respondere possit hominis jactabundi gloriolis, dum nunc jactat, idem esse poetice sibi, quod *πεδίον ἱππῶ*, hoc est, equo suum campum; nunc se gloriatur cum antiquitate certare, nunc ipsam clavam vi eripere Herculi, dum fulmen denique satis impudenter sese minatur efflaturum. Has hominis glorias alii quoties cum ejus conferunt poematiis, ingenium censent non insanum tantum, sed etiam insanabile. Ego vero quanquam Brixius in me tam atrocem non modo iudicem, sed et augurem quoque præbeat sese, ut non solum quicquid hætenus unquam scripsi damnet, verum etiam pronunciet nihil posthac scripturum quod possit esse dignum lectu: tamen mitius aliquanto de illo sentio, conjecturam potissimum cum ex *Chordigera* faciens, tum ex *Antimoro* quam in me scripsit iratus, quando vel hoc ipsum mihi spem adhuc aliquam facit, austeram illam indolem posse aliquando mitescere, quod cum tam inepta scribat nunc id ætatis habens, hominem esse video, non tam præcocis ingenii, quin adhuc durare possit ac maturescere alioqui. Plane si sentirem, ad statum jam ac robur pervenisse, atque, ut Græci vocant, *ἀκμὴν*, aliud expectare non possem quam ut cujus ver lethargus est, æstas ira tam impotens, ejus autumnus sit omnino furor. Jam quod meam hypocrisin negat esse tam admirabilem, ut eum e proscenio deterreat, fateor certe nihil nec habere me, nec præ me ferre quod absterreat quemquam: neque negare possum, quin hypocrisis Brixii tantum terroris invehat secum, ut non modo me homuncionem pavidulum, et quem facile terruerit personæ pallentis imago, sed spectatores omnes prorsus e theatro possit spectris expavefactos abigere; si modo veri sint ii versus Brixii, quos in *Antimorum* *Μωεῖχς μωρότερος* inferuit:

*Hæc mihi dictanti adstabant Diræ auribus omnes,
Et Furia, infernis concita turba vadis,
Aleto, et sacris caput irretita colubris
Tisiphone, et terrens ore Megæra truci.*

Quod si personas istas plus satis tragicas deponat Brixius, certe reliqua hominis hypocrisis non habet quicquam tam admirabile, ut, velut Medusæ caput, quenquam reddat attonitum: neque vires ejus experior tam formidolosas, ut aut Patroclo aut Thersitæ certe præsidium petendum sit ab Achil-
lis armis adversus Hectorem talem. Sin Brixio penitus decretum est, factitias illas Furias, verum furorem suum, proferre in proscenium secum, si certum est illi totis intonare tonitribus, si fulmen illud terrificum vibrare statuit,

^c Perhaps in eum should be left out.

quod sibi ab ore jactat cadere quoties, secum videlicet offensus gravius, dignas Jove concipit iras; histrionicam suam solus per me licebit exerceat, ego adversus tam ominosa spectra silentio memet velut amuleto lustrabo. Existet tamen fortassis Hercules aliquis ἀλεξίκακος, qui suetus ejusmodi portenta subigere, clavam quam ei Brixius vi eripuit, vicissim eripiat Brixio, ferula nimirum armatus aut flagro. Nam adversus τὴν τῆς Βελξίας βρολίην non^d dubitavit vel^e σρεψιάδης ἀνταποπαρδεῖν. Porro^f fluminis præstigium belle compeecat Cacus, talium terriculamentorum peritus artifex: qui si minus calleret artem, tamen quibus armis utendum Caco fuerat adversus tale fulmen, ipsius * Caci nomen admoneret. Etenim potius quam fulminis afflatu miseri mortales perierint, in os illud patulum trisulco hiulcans fulmine, non tantum § me ire fas est. Spero, mi Erasme, fore, ut te in Regum conventu simus visuri Caleti, qui venturus haud dubie sis utrique Regum gratissimus: alioqui fuerit impudens, si nos amiculi tui vel exigamus vel exspectemus ut nostra causa subeas laborem tanti itineris, quorum potius officium fuerit ad te venire: id quod, ni te illuc Regum cura pertraxerit, a Principe impetrata in dies aliquot venia faciemus. Tu interea, mi Erasme, vale, ac nihilominus quam soles amicus Brixio, Morum simul qua soles charitate complectere: cui tu tam charus es, ut nec ipse sibi sit charior. Lupsetus noster magno auditorio summa cum laude sua, nec minore scholasticorum fruge bonas literas in utraque lingua profitetur Oxoniæ. Successit enim Joanni Clementi meo: nam is se totum addixit rei Medicæ, nemini aliquando cessurus, nisi hominem (quod abominor) hominibus inviderint Parcæ. Iterum vale: ac meo nomine Dorpio, Neseno, Viveti, viris in re literaria primariis, salutem plurimam nuncia.

Mori Lucubrat. p. 429. *Basil*, 1563. Erasmus did not think fit to publish this letter against his friend Brixius.†

Nº. XXV.

ε *Erasmus Richardo Pacæo salutem*

^h **U**T IN A M huic fabulæ, quam nobis parum auspicato exorsus est Lutherus, Deus aliquis ἀπὸ μηχανῆς felicem imponat finem. Dedit ipse telum hostibus suis, quo confoderetur; atque ita rem gessit quasi servari nollet, frequenter et meis literis, et amicorum vocibus admonitus, ut sty-

^d Perhaps *dubitabit*, or *dubitaverit*.

^e Read σρεψιάδης. He alludes to Aristophanes, *Nub.* 292.

καὶ βελομαὶ ἀνταποπαρδεῖν.
Πρὸς τὰς βρολίās.

^f Read *fulminis*.

* *Caci nomen*. That is to say, *Cacus* a *cacando*.

§ *me ire*. Read, *non tantum me ire fas est*. From Juvenal, I. 131.

† Above, in p. 389. l. 32. instead of *ludens Germanus*, it should be, I think, *laudans Germanos*.

ε *Life of Erasmus*. p. 272.

^h This Letter is amongst the Epistles of Erasmus, with various readings at the end, *Ep.* 583. have transcribed it from the *Original*, in the *Museum Britannicum*.

li mucrorum temperaret. Tanta est enim in eo acerbitas, ut etiam si omnia essent verissima, quæ scripsit, tamen res non potuerit habere felicem exitum. At vereor ne Jacobitæ et Theologi quidam parum moderate sint usuri victoria sua: præsertim Lovanienses, quos habet privatum quoddam in me odium, et nacti sunt ad eam rem organum longe accommodatissimum Hieronymum Aleandrum. Is satis insanit suapte natura, etiam si nullus instiget; nunc habet instigatores, qui possint etiam moderatissimum ingenium ad insaniam adigere. Provolant undique libelli virulentissimi; hos omnes mihi tribuit Aleander, cum ego multos nescirem natos, priusquam ex illo cognoscerem. Agnovit Lutherus suos libros apud Cæsarem, et tamen ex his mihi ⁱ tribuit Captivitatem Babylonicam. O me ^k fœcundum, qui tot libellis scribendis sufficerem, cum interim difficillimo labore ^l reconcinnem Novum Testamentum, ^m castigem Augustini libros, præter alias studii portiones. Dispeream si in omnibus Lutheri libris est ⁿ unica syllaba mea, aut si ullus maledicus liber me auctore prodiit. Imo deterreo sedulo. Nunc hoc agunt, ut doceant Lutherum quædam hausisse ex meis libris, quasi non plura hauserit ex Epistolis Paulinis. Nunc demum sentio hoc fuisse consilium Germanorum, ut me volentem nolentem pertraherent in Lutheri negotium. Inconsultum me hercle consilium. Qua re me potius alienassent? Aut quid ego potuisssem opitulari Luthero, si me periculi comitem fecissem, nisi ut pro uno perirent duo? Quo spiritu ille scripserit non queo satis demirari, certe bonarum literarum cultores ingenti gravavit invidia. Multa quidem præclare et docuit et monuit. Atque utinam sua bona malis intolerabilibus non vitiaisset. Quod si omnia pie scripisset, non tamen erat animus ob veritatem capite periclitari. Non omnes ad martyrium satis habent roboris; vereor autem, ne si quid inciderit tumultus, Petrum sim imitaturus. Pontifices ac Cæsares bene decernentes sequor, quod pium est; male ^o statuentes fero, quod tutum est. Id opinor etiam bonis viris licere, si nulla sit spes profectus. Ac rursus Libellum de Julio mihi impingunt; adeo nihil relinquunt intentatum, quo lædant non tam me quam bona studia, quæ nollent isti sic efflorescere. Sed de me viderit Christus, cui semper meæ servierunt literulæ. Posteaquam Lutherus abiit in favillas, ^p undique laudem sibi vindicant Prædicatores ac Theologi quidam non admodum sinceri. Videndum est cordatis Principibus, ne jus laxetur istis sæviendi in innoxios ac de Religione Christiana bene merentes; neve ita feramur odio in ea, quæ male scripsit Lutherus, ut e bene dictis fructum amittamus. Cætera cognosces e Mori literis. R. D. Cardinali, Patrono ac Domino meo incomparabili, facies, quam potes, commendatissimum. Bene vale, Pacæ clarissime. Bruxellis, 3 Nonas Julias. Anno 1521. Erasmus tuus.

ⁱ tribuit, nempe, Aleander.

^k fœcundum, as I conjecture, for it is blindly written.

^l reconcinnem, or reconcinnarem: for I know not which it is. ^m Of castigem there is nothing left but castig.

ⁿ una, or unica, I know not which.

^o statuentes, I think.

^p Libri ejus ex mandato Caroli V. Wormatiæ fuerant combusti.

N^o. XXVI.

^a *A letter of Leo X. to Erasmus.*

^r *Desiderio Erasmo Roterodamo.*

DILECTE fili, salutem &c. Gratae nobis admodum fuerunt literae tuæ: declararunt enim id, de quo addubitare aliquantum cœperamus, neque tantum ex quorundam quamvis prudentium et proborum testimonio, quantum ex scriptis nonnullis tuis quæ circumferuntur; te nihilo minus egregia et constante esse cum in nos sanctamque hanc Apostolicam sedem, tum erga communem pacem concordiamque, et imprimis publicam Christianam et rem et legem voluntate; quod profecto præclare convenit, et huic ingenio, quod Dei beneficio summum ad optimas disciplinas attulisti, et eis studiis pietatis, quæ semper es professus. Itaque nos, quorum sæpe ob animum versabatur tui quamquam absentis memoria, cum de tuis eximiiis virtutibus aliquo præmio honestandis cogitaremus, paulisper ex ea opinione deturbati, valde jucunde accipimus, restitutam in nobis esse, officio et diligentia litterarum tuarum, mentem pristinam diligendi tui. Atque utinam, quod jam nobis constat certumque est de officio et voluntate tua in hanc sedem sanctam, communemque Dei fidem, id apud cæteros omnes cerneremus constare. Nam nec tempus ullum opportunius, nec causa justior unquam fuit, ingenium atque doctrinam impiis hominibus opponendi: nec vero quisquam ipso te, ut nostrum est de tua eruditione judicium, ad tam laudabile opus aptior; in quo elaborant quidem et elaborarunt permulti summa cum pietatis et scientiæ fama. Sed et illorum corda direxit Deus, et de te tuæ prudentiæ permittendum est. Nos ad probra et contumelias seditiosorum hominum, divina ope et patientia armati, illud magis moleste ferimus, quod cum zizaniis non parum bonæ segetis corrumpitur, omnisque de grege nobis credito jactura animum nostrum sollicitudine afficit. Qui enim possumus non dolere detrimento bonarum mentium, quæ trahuntur in errorem, cum istos ipsos errorum et impietatis auctores salvos esse cupiamus? Sed neque deerit nobis Deus, neque nos muneri atque officio nostro sumus defuturi. Quod autem ad litteras tuas attinet, nos et de tua optima voluntate certum jam habemus, et tuum adventum in hanc urbem, quandocumque is fuerit, læte et gratanter sumus accepturi. Datum Romæ 11 Januar. 1521. Anno octavo.

Jacobus Sadoletus.

^a Life of Erasmi. p. 285. From this letter it appears that the Court of Rome was dissatisfied with the conduct of Erasmus.

^r Epistolæ Clarorum Virorum, &c. et Sadoleti. Romæ, 1754. p. 397.

Nº. XXVII.

Extract from Erasmus, Ep. 613. relating to the writings of Hilary, and to the Arian Controversy.

^s **I**N his evolvendis, illud obiter subiit animum meum, fortasse non defuturos, qui mirentur, quod quum tot libris, tanto studio, tantoque molimine, tot argumentis, tot sententiis, tot anathematis agatur, ut credamus Filium esse verum Deum ejusdem essentiae; sive, ut aliquoties loquitur Hilarius, ejusdem generis, aut naturæ cum Patre, quod Græci vocant ^t ὁμοσίον, potentia, sapientia, bonitate, æternitate, immortalitate, cæterisque rebus omnibus parem; de Spiritu Sancto interim vix ulla fiat mentio; cum tota controversia de cognomine veri Dei, de cognomine hominii, de æqualitate, non minus pertineat ad Spiritum, quam ad Filium. Imo nusquam scribit [Hilarius] adorandum Spiritum Sanctum, nusquam tribuit Dei vocabulum, nisi quod uno aut altero loco in *Synodis* refert improbatos eos, qui Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum auderent dicere tres Deos: sive quia putarit tum magis patrocinandum Filio, cujus humana natura faciebat, ut difficilius persuaderetur Deum esse, qui idem esset homo, et hunc Ariani divinitate spoliare tentabant, quum de Spiritu Sancto nondum esset agitata quæstio; sive hæc Veterum religio fuit, ut licet Deum pie venerarentur, nihil tamen de eo pronunciare auderent, quod non esset aperte traditum in sacris voluminibus. In quibus ut aliquoties Filio tribuitur Dei cognomen, ita Spiritui Sancto nusquam aperte; etiamsi post Orthodoxorum pia curiositas idoneis argumentis comperit e sacris libris, in Spiritum Sanctum competere quicquid Filio tribuebatur, excepta Personarum proprietate: sed ob impervestigabilem rerum divinarum obscuritatem, in nominibus tribuendis erat religio: de re divina nefas esse ducebant aliis verbis loqui, quam sacrae Literæ loquerentur, et publica Ecclesiæ traderet auctoritas. Spiritum Sanctum legerant, Spiritum Dei legerant, Spiritum Christi legerant. Didicerant ex Evangelio Spiritum Sanctum non sejungi a Patre et Filio. Docentur enim Apostoli baptizare in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Servant trium Personarum consortium solennes illæ preculæ, ex antiquissimo Ecclesiæ ritu nobis relictæ, breves juxta ac doctæ, in quibus Pater rogatur per Filium, in unitate Spiritus Sancti. Pater frequentissime Deus vocatur, Filius aliquoties, Spiritus Sanctus exserte nunquam. Atque hæc dixerim, non ut in dubium vocem, quod nobis e divinis Literis Patrum orthodoxorum tradidit auctoritas, sed ut ostendam, quanta fuerit Antiquis religio pronūciandi de rebus divinis, cum sanctius etiam eas colerent, quam nos, qui huc audaciæ prorupimus, ut non vereamur Filio præscribere, quibus modis debuerit honorare Matrem suam. Audemus

^t Life of Erasmi. p. 291.

^t ὁμοσίον.

Spiritum Sanctum appellare Deum verum, ex Patre Filioque procedentem, quod Veteres aliquamdiu non videntur ausi : sed iidem non veremur illum subinde nostris sceleribus ex animi nostri templo deturbare, perinde quasi crederemus Spiritum Sanctum nihil aliud esse quam inane nomen. Quemadmodum plerique Veterum qui summa pietate colebant Filium, tamen hominum dicere verebantur, quod ea vox nusquam in sacris Literis haberetur. Adeo prior fuit Ecclesiæ profectus in puritate vitæ, quam in exacta cognitione divinitatis ; nec unquam plus accepit dispendii, quam quum in eruditione philosophica, demum et opibus hujus mundi quam maxime promovisse videbatur : non quod per se malæ sint opes, sed quod plerumque involvant hominem curis hujus mundi. Nec per se mala est eruditio, sed plerumque gignit factiones ac dissidia. Prætexitur fidei catholicæ defensio, et interim admiscent sese affectus privati, et sub Christi titulo Satanæ negotium agitur. Non quod tale quippiam suspicer de Hilario, quale certo comperimus in quibuldam hujus ætatis : sed tamen quum viveret, homo erat : non carebat humanis affectibus : falli poterat, corrumpi poterat. Ejectus erat, ac damnatus erat per Saturninum : apud Phrygas barbarie nobiles exulabat annos aliquot : urgebat modis omnibus Ariana factio. Hæc aliaque permulta poterant etiam boni viri affectibus imponere sub specie pietatis. Non inficior execrandam hæreticam pervicaciam, si sanari non possit. Sed illud interim cavendum, ne erroris unius odio, devolvamur in alium errorem ; eamque servemus animi moderationem, ne similtas nobis persuadeat, esse pravum quod rectum est ; esse dulce quod amarum est, et contra. Id si nulli fere Veterum non aliqua ex parte accidit, equidem non deprecabor hominis otiosi notam, qui hæc admoneam. Tertullianus dum nimis acriter pugnat adversus eos, qui plus satis tribuebant matrimonio, delatus est in alteram foveam, damnans quod Christus approbavit, et exigens quod Christus non exegit, sed suavit. Hieronymus tanto ardore pugnat adversus eos, qui matrimonium efferebant, cum injuria virginitatis, ut ipse sub iniquo judice vix possit suam tueri causam, si reus fiat parum reverenter tractati conjugii ac digamiae. Montanus dum ardentius oppugnat illos, qui passim dignis et indignis aperiebant Ecclesiæ fores, plus satis laxata severitate disciplinæ Ecclesiasticæ, in diversum incidit malum. Divus Augustinus adversus Pelagium toto studio dimicans, alicubi minus tribuit libero arbitrio quamtribuendum putant qui nunc in Scholis regnant Theologici. Possem hujus generis exempla permulta commemorare, etiam ex recentioribus, sed præstat, opinor, in re odiosa non esse admodum copiosum. De Hilario nunc agimus, qui tum ob vitæ sanctimoniam, tum ob insignem eruditionem, tum ob eloquentiam admirabilem, ævi sui lumen fuit. Quanto stomacho sævit in Arianos, identidem impios, diabolos, blasphemos, Satanas, pestes, antichristos eos appellans, jam enim leve est hæretici cognomen ? Et tamen probabile est inter Arianæ factionis homines fuisse, quibus persuasum esset, hoc, quod de Christo prædicabant, verum ac pium esse. Dogma magnis ac multis auctoribus nitebatur : suffragabantur in speciem aliquot loca Scripturæ divinæ : nec deerant rationes, quæ nonnullam veri speciem præ se ferrent. Accessit Cæsaris auctoritas, et præter hanc ingens subscribentium

numerus,

numerus, cui merito fuisset accedendum, si semper melior pars esset quæ major. Postremo, certamen erat de rebus longe semotis ab humani ingenii captu. Monendum ac docendum ego censuissem, si quis cum Ario sensisset, non autem protinus appellassem Satanam aut antichristum. Etenim si hæc torquenda sunt in eum, quisquis errat alicubi, quid faciemus, præter tot egregios Ecclesiæ doctores, ipsi huic Hilario, qui tot locis sentire videtur Christo fuisse corpus, quod doloris capax non esset, &c. — Quin et alia loca sunt, quæ civilem et commodum requirunt interpretem. Quam autem legem in se statuit, qui sic sævit in alios? Hæc nequaquam ideo nobis dicuntur, ut sanctissimi doctissimique viri gloriam obscuremus, famamque fugillemus; sed ut hujus temporis Episcopos ac Theologos admoneamus, ne quid tale sinant ipsis subrepere, quale videmus summis alioqui viris accidisse. —

N^o. XXVIII.

The first Epistle Dedicatory of the Colloquies of Erasmus.

D. Erasmus Roter. Joanni Erasmo Frobenio S. D.

GRATULARER tibi raram istam felicitatem, Erasmi suavissimæ, cui contigerit in officina paterna, velut in optimorum auctorum ubere quodam fonte, nasci, tum inter tot trium linguarum scientia præstantes viros educari, nisi magis conveniret isti ætati bene ominari quam gratulari. Neque vero vulgarem sustines expectationem, ut amantissimo patri, cui vere es, quod diceris, ἐράσμιος, cujusque spes omnis in te uno sita est; ut Beato Rhenano, mihiq; respondeas, qui tuo nomine fidejussimus in baptismo; ut Guolphango Capitoni, quo fidejussore confirmationis sacramentum accepisti. A nobis curatum est, ut prima linguæ tuæ balbuties Latinis Græcisque literis formaretur. Libellus hic nonnihil conducet et ad pietatis elementa perdiscenda. Quo nomine debet tibi chorus innumerabilis æqualium, quod hæc utilitas per te ad ipsos pervenerit. Visum est enim nobis tua causa, dies aliquot repuerascere, dum stylum ac sententias ad tuam ætatulam attemperamus. Jesus te servet ad meliora proficientem. Bene vale. Basileæ, Pridie Kalendas Martias. Anno 1522.

Maittaire II. 679.

N^o. XXIX.

I.

* *Theologorum Patrono eximio D. Erasmo Roterodamo doctissimo, suoque optimo Theophrastus Paracelsus.*

QUÆ mihi sagax musa et Astoos tribuit medica, candide apud me clamans: similium judiciorum manifestus sum auctor. Regio hepatis pharmacis non indiget, nec aliæ duæ species indigent laxativis. Medicamen est magistræ arcanum potius ex re comfortativa, specifica et mel-

* Life of Erasmi. p. 295.

* From Melchior Adam, *Vit. Paracelsi.*

† Life of Erasmi. p. 312.

leis absterfivis, id est, consolidativis. In defectum hepatis essentia est secunda, quæ de pinguedine renum, medicamina regalia sunt peritæ laudis. Scio corpusculum Mesuaticas tuum non posse sufferre colloquintidas, nec aliquid turbidatum, sed minimum de pharmaco: scio me aptiorem, et in arte mea peritiorem, et scio quæ corpusculo tuo valeant in vitam longam, quietam, et sanam: non indiges vacationibus. Tertius morbus est (ut apertius loquar) quædam materia seu ulcerata putrefactio, seu natum phlegma, vel accidentale colligatum, vel si fæx urinæ, vel tartarum vasis, vel mucilago de reliquiis e spermate, vel si humor nutriens viscosus, vel bituminosus: pinguedo resoluta, vel quicquid hujusmodi sit, quando de potentia salis, in quo coagulandi vis est, coagulabitur, quemadmodum in filice, in beryllo potius similis est hæc generatio. Hæc non in te nata perspexi. Sed quicquid judicavi, de minera frusticulata marmorea existente in renibus ipsis, judicium feci, sub nomine rerum coagulatarum. Si, optime Erasme, mea praxis specifica tuæ excellentiæ placuerit, curo ego ut habeas et Medicum et Medicinam. Vale. Theophrastus.

Nº. XXIX.

II.

Rei medicæ peritissimo Doctori Theophrasto Heremita Erasmus Roterodamus S.

NON est absurdum, Medico, per quem Deus nobis suppeditat salutem corporis, animæ perpetuam optare salutem. Demiror unde me tam penitus noris semel duntaxat visum. Ænigmata tua non ex arte medica, quam nunquam didici, sed ex misero sensu verissima esse agnosco. In regione hepatis jam olim sensi dolores, nec divinare potui, quis esset mali fons. Renum pinguedines ante complures annos in lotio conspexi. Tertium quid sit non satis intelligo: tamen videtur esse probabile mihi id molestare, ut dixi. Hisce diebus aliquot, nec medicari vacat, nec ægrotare, nec mori; tot studiorum laboribus obruor. Si quid tamen est, quod citra solutionem corporis mihi potest lenire malum, rogo ut communices. Quod si distraheris, paucissimis verbis ea, quæ plusquam Laconice notasti, fusius explices, aliaque præscribas remedia, quæ, dum vacabit, queam fumere. Non possum polliceri præmium arti tuæ studioque par: certe gratum animum polliceor. Frobenium ab inferis revocasti, hoc est, dimidium mei: si me quoque restitueris, in singulis utraque restitues. Utinam sit ea fortuna, quæ te Basileæ remoretur. Hæc ex tempore scripta, vereor ut possis legere. Bene vale. Erasmus Roterodamus suapte manu.

Nº. XXX.

Erasmus Rot. Jodoco Gavero, viro præter Juris professionem undequaque doctissimo S. D.

JOANNIS Nævii communis amici nunciata mors quemadmodum mihi gravem mœrorem attulit, ita attulit et salubrem admonitionem. Non enim possum non graviter ferre tam singularis amici jacturam, præfer-

^z Life of Erasme. p. 238.

tim quum ipse multis nominibus esset vita longissima dignissimus. Rursum, tam subita mors admonet nos omnes, ne quis in eo statu velit vivere, in quo nolit mori. Ex amicorum enim literis intelligo, illum cum amicis hilariter ac jucunde cœnasse: mox quum ascenderet gradus illos, a me toties calcatos (nam demigrarat in cubiculum meum) subito morbo correptum ad horam ferme decimam, nec ab hoc paroxysmo vixisse nisi sex horas. Quamquam haud scio an ista mors possit videri subita, cum illi tot annis res fuerit cum paralyfi. Ac mea sententia nimium indulgit medicinæ, cujus ipse non erat ignarus: nam quæ pars est liberalis eruditionis, in qua vir ille non fuerit felicissime versatus? Tanta erat ingenii dexteritas. Proinde in familiaribus colloquiis soleo nonnunquam illud in illum jacere, ingenium Nævii male habitare. Profecto dignus erat animus ille feliciori domicilio. Rursum indigna mens erat, quæ curis humilioribus inquinaretur, sed semel irritus explicare sese non poterat. Jam quæ linguæ felicitas, quam prompta, quam parata dicendi facultas, si de re seria dicendum esset? Qui lepos, quæ argutia, si jocis aut salibus ludere libuisset? Tum qui morum candor? quæ convictus suavitas? Quam erat amicus amico? Quam arcani crediti continens? Quam non sordidus? Unum in eo desiderabam, ne nullus esset nævus in Nævio. Tenacior erat simultatum quam ego volebam: eas non facile quidem concipiebat, sed semel conceptas ægre ponebat. Hac una de re nonnunquam inter animos tam concordēs erat, ut scis, aliqua discordia. Non poteram illi persuadere, quam facile nonnunquam graves inimicitias comis appellatio solveret, quamque verum esset illud Græcorum proverbium, πολλὰς Φιλίας ἀπροσηγορία διέλυσε. Solebam illi occinere fabulam de Joanne Coletto, viro perenni hominum memoria digno. Pessime illi conveniebat cum patruo, viro admodum sene ac præfractis moribus. Lis erat non de lana caprina, nec de asini, quod aiunt, umbra; sed de magna summa pecuniarum, ob quantam vel filius bellum indiceret patri. Coletus pransurus apud R. P. Guilhelmum Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, junxit me sibi in cymba. Interea legebat ex Enchiridio meo remedium iracundiæ, nec tamen indicabat cur ea legeret. Accubitus ordo forte sic dabat, ut Coletus federet e regione patruī, vultu subtristi, nec loquens, nec prandens. Archiepiscopi vero rara quædam est hac in re dexteritas, ut curet, ne quis parum hilaris sit in convivio, sermones ad omnium affectus attemperans. Per eum itaque injectus est sermo de collatione ætatum. Hinc orta est inter multos confabulatio. Denique patruus, senum more, gloriari cœpit, quod tantus natus tantopere polleret viribus. A prandio nescio quid seorsim agitatum est inter illos. Ubi Coletus mecum repetisset cymbam: Video, inquit, Erasme, te felicem esse. Ego admirabar, cur hominem infelicissimum diceret felicem. Ibi denarravit, quam atroci animo fuerit in patruum, adeo ut propemodum statuisset, omnibus Christianæ modestiæ repagulis refractis, et cognationis affectu contempto, manifestum bellum suscipere cum patruo. Eaue gratia cepisse meum Enchiridium in manus, ut iracundiæ remedium quæreretur, et profuisse. Mox ex ea qualicunque confabulatione, quæ orta est in prandio, utrinque dilutam amarulentiam, sicut mox, Archiepiscopo sequestro, facile res omnis inter eos composita sit. Hujus generis exemplis

apud ipsum commemorandis non admodum promovebam. Sed hunc naturæ nævum, quot eximiis virtutibus ille pensabat? Hic non pergam te consolari, Jodoce, virum juxta prudentem ac doctum, ob mortem amici. Sciebas enim te habere mortalem: et ab omni philosophia videtur alienus, qui miserius ducit mori natum, quam nasci moriturum, quum utrumque pariter secundum naturam sit hominis. Verum, dictu mirum, quam vulgus exsecratur subitam mortem, adeo ut nihil frequentius, nihil vehementius apud Deum et divos deprecetur, quam mortem subitanam et improvisam. Subito mori piis pariter atque impiis commune est. * Herodes repente percussus ab Angelo periit. Heli sacerdos, vir pius, e sella prolapsus obiit. Horrendum est male mori, non subito. Atque hic superstitiosus mortalium timor sibi vana fingit remedia, simulacrum Christophori, certas preculas ad Virginem matrem, voces ac notulas quasdam magicis non dissimiles. Qui tantopere formidant subitam mortem, quanto rectius facerent, si a Superis precarentur bonam vitam? Quid enim stultius, quam vitæ correctionem differre in mortem? Quam vero paucos corrigit longa ægrotatio? si tamen ullos corrigit. De nemine quidem desperandum est; sed tamen sero discit Christianismum, qui jam quod discit, exercere non potest: sero confessionis remedium adhibet, quum jam in summis labris est anima. Da mihi, inquit, veram contritionem et puram confessionem ante mortem. Et hoc petunt nonnunquam a diva Barbara aut Erasmo. Obsecro, quid aliud isti petunt, quam, liceat mihi male vivere, et da tu bene mori. Nolunt odisse commissæ suæ nisi sub horam mortis; volunt frui peccatis suis quamdiu valent. Alioqui dicerent Christo, non Barbaræ, Da mihi nunc odium peccatorum omnium, da salutiferum de commissis dolorem, da ut mihi semper amara sit recordatio superiorum malorum, da dum valeo sic confiteri semel ut posthac non sit opus confessione. Quidam illud etiam nominatim a Deo flagitant, quo genere mortis mori velint, et quot menses decumbere. Quanto Christianius est nihil interim aliud curare, quam ut sic instituamus vitam, ne quandocunque dies ille supremus advenerit, opprimat nos impares, reliqua Numinis arbitrio relinquamus? Novit Deus quid cuique maxime expediat. Una nascendi ratio est omnibus: moriendi mira varietas. Eligat ille quodcunque voluerit. Non potest male mori qui bene vixerit. Quod si pio homini deligere fas esset mortis genus, nullam, arbitror, magis optandam, quam subitam, quæ velut e medio cursu bonorum operum repente subvehat in cælum. Jam ægrotanti, ac velit nolit corpusculi malis fervienti, quantum perit temporis ab officiis pietatis? Non studet, non docet, non concionatur, non visit ægrotos, non laborat manibus, unde sublevet fratris egestatem; imo potius interim aliis onerosus est, quos charitas nollet gravari. Narrant Theodoricum Franciscani sodalitiæ, qui Lovanii diem suum obiit, virum, ut scis, habitum et pium et integrum, quum sentiret corpusculum gravari lassitudine, unde conjiciebat morbum sequuturum, solitum inter suos dicere, Utinam Deus, ubi visum ipsi fuerit, hinc me subito tollat, ne diutino morbo gravis sim fratribus meis. Adeo vir bonus non vult cuiquam in vita molestus esse, ut ne morte quidem sua velit ullum gravari. Quod optarat contigit. Eo die, quo defunctus est,

* Herod did not die suddenly.

bis fuerat concionatus, peregerat rem divinam, interfuerat solenni Liturgiæ, accumbebat in prandio; sub finem prandii petiit abeundi veniam, dicens se sentire nescio quid nausæ. Abiit solus in cellulam, creditus est quiescere. Ubi diu non prodiret, ingressi sunt fratres, et reppererunt in lecto vestitum ac mortuum, sed dormienti similem. Quis eam mortem non iudicaret felicior, quam lentam ægrotationem? Sed absunt ceremoniæ, aqua sacra, cereus sacer, signum crucis, turba acclamantium aut etiam ejulantium. Non dicam hic, quod hæc aliquoties nihil aliud quam mortis molestiam conduplicant; illud tantum respondebo, quod sic baptizatus est Eunuchus ille Candaces Reginae. Nec aliter baptizatos quos baptizavit Paulus. Num ideo noster baptismus felicius, quia tot ceremoniis peragitur? Miserum est, inquiunt, mori solum. Atqui morienti sufficit unus Angelus, qui animulam elapsam deferat in cælum. Adsunt nonnunquam qui solatio sint morienti, sed frequentius adsunt qui dolorem addant ac desperationem. Uxor morosa, liberi inobedientes, sodales aleæ, temulentia, ac seortationum, concubina, inimicus qui læsit. Nosti senatorem illum Mechliniensem, sodalem et æqualem Bogardi medici, nam uterque vixit usque ad decrepitam ætatem. Gronsellus autem ille superabat etiam aliquot annis, ut ex ipsorum colloquio didici. Hujus hospitio sum usus aliquamdiu Mechliniæ. Ibi ex filiis cognovi, quum jam decumberet (nam senio periit verius quam morbo) cognatos apud ipsum pernoctare volentes, jussit abire cubitum: Nihil, inquit, opus mea causa quenquam gravari; facile vel solus morior, nimirum paratus quandocunque me vocarit Deus. O vocem vere Christiano dignam! Quum agerem Romæ, narrabant Saxonem quendam cum sodalibus aliquot eo religionis gratia venisse; quumque surrexisset a pœnitentiaro, apud quem exoneraverat conscientiam suam, procubuit, genibus flexis, ad altare quoddam; sic innitens scipioni suo complois manibus orans. Hujus sodales quum vellent abire, mirantur quid ille tam diu moraretur in precibus. Quum ille finem non faceret, vellicant hominem, admonentes esse tempus abeundi, et reperiunt mortuum sed prorsus oranti similem. Narrant et Physici subitam ac vehementem affectus mutationem parere mortem; quod ferunt usu venisse mulieri, cui mœrenti, quod falso rumore persuasum esset filium in bello periisse, repentinam mortem attulit filius præter expectationem salvus ingressus domum. Idem videtur huic accidisse. Præcesserat ingens dolor de commissis. Successerat ingens gaudium ex absolutionis fiducia. Hinc mors subitanea. *Mortuus est*, inquiunt, *sine lux, sine crux, sine Deus*. At quis eam mortem non optaret ut longe felicissimam? Nullum Apostolorum, aut veterum illorum, quos Christus unice charos habuit, legimus morbo perisse, sed omnes fuisse *βιοθανάτας*, quemadmodum fuit ipse Dominus. Atque ego quidem arbitror hoc mortis genus, magni muneris loco illis donatum fuisse. Tota vita impendebatur Evangelio, mors ipsa plurimum habebat gloriæ, minimumque cruciatus. Quid enim Martyris morte lætius, minusve luctuosum? Tum quam multi morbi sunt, qui vincunt virgas, ungulas, secures, et cruces? Quot annis multos discruciat podagra? Quot excoriatio renum ac vesicæ? Quot calculus, meus carnifex? Quæ crux conferenda est cum pleuritidis cruciatu?

Leges

Leges quum maxime sæviunt, dissecant vivum in quatuor partes, priusquam attingant vitalia. At ego crediderim minus sensurum cruciatus, si cui membratim corpus dissecetur, quam qui sentit calculum sub imis costis, ac circa venarum, quas meseraicas appellant medici, angustias sævientem. Quanquam medici veteres inter extremos cruciatus, qui subitam mortem adferunt, primas tribuunt calculo vesicæ. Qui fortassis hoc est acerbior, quod fere sit immedicabilis, nisi velis remedium morte crudelius, atque ipsam plerumque mortem. Certe huic proximum malum est renum calculus, quum sævit acerbius. Me vero tam subinde repetit, tamque capitaliter adoritur, ut si quis odit Erasmus, merito jam inimicus esse desinere debeat, nimirum odio tot malis saturato. Porro cruciatum tam immitem secum adfert calculus, ut quamvis validum ac robustum corpus intra triduum nonnunquam interimat; et si se remittat dolor, in hoc remittit, ut mox atrocius sæviat. Quid hoc est aliud quam frequenter regustare mortem? Quis autem cuperet reviviscere, paulo post iterum moriturus? proinde graves auctores, non sine causa, repentinam mortem summam vitæ felicitatem dixerunt. Hujus exempla multa commemorat Plinius lib. VII. c. 53. Sed multo plura quotidianæ vitæ casus suppeditant. Quanquam inter hos feliciores videntur, qui vehementi gaudio subito efflarunt animam. Sed longe felicissimi, qui post multos annos feliciter actos, in re jucunda pariter atque honesta subito defecerunt. Quemadmodum accepimus quibusdam rem divinam facientibus aut concionantibus, aut coelestium rerum contemplationi intentis repentinam mortem accidisse. Sunt qui felicius existimant bene vivere quam diu: sunt rursus qui longævitatē in maximis bonis numerant. Ego me inter felices numerare non possum. Vix enim arbitror quemquam vivere, qui minus debeat fortunæ. Tametsi bonam malorum partem, ut ingenue loquar, meæ ipsius incogitantia debeat. De longævitate queri non possum, jam enim non procul absum ab anno LX. quantum ætatis si quis astrologus aut chiromantis mihi juveni promississet, nunquam fuero crediturus. Ac tum etiam mihi videor vivacior, quoties me confero cum his qui paucioribus vixerunt annis. Ante diem morior, si me conferam cum divo Hieronymo, si cum Varrone, qui LXXX agens annum, scripsit libros De Re Rustica, et ita scripsit, ut ex his videatur adhuc alacri animo fuisse, et sensisse studiorum dulcedinem. Cum his potius me confero, qui cum tanto me præcesserint eruditione, tanto paucioribus annis vixerunt. Non jam loquor Lucanos et Persios. Virgilius anno LI periit. Ovidius non multo major. Cicero anno LXIV. Et hæc ingenia inter homines numero. Magis nos movent exempla viciniora. Laurentium Vallam pono inter eos, qui sempiternam posteritatis memoriam promeruerunt: videtur^b ante senectutem obisse diem. Hermolaus ad justam senectutem pervenit, sed multo ante decrepitam excessit ætatem. Picus Mirandulanus, Angelus Politianus, quæ sui seculi decora! viginti adhuc ætate perierunt. Si Veterum monumenta revolvās, comperies multos in literis celebres viros, ad multam ætatem vixisse; hac nostra memoria perpauca reperias, sive hoc imputandum mundo vergenti ad senium, sive quod nunc eruditio majore dispendio

^b Vixit annos quinquaginta. Boiffa. d.

comparatur. Veniam ad illos, quos mihi ante annos non ita multos videre contigit. Quum primum adirem Italiam, jam perierat Philippus Beroaldus Bononiensis: cujus memoria tum mire celebris erat et gratiosa, et tamen ille decessit me, ut nunc sum, natu minor. Hujus cognatum, eodem nomine et cognomine referentem illum, vidi Romæ: juvenem moribus candidissimis, stylo et eruditione non inferiorem illo majore, judicio multorum, et, ut mihi visum est, etiam superiorem. Hunc juvenem fata e terris eripuerunt. Bononiæ primum videre contigit Scipionem Carteromachum, reconditæ et absolutæ eruditionis hominem, sed usque adeo alienum ab ostentatione, ut ni provocasses, jurares esse literarum ignarum. Cum eo post Romæ fuit mihi propior familiaritas. Et decessit haud multo major annis quadraginta duobus, Patavii neminem vidi celebrem, mortuos tantum commemoro, præter Raphaëlem Regium, hominem admodum natu grandem, sed cruda viro viridisque senectus. Erat tum, ut opinor, non minor annis LXX. et tamen nulla fuit hyems tam aspera, quin ille mane hora septima adiret M. Musurum Græce profitentem, qui toto anno vix quatuor intermittebat dies, quin publice profiteretur: juvenes hyemis rigorem ferre non poterant; illum senem nec pudor nec hyems abigebat ab auditorio. Musurus autem ante senectutem periit, posteaquam ex benignitate Leonis cœperat esse Archiepiscopus; vir natione Græcus, nimirum Cretensis, sed Latinæ linguæ usque ad miraculum doctus, quod vix ulli Græco contigit præter Theodorum Gazam, et Joannem Lascarem, qui adhuc in vivis est. Deinde totius philosophiæ non tantum studiosissimus, vir summis rebus natus, si licuisset superesse. Quodam die quum domi ipsius cœnaturus essem, et adesset pater seniculus, qui nihil nisi Græce sciebat, jamque in chernibe, ut fit, alius alii deferret, ego, ut finirem moram inutilem, arrepta patris manu, dixi Græce, *ἡμεῖς δύο γέροντες*. Mire exhilaratus senex, lavit mecum. Quamquam id temporis haud multo major eram Musuro. Musurus autem amplexus Zachariam juvenem eximie doctum, *καὶ ἡμεῖς*, inquit, *δύο νέοι*. Venetiæ vidi Paulum Canalem Patricium, juvenem summis rebus natum, nisi mors illud ingenium terris invidisset. Is phthisi periit, me illic agente. Aldus, hospes meus, multis post annis periit, haud multo minor annis septuaginta, sed tamen animo ad literas mire juvenili. Petrum Cottam uno prandio vidi, et audiui tantum, ætate florenti, pari modestia atque eruditione virum. Romæ vidi Petrum Marsum longævum potius quam celebrem. Non multum aberat ab annis LXXX. et florebat animus in corpore non infelici. Mihi visus est vir probus et integer, neque potui non mirari industriam. In tanta ætate scribebat commentarios in librum De Senectute, aliosque nonnullos Ciceronis libellos. Licebat in eo perspicere vestigia veteris seculi. Ibidem cognovi et amavi Petrum Phædrum, lingua verius quam calamo celebrem: mira erat in dicendo tum copia, tum auctoritas. Magna felicitatis pars est Romæ innotuisse: ille primum innotuit ex Senecæ Tragoedia, cui titulus Hippolytus, in qua repræsentavit personam Phædræ, in area, quæ est ante Palatium Cardinalis Raphaëlis Georgiani. Sic ex ipso Cardinale didici, unde et Phædro cognomen additum. Is obiit minor annis, ni fallor, quinquaginta, dictus fui seculi Cicero. Hieronymum Donatum.

Donatum tantum videre contigit per occasionem. Nec post data est congregandi facultas : senex erat, sed florentissimo corpore, vir ob raram ingenii dexteritatem, non solum ad literas, verum etiam ad omnem publicorum munerum functionem appositus. Procul abest ab Italia Britannia, sed eruditorum hominum æstimatione proxima est. Quam multos hic ex vetere sodalitia desidero ! Primum Andream Lucensem, Deum immortalem, quanta ingenii dexteritate, quam fideli memoria præditum ! Tum animus quam erat excelsus, quam alienus a fordibus. Hunc et suis dotibus et omni Principum applausu florentem, maximis rebus destinatum subita mors interceptit, natu minorem annis quadraginta. Cujus equidem decessum non possum non dolere, quoties in mentem venit, quam mihi fuerit jucunda ejus familiaritas. Erat hujus sodalitatis et Joannes Sixtinus Frisius, qui non multo post obiit, sed illo major ; cæterum corpore, quod nisi si qua morbi vis incidisset, in Nestoris ætatem durare potuisset. Ingenium erat ad omnia versatile, memoria prompta, tenaxque. Præter juris utriusque scientiam, quam habebat loco viatici, in nulla disciplina non feliciter versatus. Successit his Joannes Coletus, qui decessit anno ferme quinquagesimo tertio. Hujus eximias dotes quid oportet recensere, quum eum in literis meis satis depinxerim, idque ex vero ? nam hominem multis annis domestice novi. Haud multo post periit Guilielmus Grocinus, præter Theologiæ professionem, in omni genere disciplinarum usque ad morositatem exacte versatus. Is tamen ut ad multam vixit ætatem, ita nihil scriptum reliquit. Attactus paralyti plus minus annum ipse sibi superstes fuit. Ex Germanis amicis nullum desidero præter Joannem Capnionem, qui florenti quidem senectute, sed tamen iusta, defunctus est. Poterat adhuc diu succurrere publicis studiis, nisi sic visum esset superis condere quædam animalia, quæ nihil aliud quam lædant. Bos arat, equus gestat, ovis pascit : Quid faciunt crabrones, cynomyiæ, viperæ, et cantharides ? His accessit publica bellorum tempestas. Utinam liceret Huttenum in hoc catalogo ponere. Nunc, circuitu facto, redeo Lovanium. Illic triduum fruitus sum consuetudine Christophori Longolii Brabanti : nam Mechliniæ natum aiunt. Is nuper periit Patavii, natus annos plus minus triginta. Juvenis ad literas natus, et in his mature feliciterque institutus, inter nobiles futurus, si licuisset vivere. Postremus omnium nos reliquit Nævius. Sic solent milites nobilium ducum commemorare fata, et, ex illorum exemplis, sibi proponere quid possit accidere. Nos itaque restamus. Quid dixi, restamus ? Ego, nam de me loquor, ultra colum, quod aiunt, vivo. Felix si cum eorum quæ expertus sum memoria liceret repubescere. Verum, ut hoc votum est ἀνεμώλιον, nam Homericō verbo libenter utimur, ita nihil me torquet. Volens sequor, quo vocat communis naturæ cursus. De vitæ spatium nihil queror, ultra spem contigit ; quanquam poteram annos aliquot in amicorum favoribus, quos industria mearum lucubrationum mihi per universum orbem non paucos paravi, conquiescere, nisi veluti mus, quod Græco proverbio dicitur, in picem, in hoc tragicum seculum incidissem. Quo minus obtigit hic felicitatis, hoc confido melius mihi futurum in altero seculo.

seculo. Et tamen mihi fui infelix potius quam aliis. Sunt qui sibi nati, sibi vivunt, omnibus incommodi, sibi solis felices, neque cuiquam bene faciunt nisi quum moriuntur. Ne tum quidem deest animus incommodandi. Onerant posteros parentalibus, precibus, sacris, vestibus, ceremoniis, nolarum strepitu, ut vel mortui negotium facebant vivis. Ego malim Herculanis immori laboribus. De mortis genere, quo non aliud cruciabilius, sic me consolor, quod nihil habet omnino contagii, cum leviora etiam corporis vitia, quod genus sunt lippitudo, aut linguæ balbuties, afficiant convictorem: cui cum calculo res est, solus dolet, solus periclitatur. Nullus autem est cruciatus tantus, quem humana natura non ferat, si assueverit, præsertim si adsit fortis animus. Nec muliebriter dictum est apud Euripidem ab ^c Electra:

Ὅυκ ἔστιν ἕδεν δεινόν, ὡδ' εἰπεῖν ἔπθ',
 Ὅυδ'ε πάθθ', ἕδ'ε ξυμφορὰ δειλάϊθ',
 Ἦς ἔκ' αὖν ἄραιτ' ἄχθθ' ἀνθρώπων φύσις.

Porro, quod ad animum attinet, non solum sic cogito mitius reddi malum, si quis ferat æquo animo quod vitari non potest: verum etiam hoc Evangelicæ debeo philosophiæ, quod corpusculum hoc totum semel dedidi Christo, non aliter quam ægrotus ac de vita periclitans se credit medico ungenti, proluenti, secanti, urenti, persuasus quod quibuscunque modis ille tractaverit hoc animæ domicilium, salutis meæ causa facturum sit. Nihil illi præscribo, tantum servet, ac faciat quod velit. Scio illum nihil velle, nisi quod nobis est optimum. Cæterum ab his remoris, quæ non patiuntur alios æquo animo superstitibus dicere, Valet et plaudite, jam propemodum sum liber. Et juvenis cibum ac potum semper ita sumsi, ut pharmacum. Ac sæpenumero doluit, non licere sine cibo potuque perpetuo degere. Veneri nunquam servitum est, ne vacavit quidem in tantis studiorum laboribus. Et si quid fuit hujus mali, jam olim ab eo tyranno me vindicavit ætas, quæ mihi hoc nomine gratissima est. Ab ambitione semper abhorruì, cujus rei nunc me suppœnitet. Tantum honoris accipiendum erat, quantum sat erat ad vindicandum a contemptu. Sed nec tum poteram imaginari, tales esse belluas sub humana specie, quales experior: et nunc ambire serum est, quod obire non possim. Senectus solet ad rem attentos reddere. Hujus morbi ne tantulum quidem adhuc attigit animum meum. Atque utinam sic liceat moderari sumtus, ut morienti nec proprium æs nec alienum supersit, præterquam quod huic ubicumque reponendo corpusculo sit satis. Porro famæ farcinam utinam liceat et antequam corpus deponere. Tantum abest ut me gloriæ pœniteat, si quid tamen omnino est gloria. Nulli sunt affectus privati, puta liberorum aut parentum, qui me remorentur in vita. Omnes amo ex æquo qui Christum diligunt. Nonnihil mihi luctandum fuit cum animo meo, ut erga eos, qui scientes volentes, destinata malitia, nihil commérito, imo bene merito oblatrant, obtrectant, atque etiam exitium moliuntur, sumeret affectum pure Christianum. Impetravi-

^c In *Oreste*, ver. 1. But this passage seems not to suit the purpose of Erasmus. The sense of it is, that there is no kind of misery to which poor mortals are not obnoxious.

mus et hoc, ut non solum non cogitemus de vindicta, sed ne male quidem precemur. Videmus hanc lenitatem etiam in militibus, quum certa mors urget; quanto magis hunc affectum nobis præstare debet Evangelica philosophia? Nunc aliquantulum in hoc luctor, ut certam fiduciam animo concipiam de salute. Atque hac de re frequenter ipse mecum confabulor, nonnunquam et cum eruditis amicis communico. Nec adhuc fit satis, nec a Lutheranis, nec ab Antilutheranis. Itaque mihi nihil videtur consultius, quam hanc securitatem modis omnibus ambire precibus ac benefactis a Christo, usque ad supremum vitæ diem, ac tum hujus quoque rei iudicium illi permittere: sic tamen ut quam est minimum spei ex nostris meritis, tam sit plurimum fiduciæ ex illius immensa erga nos charitate, eque promissis adeo benignis. In hac philosophia nunc versor, eruditissime Gavere, ad quam te quoque hortarer, nisi scirem te, virum juxta pium ac doctum, jam olim hæc omnia fuisse meditatam. Incusas incommodam valetudinem, nec injuria quereris. Erat istud ingenium omnino dignum meliore domicilio, sed vide ne multum adjiciat mali, morbi imaginatio. Deinde medicis uti laudo; indulgere non laudo. Salutabis diligenter veteres congerrones nostros Joannem Paludanum, Theodoricum Aluftensem, Joannem Armentheriensem, et Petrum Curtium, qui in Nævii vices successerunt; cumque his totum sodalitium trilingue. Basilea, 1 Martii, Anno a Christo nato 1524.

Ep. 671.

Nº. XXXI.

Erasmus Rot. Hajoni Hermanno Frisio, juveni cumprimis erudito S. D.

AMICE candidissime, sic age, sic pergito ranam agere, donec imperavero tibi silentium. Quid enim mihi tam eruditis, tam amicis epistolis possit accidere jucundius? Sed ut tribus verbis ad singulas epistolæ tuæ partes respondeam: Lazarum Baysium gaudeo vehementer hoc præstitisse in vestibus, quod Budæus in assē. Cumprimis autem exosculor hominis candorem cum exquisita conjunctum eruditione, quod inter literatos rarissimum est. Sciebam lænam esse genus vestis, et suspicabar respondere χλαίνη, verum vitabam dictionem primum minus notam, deinde ancipitem. Penulam hybernā noverunt omnes. Mutabo tamen hunc locum ubi librum Lazari videro, quod equidem opto ut quam primum fiat. Quod ad αἰναξοειν pertinet, arbitrabar subligar idem esse quod braccas, aut aliquid certe simillimum; legeram apud Juvenalem, ni fallor, *et subligar Acci*. Cæterum utcunque hoc habet, si quis errasset in vocabulo *vestis*, an hoc tibi videtur protinus conviciis exagitandum? Ac plane demiror si quis hodie de prisca vestium nominibus certo queat pronunciare, quum, me vivo, toties mutatas videam vestimentorum formas. Criticos istos, de quibus scribis, video, qui, si vicissim ederent sua, inveni ent fortassis et ipsi censes suos. Et tamen æquo animo patior mihi laudem detrahi, qui mihi nihil laudis arrego. Alicubi, sicut opinor, scripsi Budæum cum Hermolais et Politianis certamen sustinere, et fortasse ἐν τῷ γε γεγραφένῃ Ἑλληνισί, primas

^d Life of Eras. p. 354.

^e Sat. VI. 70.

illi tribui. Nec adhuc video quenquam qui tantum etiam possit ex tempore. Nam frequenter ad me scribit quavis de re totas Græcas aut semigræcas epistolas, idque ex tempore. Cæterum quum essem in Italia, doctos omnes veneratus sum, nec quisquam a me contemptus est. Angeli Colicii nomen ne audivi quidem unquam, unde miror quod ille repererit invectivæ argumentum. De Italorum ingeniis semper candidissime et sensi et prædicavi. Ne Casalium quidem novi, qui utinam docuisset certam Proverbiorum interpretationem, quam in me desiderat. De *mali corvi malo ovo* refero quod est in Græcorum commentariis, de *cornicis oculis* torquebar, et consulto uno aut altero, nihil indipisci potui quod mihi satisfaceret. Nec mihi puto ignominiosum, si quis quid reperiat exactius, in tanta rerum tum turba, tum obscuritate. De sene illo nihil admiror, eo ingenio natus est, ut ipse sibi literas invideat. Talis fuit ante annos xxv. nec morbus hic solet ætate reddi mitior. Cæterum quod addidit de *ἀνὲς*, quod sonet *remitte*, et *ἀφες*, cui respondeat *dimitte*, frivolum esse vel illud arguit, quod Lucæ capite quinto et septimo idem Interpretres, qui alias gaudet verbo *dimittendi*, ἀφέναι [read ἀφέναι] vertit *remittuntur*, non *dimittuntur*, &c. Cæterum demus aliquid interesse inter *ἀφες* et *ἀνὲς*, an ideo loquendum erat male Latine, *dimitte* pro *remitte*, quum sint tot voces Latinæ, *condona*, *ignosce*, *remitte*? Vides quam isti non serio cogitent de sacris Literis. Quod præcipito lucubrationes meas, ipse jampridem confessus sum hoc peccatum, et poenas de me fumo. Nunc excuduntur Epistolæ Hieronymi, in quibus plurima loca correxi. Ante annum exierant Proverbia, non paucis in locis vel locupletata vel castigata. Et est parata rursus editio nova. Id polliceor me facturum quamdiu vixero. Hæc nos molimur in publicam utilitatem studiorum, destituti codicum et eruditorum hominum adminiculis, dum interim isti, in tanta rerum copia, sibi habent quicquid habent. Si censent nihil edendum, in quo sit quod possit reprehendi, proferant nobis aliquem Italum, qui hoc præstiterit. Theodorus Gaza in nonnullis locis jure reprehensus est a Trapezontio, nec puduit eruditissimum virum ea mutare. Hermolaus in præfatione Themistii vertenda, velut in ipso portu, quod aiunt, impegit insigniter. Laurentius Valla nonne locis aliquot evidenter labitur? Ne commemorem Valas, Pios, Beroaldos, et Raphaëles. Dolet istis in vulgus spargi, quæ sibi magnis laboribus compararunt. Agnosco vocem isto sene dignam. Tanto magis optare debuit, ut fierent vulgo communia, ne periret tot annorum industria. Ego vero nunc mihi videor frui laboribus meis, postquam senex vincor a tam multis juvenibus: in hoc enim suscepi tantum vigiliarum. Sunt qui pro officio reponunt maleficio; fateor et experior in dies magis. At non est æquum ob ingratitudinem quorundam frustrari cunctos. Vel ingratis benefecisse bono viro dignum arbitror, sed multo magis Christiano. Nihil edunt isti, sed interim, ut aiunt, non decipiunt quenquam. Quis decipit? Isne qui locum depravatum indicat, et ubi non succurrit vetustus codex, addit suam conjecturam? An parum debent studiosi divinationibus Hermolai Barbari in Plinium? Nec ista molimur absque Veterum exemplariorum præfidiis, ubi nancisci lieuit; ne errent, qui me nihil aliud putant quam divinatorem. In Seneca fefellit nos amicus quidam, qui quod susceperat, præstare vel noluit,

vel non potuit (nam ipsi huic editioni non adfuimus) qui sentiens male navatam operam, exemplar denique mea manu notatum sustulit. Pannonium illum tot millia mendarum sustulisse ex Naturalibus Quæstionibus Senecæ sane gaudeo: nam in hoc opus nullum erat exemplar vetustum. Tantum ad aliam editionem contulimus, neque quicquam mutavimus, nisi quod palam esset librariorum incuria depravatum. Divinationes margini adjecimus, quarum aliquot, ni fallor, ille non improbabit. Itaque si mendas prodidit, meas non prodidit. De Plauto apud Aldum castigato quadraginta aureis, næ iste modestè mentitus est: viginti duntaxat coronati numerati sunt, nec aliud susceperam quam castigationem versuum confusorum, idque præstiti in his in quibus carminis genus erat perpetuum. De mendis tollendis nihil receperam. In Cypriano, ubicunque suppetebat auxilium vetusti codicis, non dormitatum est, et vident totos libros additos, non modo versus. Si quid erratum est incuria typographi, præstare non potui, qui tum agebam in Brabantia. In Suetonio nihil a me depravatum est, sed vetustissimi codicis fidem sequutus sum, nec ideo præclusa est via iis, qui plus utilitatis adferre possunt. Ex istorum igitur industria, si proferant sua, tantum abest ut ignominiam metuam, ut laudis etiam mihi nonnihil sim arrogaturus, certe hoc, quod istis dormitantibus calcar subjecerim. De styli formula nunquam fui superstitiose sollicitus. Sat est, si utcunque, non spurce loquens, intelligor. Quam vero veterem Latini sermonis formulam in me desiderant, quum inter veteres Scriptores tam multa sint phraseos discrimina? Quid convenit Senecæ cum Quintiliano? Quid Quintiliano cum Cicerone? Quid Valerio Maximo cum Sallustio? Quid Livio cum Quinto Curtio? Quid Ovidio cum Horatio? Non obsto quo minus alii mirentur dictionem Pontani: ego præter orationis non inamœnum fluxum et verborum tinnitum, nihil in illo magnopere suspicio. Marullus mihi videtur nihil aliud sonare quam Paganismum. Et ob hoc ipsum fortassis istis gratior est Marullus quam Mantuanus. Oderunt Christi nomen, quod nostra barbaries utinam perinde sinceriter ac vehementer amplecteretur. Verum quid hæc ad rem? Ut palatorum ita ingeniorum semper fuere diversa judicia, nec ideo non cuique libera. Bella vero facetia de porrophago, quasi toties utar hac dictione, aut quasi utar tam inscite. Quod alius hoc, alius illud in me desiderat, bis morose faciunt: primum qui ab uno requirant omnia; denique qui requirant hoc a scriptore quod non profitetur. Mihi satis est si in argumento suscepto sic versor, ut præcurram superiores. Etiam si nominasses istum qui Aleandrum Erasmo præfert in omnibus, nihil erat periculi. Nam et ipse plurimum tribuere soleo Aleandro, præsertim in literis, nihiloque magis me lædi puto, si doctior est, quam quod ditior est, aut formosior: nisi forte me tam invidum existimant, ut ægre laturus sim, si quis me sit sanctior. Aleander si amicus est, ego certe hominis ingenium amo, mihi quoque privatim gratulor, meum esse ducens quod habet amicus. Sin parum amicus, tamen gratulor publice studiis: nam spes est illum aliquando divitem istum eruditionis thesaurum orbi communicaturum. Quid audio? Negant Hecubam et Iphigeniam a me versas, sed alicubi repertas mihi vindicasse? Ubi repertas? In Italia? Jam Badius excuderat antequam adirem Italiam.

Italiam. Apud nos? Quis aliquid hujusmodi vidit? Bene habet quod super-
 persunt adhuc qui mihi semper adfuerunt ista molienti, Joannes Paluda-
 nus, Montjoius, Thomas Morus, Thomas Linacer, Guilhelmus Grocinus,
 Guilhelmus Latamergus. Aliena pro suis usurpare non est Erasmicum, qui
 in cæteris satis declararim meam ingenuitatem, adeo nihil alienum mihi vin-
 dicans, ut æquo animo feram me passim meis pennis vulnerari. Si pa-
 rum respondent quæ vertimus in Proverbiis, causam nemo melius reddet
 quam Aleander, qui me vidit ex tempore tantum scribentem in hoc opere,
 quantum illi excudebant. Excudebant autem singulis diebus sen'onem,
 hoc est, geminum paginarum ternionem. Si videor aliquanto felicior in
 Tragædiis, quam in Adagiis, causa in promptu est. Quum verterem tra-
 gædias, hoc tantum agebam, quanquam et tum sæpenumero centum ver-
 sus unico impetu transtuli. In Adagiis eadem celeritate verti carmina qua
 profam. Postremo, quod me negant orthodoxum, ad id crimen responde-
 bo, si isti nobis definierint, quid sit orthodoxus, et suum Christianismum
 proferant. Si non est orthodoxus, qui reprehendit aliquid in Episcopis aut
 Sacerdotibus, nec Hieronymus, nec Cyprianus erit orthodoxus. Quis au-
 tem expectabat, ut isti in me desiderarent pietatem? Cæterum quis divi-
 nasset hoc seculum exoriturum? Romana sedes nulli potius acceptam ferre
 debet suam calamitatem, si qua est hic, quam istis qui sic adamant profanas
 literas, ut minus habeant Christianismi, quam illi ipsi quorum libris immo-
 riuntur. Hæc morosis censoribus et malignis arroforibus responsa sunt,
 quorum odium te crebra contentione nolim exacerbare. Benevolorum cata-
 logum libenter legi; inter quos nullius nomen agnosco, præterquam Sado-
 leti, Alcyonii et Coricii. Loca, de quibus amanter admones, jam ante
 tres annos mihi restituta sunt, sed non ista tantum, o bone. Mindefio scri-
 bam si quid dabitur otii. Posthac igitur expectabo tuas literas Græce scrip-
 tas, quas scito mihi fore gratissimas. Video te feliciter quidem esse pro-
 gressum in hoc studiorum genere, verum immori te nolim, sed suaserim ad-
 jungeres animum ad philosophiæ studium. Novi enim quantum absint a
 Christianismo, qui in bonis literis, velut ad scopulos Sireneos, consenesunt,
 præsertim apud Italos. Patavii sanctius vivitur, et habes vicinos Venetos,
 inter quos complures invenies citra professionem egregie doctos, præcipue
 Leonicum. Decreveram plane hybernare in Italia, sed pestilentia dissuasit.
 Excuditur nunc liber De Libero Arbitrio. Hic non me fugit, quos crabro-
 nes irritarim in caput meum, qui Christum et Evangelium habent in ore,
 Satanam in pectore. Lutherus etiam ipse conatur illos cohibere, sed nihil
 agit. Bene vale. Basilea 31 Augusti, Anno 1524.

Ep. 689.

See also Ep. 693. to Aleander, upon the same subject.

N^o. XXXII.

I.

^f *Two letters of Erasmus to Morillonus.*

D. Guidoni Morillono Cæsareæ Majestatis Secretario.

S. P. amice candidissime.

AD literas tuas 21 Augusti scriptas, sed prid. Parasceves redditas respondebo paucis, quod vereor ne tu isthinc discesseris, priusquam eo literæ perveniant. Animus Barbirii mihi semper fuit perspectissimus. De libris quid actum sit inquiram. Nicolaus Buschiducensis quum hic ageret, et hac de re frequenter sermo nasceretur, dissimulavit siquid recepit. Maximiliani literas accepi mire candidas et amicas, cui respondimus, licet occupatissimi. Domino de la Roche veteri amico meo ac patrono nunc scribo. D. Cancellario Mercurino ac Joanni Almano pridem scripsimus. Illustrissima D. Margareta scriptis ad me literis promittit pensionem si redeam. Non deesset pecunia, si mihi liceret per sy-cophantas tranquille vivere. Stunica furit Romæ: cui Pontifex tandem indixit silentium. Hic sunt multi, qui subinde novis libellis in caput meum debacchantur. Id fit impune in Germania ob favorem Evangelii. Et tamen nihil adhuc scripsi in Lutherum, nisi quod testatus sum me esse alienissimum ab illa factione. Hic est plane furor Evangelicus: hi sunt mores ^g renascentes Ecclesiæ. Ego istas Præbendas ac primarias ^h p.... nihil moror. Sunt lentæ spes, et ego jam morior. Quare tui arbitrii esto, sub cujus nomine velis ⁱ expe. Novi et amo Nicolaum Barbirium. Absolvi jam paraphrases in totum Novum Testamentum, excepta Apocalypsi. Nescio an legeris postremam editionem Epistolarum mearum. In his aliquoties est mentio Morilloni. Et tamen curabimus ^k ut si quid mearum lucubrationum merebit posteritatem, ut mecum vivat candidissimus Morillonus, idque propediem fiet, jamque curatum fuisset, si tuæ literæ venissent in t[em]pore. Ne] brisse [^lnsēm ¹desider] assem [^mc]andidiorem. Et tamen ibi nihil est quod ad me pertinet, et rixa est de lana caprina. Salutabis mihi amicos Hispanienses R. D. Archiepiscopum Compostellanum; Doctorem Coronell; D. ^mGuilhelmo Le Moyne. Miror te non meminisse Guilhelmi Vergaræ. Gaudeo istam nationem mihi favere. Ad quam utinam me contulissem, quum me conferrem in Germaniam, in qua tales repperi pestes, ut si præscissem, citius abiturus fuero ad Turcas, quam huc. Sed hæc fatis impu-

^f Transcribed by Mr. De Missy from the originals, which belong to the Dutch Church in Austin Fryars.

^g It should be *renascentis*.

^h The word is not legible: it begins with an abbreviation which seems to stand for *præ*. Perhaps *præposituras*.

ⁱ Vel *expediri*, vel, *experiri*. D. M.

^k *sic*.

^l Videtur etiam legi posse *judicasset*, &c. D. M.

^m *sic*.

anda. Tibi cum ⁿ Camelo nihil est negotii; sed mihi, nolim volim, cum multis hydris res est. Bene vale. Basileæ, parasceves An. ° 15....

Nº. XXXII.

II.

Ornatiss. viro D. Guidoni Morillono Cæsaris ab Epistolis, in Hispaniis.

S. P.

QUUM te tantum amicum habeamus in Hispaniis, miror jam annis aliquot me nullis admoneri literis quid isthic agatur. Si quid Erasmus agat nosse cupis, mihi gravis ac pene assidua lucta est cum senectâ atque ejus comitibus podagra et chiragra, vel holagra potius; cum calculo rarior ac levior. Debemus Cæsaris commoditati, quod pacem habet Germania, qui maluerit pacem iniquam quam bellum æquum. Sectarum negotium adhuc serpit, inundaturum aliquando, ni cohibeatur. Anabaptistæ non aliter inundarunt Germaniam inferiorem, quam olim ranæ et locustæ Ægyptum; genus hominum lymphatum ac morti devotum. Irreperunt sub umbra pietatis, sed exitus erit publicum latrocinium, et quod prodigiū simile est, quum doceant absurda, ne dicam ἀδύνατα, quum præscribant inamœna, tamen populus fatali quodam affectu, seu potius mali dæmonis instinctu rapitur in eam sectam. Petrus Barbirius nunc plane me deridet ex alto. Haftenus miris coloribus tergiversatus, tamen professus se velle solvere, proximis literis ^p scribet se donasse quamdiu potuit, nunc non posse amplius. Suspicio illum suo cominodo mutasse instrumentum. Præter superiora debita, jam ultra quinquennium singulis annis accipit de pecunia centum et triginta libras Francicas. Quomodo portentum hoc mihi tractandum sit nondum statui. Pudet cum amico rixari. ^q Vives scribit Joannem Vergaram cum fratre ^r Tobare, cumque aliis nonnullis bene doctis, esse in carcere. Scitis, opinor, tres viros totius Angliæ doctissimos esse in carcere, Episcopum Roffensem, Episcopum Londoniensem, et, quo nihil unquam habui amicius, Thomam Morum. Bene vale. Datum Friburgi Brisgoiæ, 3. Cal. Sept. 1534.

Erasmus Rot. mea manu.

Nº. XXXIII.

Erasmus Joanni Botzhemio Abstemio, &c. S. D.

NON pateris, Abstemii vir clarissime, quicquam mearum lucubrationum deesse tuæ bibliothecæ, sed quereris idem opus tibi subinde commercandum, vel retextum, vel locupletatum, vel recognitum. Pro.

ⁿ He seems to mean Egmond the Carmelite.

^o The date is not legible. Perhaps it was 1524. It could not be after 1524, because he had not yet, as he says in this letter, published any thing against Luther.

^p Perhaps he would have said *scripsit*.

^q See the letter of Vives to Erasmus. Ep. 1270. c. 1492.

^r In the letter of Vives he is called *Tovar*.

^s *Epistola ad Botzhemum*, five, *Catalogus Lucubrationum*.

^t Life of Erasmus. p. 368.

inde

inde rogas, ut tibi catalogum omnium nugarum mearum verius quam librorum describam, et cui postremam manum addiderim indicem; ne vel fugiat aliquid, quod non habeas, velemas aliquid, quod mox denuo cogaris emere. Morem geram voluntati tuæ, per te quamplurimis etiam aliis, ni fallor, eadem opera gratificaturus. Ornare gaudes, ut ais, tuam bibliothecam Erasmi monumentis: ego vero meos libros arbitror ornari tua bibliotheca, qua vix quicquam videre contigit ornatius: dicas Musarum esse domicilium. Itaque mihi magis placeo, ^v quod meas lucubrationes dignaris hospitio tuæ bibliothecæ, quam si cedrinis capsulis in Apollinis templo reponerentur. Non arbitror victuras, tantum abest ut immortalitatem illis ausim sperare: tamen si continget aliquot annos superesse parenti, tuæ, nimirum, bibliothecæ debebunt: Existimabuntur enim aliquid esse, quas Abstemius ille tam sobrius iudex suo museo dignatus sit. Quanquam ipse interim non aliter affectus sum erga meas vigilias, quam parentes solent erga liberos, quibus fuit parum felix fœcunditas, vel quod deformes ac valetudinarios genuerint, vel quod alioqui tales, ut probrum et exitium attulerint suis progenitoribus. Qua quidem in re hoc magis ipse mihi displiceo, quod liberorum mala non semper imputari possunt parentibus: librorum autem vitia non aliis quam auctoribus accepta feruntur: nisi forte causari velim temporum ac regionis infelicitatem: nam, me puero, repullulascere quidem cœperant apud Italos bonæ literæ, sed ob typographorum artem aut nondum repertam, aut paucissimis cognitam, nihil ad nos librorum perferebatur, et altissima quiete regnabant ubique qui literas docebant illiteratissimas. Rodolphus Agricola primus omnium aurulam quandam melioris literaturæ nobis invexit ex Italia, quem mihi puero, ferme duodecim annos nato, Daventriæ videre contigit, nec aliud contigit. Tum autem magni refert, quo seculo, qua regione, et ad quorum iudicium scribas, quibuscum ceteris: acuit enim ingenii vim et antagonistes insignis, quin et honos alit artes. His omnibus destitutus, tamen velut occulta naturæ vi rapiebar ad bonas literas, ac interminantibus etiam magistris, furtim e libris, si quos forte nactus fuisset, hausi quod potui, calamum exercui, provocatis sodalibus, quibuscum decertarem, nihil minus cogitans, quam ut hujusmodi næniæ typographorum opera mundo proderentur. Hæc culpam si non diluere poterant, certe poterant elevare. Sed sunt, in quibus nec possim, nec velim ipse mihi patrocinari. Siquidem illud præcipuum est, ut qui scriptis sibi nomen honestum parare velit, argumentum deligat, ad quod natura sit compositus, et in quo plurimum valeat. Nec enim omnia congruunt omnibus. Id a me nunquam est factum, sed vel temere incidi in materiam, vel amicorum affectibus potius quam meo iudicio obsequens, suscepi. Proximum est ut quod delegeris, tractes accurate, diu premas, ac frequenter sub limam revoces, priusquam in lucem exeat. Ego quod semel aggressus sum, fere perpetuo cursu absolvo, nec castigandi tædium unquam devorare potui. Itaque mihi fere usu venit, quod scripsit Plato: *Ut plus satis properans in initio, serius perveniam ad finem.* Nam editione præcipitata res ipsa me cogit nonnunquam totum opus a capite usque ad calcem retexere. Proinde miror

^v In the Edit. of Leyden, they have four times printed *quæ* instead of *quod*, by mistaking the abbreviations in that of Basil ipse

ipse esse, præsertim hoc tam erudito seculo, qui nostra legant: et tamen esse vel illud arguit, quod typographi lucubrationes nostras toties excudunt, sed tu jamdudum Catalogum expectas, non apologiam. Age fiet, ac primum recensebo, quæ carmine scripserim, ad quod studium puer eram propensior, adeo ut ægre me converterim ad meditationem orationis solutæ. Nec hic parum diu luctatus sum, priusquam succederet, si quid tamen successit. Nullum autem carminis genus non tentavi. Quæ feliciter interciderunt aut latent, ea sinemus quiescere, ne, quod Græci vocant, *ἐν κείμεινον κακὸν κινήσωμεν*. Lutetiæ primum cœpit nostra temeritas prodi mundo. Nam illic editum est ab amicis carmen heroicum, admixto ejusdem generis tetrametro, ad Faustum Andrelinum, quicum mihi tum recens coierat fodalitas. Rursus aliud hendecasyllabum ad Robertum Gaguinum, cujus tum apud Parisios non mediocris erat auctoritas. Rursus aliud ad eundem, alterne mixtis Glyconico et Asclepiadeo. Præterea carmen de casa natalitia pueri Jesu: nec satis memini, si quid præterea. Rursus alias edidimus exhortationem Jesu ad hominem suapte culpa pereuntem. Sed multis ante annis scripseram Sapphicum carmen de Michaële Archangelo, non sponte, sed compulsus precibus cujusdam magni viri, qui templo præerat, cui præsidebat Michaël: in quo cum ita temperarim stylum, ut possit oratio prosa videri; tamen ille non ausus est affigere, quod esset tam poëticum, ut Græce, quemadmodum aiebat, scriptum videri posset. Ea erat illorum temporum infelicitas. Quumque tantum laboris exhausissem, reddito carmine, homo liberalis obtulit pecuniam, qua sextarium emerem vini, munus ipso poëmæ dignum. Egi gratias pro tanta liberalitate, atque hoc lemmate recusavi munus, quod dicerem majus, quam ut conveniret exiguitati meæ. Nullo in genere me minus exercui, quam in Epigrammatis, et tamen interdum inter ambulandum, aut etiam in computationibus lusimus aliquot, diversis temporibus, quorum nonnulla ab amicis nimium mei nominis studiosis collecta sunt, et edita Basileæ: quoque magis riderentur, adjunxerunt Thomæ Mori Epigrammatis, in hoc genere felicissimi. Carmen ad Guilhelmum Copum, de Senectute, scriptum est nobis in Alpibus, cum primum adirem Italiam. Inciderat odiosa contentio inter caduceatorem Regis Angliæ, qui nos, quo tutius iremus, comitatus est Bononiam usque, et inter curatorem adolescentum, quos tum pacto velut nassæ implicitus, ducebam in Italiam, non quidem ut pædagogus, nam morum curam exceperam; nec ut præceptor; sed ut inspector futurus, ac studiorum viam monstraturus, ne quid calamitatis deesset fatis meis. Nullum enim annum vixi insuavius. Inter hos igitur duos adeo incaluerat rixa, ut post furiosa convicia ventum sit ad gladios; ac tum quidem alteri duntaxat irascebar. Verum ubi post tantam tempestatem vidissem illos ultro factos amicos epoto vini cyathos, utrumque ex æquo oderam. Etenim ut pro insanis habeo, qui sic debacchantur, nisi gravissime lacesciti: ita nulli fidos esse duco, qui tam subito fiunt amici, post iras capitales. Itaque quo tædium inter equitandum fallerem, abstinens a colloquio partium, carmen hoc absolvi, notans interim in charta super sellam, ne quid excideret, dum, ut fit, nova cogitatio veterem propellit. E notulis describebam, quod erat natum, ubi

ventum est in diversorium. Habes carmen equestre, vel potius Alpestre, quod tamen docti negant prorsus infelix, utcunque natum est. Scripsi diversis temporibus Epitaphia non pauca, rogatus ab amicis, quæ non refert numerasse. Sed annis aliquot antequam adirem Italiam, exercendæ Græcitatis causa, quando non erat præceptorum copia, verteram Hecubam Euripidis, tum agens Lovanii. Ad id audendum provocarat F. Philelphus, qui primam ejus fabulæ scenam vertit in oratione quadam funebri, parum, ut tum mihi visum est, feliciter. Porro quum stimulos adderet tum hospes meus Joannes Paludanus, ejus Academiæ Rhetor, vir si quis alius, exacto judicio, perrexi quo cœperam. Deinde ubi literis ac montibus, quod aiunt, aureis amicorum pellectus redissem in Angliam, addidi præfationem et carmen Iambicum plusquam extemporarium, quum forte vacaret membrana, atque auctoribus eruditis amicis, sed præcipue Guilhelmo Grocino, qui tum inter multos Britannia doctos primam laudem tenebat, obtuli libellum dicatum R. P. Guilhelmo, Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, totius Angliæ Primati, et ejus regni Cancellario, *b. e.* judici summo. Hoc erat tum notitiæ nostræ felix auspiciū. Is quum me paucis salutasset ante prandium, hominem minime multiloquum aut ambitiosum, rursus a prandio paucis confabulatus, ut est et ipse moribus minime molestis, dimisit cum honorario munere, quod, suo more, solus soli dedit, ne vel pudore vel invidia gravaret accipientem: id actum est Lambethæ. Dum ab hoc redimus cymba vecti, quemadmodum illic mos est, inter navigandum rogat me Grocinus, quantum accepissem muneris: dico summam immensam, ludens. Quum ille rideret, quæro causam risus, et annon crederet Præsulis animum esse talem, qui tantum dare vellet: aut fortunam esse talem, ut tantam benignitatem ferre non posset: aut opus non esse dignum aliquo magnifico munere. Tandem edito muneris modo, quum ludens rogarem, quid tantillum dedisset, urgenti respondit, nihil horum esse, sed obstitisse suspicionem, ne forte idem operis alibi dedicassem alteri. Eam vocem admiratus, quum rogarem, undenam ea suspicio venisset homini in mentem, ridens, sed τὸν Σαρδόνιον γέλωτα, *Quia sic*, inquit, *soletis vos*: significans id solere fieri a nostræ farinæ hominibus. Hic aculeus quum hæreret animo meo rudi talium dictæriorum, simulatque me Lutetiam recepissem, inde petiturus Italiam, librum Badio tradidi formulis excudendum, adjecta Iphigenia Aulidensi, quam fusius ac liberius verteram agens in Anglia: et quum unam duntaxat obtulissem Præsuli, utramque dicavi eidem. Sic ultus sum Grocini dictum, quum interim non haberem in animo revisere Britanniam, nec de repetendo Archiepiscopo cogitarem: tanta tum erat in tam tenui fortuna superbia. Hoc opus semel atque iterum recognitum, postremum hoc anno recognovi. Adolescens nondum annos natus octodecim Elegiaco carmine, quoniam in eo minus valebam, declamare cœperam adversus vitia, libidinem, ambitionem. Has ineptias amici, me procul agente, prodiderunt formulis, non sine famæ meæ jactura, plura prodituri, ni redissem. Nam Carmen prorsus extemporale, quo gratulatus sum Philippo primum ex Hispania reduci, ipse curavi edendum ante annos, ni fallor, viginti tres. Sed multo prius edideram Carmen heroico hexametro et Iambico trimetro mixtum, de laudibus Regis Henrici septimi,

timi, et illius liberorum, nec non ipsius Britanniae. Is erat labor tridui, et tamen labor, quod jam annos aliquot nec legeram, nec scripseram ullum carmen. Id partim pudor a nobis extorsit, partim dolor. Pertraxerat me Thomas Morus, qui tum me in praedio Montjoii agentem inviserat, ut animi causa in proximum vicum exspatiaremur. Nam illic educabantur omnes liberi regii, uno Arcturo excepto, qui tum erat natu maximus. Ubi ventum est in aulam, convenit tota pompa, non solum domus illius, verum etiam Montijoicae. Stabat in medio Henricus annos natus novem, jam tum indolem quandam regiam praese ferens, *b. e.* animi celsitudinem cum singulari quadam humanitate conjunctam. A dextris erat Margareta, undecim ferme annos nata, quae post nupsit Jacobo Scotorum regi. A sinistris, Maria lusitans, annos nata quatuor: nam Edmondus adhuc infans, in ulnis gestabatur. Morus cum Arnolde sodali, salutato puero Henrico, quo rege nunc floret Britannia, nescio quid scriptorum obtulit. Ego, quoniam hujusmodi nihil expectabam, nihil habens, quod exhiberem, pollicitus sum aliquo pacto meum erga ipsum studium aliquando declaraturum. Interim subirascebar Moro, quod non praemonuisset: et eo magis, quod puer epistolio inter prandendum ad me misso, meum calamum provocaret. Abii domum, ac vel invitis Musis, cum quibus jam longum fuerat divortium, carmen intra triduum absolvi. Sic et ultus sum dolorem meum et pudorem facti. Editum est et carmen, rudimenta complectens hominis Christiani. Id scriptum est stylo simplicissimo. Sic enim jussit Joannes Coletus, qui tum magnis impendiis novum ludum literarium instituerat, in quo non minus in pietate quam in doctrina volebat institui formarique pueritiam: vir enim singulari prudentia praeditus, videns seculum suum deploratissimum, teneram aetatem delegit, ut novum Christi vinum novis utribus committeret. Vertere coeperam Podagram Luciani priorem, opus mire festivum; sed destiti, potissimum deterritus epithetis, quibus abundant chorri, in quibus non erat spes in Latinis assequi compositionis felicitatem, quam videmus in Graecis dictionibus. Quod si dictiones singulas pluribus explicuissem, peribat gratia totius carminis. Nam hymni sacri fere constant hujusmodi Deorum cognomentis, religiose compositis, praesertim apud Graecos. Quod genus sunt illa apud Homerum:

*Ἄρης ὑπερμενέτα, βελσάεμαίε, χρυσοπήληξ,
Ὀμβρομόθυμε, φέεσσι, ^ππελιασός, χαλκοκορυσά.*

Itidem et ° Lucianus: *Ἐπιδεισμοχαρὲς, καὶ ἀκλινοβαλὲς, καλυσσοδρόμα, βασάναστραγάλα, σφυροπρησιπύρα, μογισαψεδάφα, δαιδυκοφόβα, γανυκλανσαγρύπνα, πειμονδυλοπωροφίλα, γονυκαμψεπίκυρτα.* Hæc atque id genus, quum apud Graecos plurimum habeant gratiæ ob facetissimam imitationem, Latinus sermo nec umbram horum possit reddere. Ad Græcas literas utcunque puero degustatas jam grandior redii, *b. e.* annos natus plus minus triginta, sed tum quum apud nos nulla Græcorum codicum esset copia, neque minor penuria doctorum. Lutetiae tantum unus Georgius Hermonymus Græce balbutiebat,

^π — πωλιοςός, χαλκοκορυσά.

° Tom. III. p. 656.

sed talis, ut neque potuisset docere si voluisset; neque voluisset si potuisset. Itaque coactus ipse mihi præceptor esse, verti multos Luciani libellos, vel in hunc usum, ut attentius Græca legerem, Saturnalia, Cronosolonem, Epistolas Saturnales, De Luctu, Declamationem de Abdicato, Icarome-nippum, Toxaridem, Pseudomantem, Gallum, Timonem, Declamationem pro Tyrannicida, De his, qui mercede vivunt in aulis Principum. Ad hæc ex minutioribus dialogis dialogos octodecim, præterea Herculem Gallicum, Eunuchum, De Sacrificiis, Convivium, De Aströlogia. Hujusmodi ceu strenulis diversis temporibus salutabamus amicos, qui mos est apud Anglos. Verteramus et Longævus, dictantes tantum, sed notarius suffuratus libellum Montjoio dicatum pro suo edidit Lutetiæ. Rapiebantur hæ nugæ primum magno studiosorum applausu; sed ubi Græcæ linguæ peritia cœpit esse vulgo communis, id quod miro successu factum est apud nos, cœpere negligi: quod ego sane ut futurum sciebam, ita factum gaudeo. Ausi sumus idem in Plutarchi Moralibus, cujus et phrasis aliquanto difficilior est, et res habent plus obscuritatis, ob reconditam hominis eruditionem. Ex hoc vertimus libellum, cui titulus, Quomodo sit dignoscendus adulator ab amico. Eum dicavimus Henrico Britanniae Regi, ejus nominis octavo: Præterea, cui titulus est, Quo pacto fieri possit, ut utilitatem capias ex inimico: hunc dicavimus ei, qui nunc est Cardinalis et Archiepiscopus Eboracensis, tum Eleemosynis regiis erat præfectus, sed tamen jam tum rebus maximis destinatus; adeo ut, prius quam daretur opportunitas offerendi, ter mihi mutanda fuerit præfatio. Quin et prius quam excudi poterat, jam accesserat ei Cardinalitæ dignitatis fastigium. Ante hos verteram, De tuenda valetudine: Quod in Principe requiratur eruditio: Quod cum Principibus maxime versari debeat Philosophus: Utrum graviores sint animi morbi, an corporis: Num recte dictum sit, *Λάθε βιώσας*: De cupiditate divitiarum. In his eo libentius exercebar, quod præter linguæ peritiam vehementer conducerent et ad mores instituendos. Nihil enim legi, secundum Literas Divinas, hoc auctore sanctius. Hoc unum erat incommodi, quod Aldus hoc opus excudit, sequutus exemplar multis locis depravatum, nec apud nos vetustiorum exemplarium erat copia. Vertimus unam Libanii declamationem, nomine Menelai repetentis uxorem apud Trojanos, atque hinc primum jecimus transferendi aleam. Vertimus et alias aliquot declamatiunculas incerto auctore. Nonnulla scripsimus, quæ facerent ad institutionem studiorum, inter quæ sunt libri De copia verborum ac rerum duo, olim per lusum designati verius quam cœpti in gratiam Joannis Coleti, qui multis precibus hoc extorsit potius quam impetravit, ut novum opus novæ scholæ dedicarem. Ad ejusdem preces castigavi libellum Lili, quem suo ludo præfecerat, de Syntaxi, sed mutatis tam multis, ut nec Lilius vellet opus agnoscere, nec ego possem. In gratiam Petri Viterii, non vulgaris amici, licet humilioris, scripsi libellum De ratione studiorum et instituendi pueros, quod is ingenuos aliquot bonæque spei adolescentulos erudiendos haberet. Fortassis ad hunc ordinem pertinent duo primi libri Grammatices Theodori Gazæ, quos ideo Latine vertimus, ut plures alliceremus ad studium Græcanici sermonis, vel ipsa facilitate, velut esca quadam. Et adeo successit

successit id, quicquid erat laboris, ut jam videatur inutilis. Adnotaram
 quædam Anglo cuidam, De ratione scribendarum Epistolarum, sed non in
 hoc ut ederentur. Eo defuncto, quum viderem opus, ut erat, mutilum ac
 mendosum, editum in Anglia, coactus sum paucos dies in ejusmodi nugis
 perdere, quas plane cupiebam abolitas, si qua fieri potuisset. Prodierat et
 Colloquiorum libellus, partim e confabulationibus domesticis, partim e
 schedis meis confarcinatus; sed admixtis næniis quibusdam, non tantum
 ineptis, verum etiam male Latinis, planeque solœcis; et hoc nugamentum
 miro applausu exceptum est, ut in his quoque rebus ludit fortuna. Coactus
 sum igitur et hisce næniis admoliri manum. Tandem adhibita paulo majore
 cura, non pauca adjecimus, ut esset justa libelli magnitudo, jamque vel hoc
 honore dignus videri posset, ut Joanni Erasmo Joannis Frobenii filio, pu-
 ero tum sex annos nato, sed indole incredibili dicaretur. Id factum est Anno
 1522. Quamquam hujus operis natura est, ut, quoties visum fuerit, recipiat
 accessionem. Itaque in gratiam studiosorum et Joannis Frobenii frequenter
 jam auctarium adjecimus, sed ita temperatis argumentis, ut præter lectionis
 voluptatem, ac sermonis expoliendi fructum, inesset quod ad mores quoque
 formandos conducere. Porro, donec præter meras ineptias nihil haberet ille
 libellus, miro omnium favore legebatur. Ubi accessit uberius utilitas, non
 potuit effugere τῶν συκοφάντων δόγμα. Theologus quidam Lovaniensis mi-
 re lippiens oculis, sed multo magis ingenio, vidit illic quatuor locos hære-
 ticos. Accidit et aliud quiddam huic operi memorabile. Excusum est nū-
 per Lutetiæ correctis, hoc est, depravatis aliquot locis, quæ videbantur at-
 tingere Monachos, vota, peregrinationes, indulgentias, aliaque hujus gene-
 ris, quæ si plurimum valerent apud populum, uberius esset istis quæstus.
 Verum hoc ipsum fecit adeo stulte, adeoque indocte, ut scurram quempiam
 e trivio fecisse jures, quum auctor tam insulsæ fabulæ feratur. Theologus
 quidam Ordinis Dominicani, natione Saxo. Quorsum attinet addere no-
 men et cognomen, quod nec ipse cupit suppressi? nescit tale portentum pu-
 descere, citius laudem etiam petat ex scelere. Addidit impostor novam
 Præfationem meo nomine, in qua facit tres viros in uno puero instituendo
 sudantes: Capnionem, qui tradiderit literas Hebraicas: Beatum, qui Græ-
 cas: me, qui Latinas. Horum utroque facit me tum literatura, tum pie-
 tate inferiorem, significans in Colloquiis inspersa quædam, quæ Lutheri re-
 sipiant dogmata. Atque hic scio quosdam sublaturos cachinnum, quum le-
 gent Capitonem ab isto, qui sic odit Lutherum, optimi doctissimique viri
 elogio prædicatum. Hæc atque hujusmodi multa me loquentem facit, hu-
 jus audaciæ exemplo sumto ex Epistolis Hieronymi, qui queritur æmulos
 suos ipsius nomine confictam Epistolam sparsisse apud Afros in conventu
 Episcoporum, in quo fateretur se deceptum a Judæis quibusdam falso ver-
 tisse Vetus Testamentum ex Hebræis. Et omnino persuasissent eam Epistolam
 esse Hieronymi, si stylum Hieronymi aliqua ex parte potuissent assequi. Hoc
 facinus quum Hieronymus referat velut extremæ deploratæque malitiæ, ta-
 men unum hoc arrisit isti Phormioni, quod est quovis libello famoso scelera-
 tius; sed defuit malitiæ voluntati facultas perficiendi quod destinarat. Stylum

P Lambertus Campestris.

Erasmi

Erasmi quamvis incultum assequi non potuit, sic enim claudit florulentam suam Præfationem : *Ita monuit ætas, ita jussit pietas, ut, dum vivere datur, prægravi senectæ scripta mea repurgem, ne functos manes tristibus transcribant sequaces inferiis.* Quum talis sit totus hominis sermo, tamen non veritus est suos flosculos nostris coronis intertexere, aut insanissime sibi placens, aut pessime sentiens de judiciis Theologorum, nam his ista cudit, quos omnes tam stupidos esse putet, ut non statim deprehensuri sint infelicitèr affutos hujus pannos. Tam abjectè ubique adulatur Galliæ, Lutetiæ, Theologis, Sorbonæ, Collegiis, ut nemo mendicus possit abjectius. Itaque si quid parum magnifice dictum videtur in Gallos, transfert in Britannos ; si quid in Lutetiam, vertit in Londinum. Addit quædam odiosa, velut a me dicta, quo mihi conflēt invidiam apud eos, quibus dolet me esse carum. Quid multis ? Passim suo commodo refecat, addit, mutat, veluti fus oblita cœno volutans sese in horto alieno, nihilque non conspurcans, perturbans, evellens, nec interim sentit perire captatam a nobis argutiam. Etenim quum illic cuidam dicenti, *ex Hollando versus es in Gallum*, respondetur : *Quid ? an capus eram, quum hinc abirem ?* ille mutavit, *Ex Hollando versus es in Britannum.* *Quid ? an Saxo eram, quum hinc abirem ?* Rursum quum quidam dixisset, *Vestis indicat te mutatum ex Batavo in Gallum :* ille ex Gallo facit Britannum. Quumque ille respondisset, *Hanc metamorphosin malim quam in Gallinam :* alludens ad Gallum ; ille mutavit *Gallinam* in *Bobemum*. Mox quum quidam jocatur se Latinum quoque sermonem sonare *Gallice :* ille pro *Gallice* vertit *Britannice :* et tamen relinquit, quod sequitur, *Nunquam igitur bona carmina facies, quia periit tibi syllabarum quantitas :* quod in Britannos non congruit. Item quum illic aliquis dicit, *Quid accidit Gallis, ut bellum suscipiant cum Aquila :* ille sic corrumpit jocum, *Quid accidit pardis, ut bellum suscipiant cum liliis :* quasi *Lilia* soleant prodire in bellum. Interdum non sentit ea, quæ sequuntur, cum his, quæ mutavit, non cohærere, velut hoc ipso in loco. Ego scripseram : *Estne Lutetia immunis a pestilentia ?* Ille mutat, *Estne Londinum immunis a pestilentia ?* Rursus alio loco, quod a quodam dicitur, *Quid trepidamus hunc Gallum lacerare ?* ille *Gallum* vertit in *leporem :* nec tamen mutavit, quod sequitur, *Utrum mavis de ala, an de poplitibus ?* Porro quum Dominicalibus adeo tenere faveat, ut voluerit apud illos sedere commissarios, tamen Scotum atrociter attactum æquo fert animo. Nec enim mutavit, quod illic dicit quidam, *Citius patiar perire totum Scotum, quam libros unius Ciceronis.* Verum ut hæc stultitiæ plena sunt, ita insunt permulta, quæ parem habent stultitiæ junctam malitiam. Quidam illic irridet sodalem, qui, quum esset perditæ vitæ, tamen fideret bullis indulgentiariis : hic corrector facit illum fatentem se cum Luthero suo sentire, indulgentias Pontificis nihil valere. Ac mox fingit eundem resipiscentem, profiteri erroris sui pœnitentiam. Atque hæc videri vult, velut a me correctæ. O miros fidei nutantis Atlantes ! Hoc perinde est, ac si quis offis sanguine imbutis vulnus mentiatur in humano corpore, ac mox idem sublatis, quæ admoverat, vulneri medeatur. Dicit illic puer quispiam, confessionem, quæ fit Deo, præcipuam esse. Ille correxit, asseverans confessionem, quæ fit sacerdoti, præcipuam esse. Ita prospexit periclitanti confessioni. Unum hoc

hoc exempli causa retuli, quum in hujus generis sycophantiis creber sit. Atque hæc scilicet respondent palinodiæ, quam ille sub meo nomine pollicetur in falsaria præfatione, quasi cujusquam sit canere palinodiam erroris alieni, aut quasi, quicquid illic sub quacunque persona dicitur, meum sit dogma. Nihil enim me movet, quod hominem nondum sexagenarium facit prægravi senectæ. Olim capitale erat edere quicquam alieno nomine, nunc tales sycophantias in vulgus spargere ficto ipsius nomine, qui traducitur, ludus est Theologorum. Nam vult Theologus videri, quum res illum clamitet ne pilum quidem tenere rei Theologicæ. Nec dubito, quin furcifer ille mendaciis suis imposuerit famelico typographo: non enim arbitror quenquam esse tam insanum, qui sciens tam indoctas nænias velit excudere. Deploratam hominis audaciam mirari desii, postea quam intellexi illum esse pullum e nido Bernensi quondam elapsum, plane ἐκ κακίστης κόρης κακίστον ὄν. Illud demiror, si verum est, quod adfertur, apud Parisios esse Theologos, qui sibi plaudant, quod tandem nacti sunt hominem, qui eloquentiæ suæ fulmine disjiciat universam Lutheri factionem, et Ecclesiam pristinae restituat tranquillitati. Nam scripsit et adversus Lutherum, ut audio. Et postea Theologi queruntur se a nobis traduci, qui studia ipsorum tantis vigiliis adjuvamus, quum ipsi volentes amplectantur talia monstra, quæ plus dedecoris adferunt ordini Theologorum, atque etiam Monachorum, quam quivis, quamlibet maledicus, hostis posset. Qui tale facinus audet, idem non dubitabit incendium aut veneficium admittere. Atque hæc excuduntur Lutetiæ, ubi nefas est vel Evangelium excudi, nisi Theologorum censura comprobatum. Hoc Colloquiorum opus postremum exiit auctum coronide, A. 1524. mense Septembri. Cæterum quoniam videbam multos scriptores vel negligi prorsus, vel minore cum fructu legi, quod undique scaterent mendis, tum autem quosdam etiam commentariis insulsißimis esse contaminatos verius quam expositos, studuimus et in hac parte consulere studiis juventutis, nec juxta Græcorum proverbium, in dolio τὴν κεραμικὴν sumus aggressi, sed in libello puerili, cui titulus *Cato*. Adjecimus Mimos Publianos sane quam festivos, qui inter Senecæ lucubrationes falso titulo latebant, sed depravatissimi: tum admixtu multarum sententiarum, qui Mimi non erant, contaminati. His omnibus Scholia adjecimus. Adjunximus et alia quædam a nobis recognita, minutiora, quam ut sit operæ pretium referre, quod quidem ad operam a nobis insumentam attinet. In hanc classẽ referenda videtur *Nux* Ovidii, quam emendatam commentariolo enarravimus in gratiam optimæ spei adolescentis Joannis Mori, cui adjunximus duos Hymnos Prudentianos, alterum γενεθλιακόν, alterum ἐπιφανειακόν pueri Jesu. Quos itidem emaculatos commentariolis enarravimus in gratiam clarissimæ puellæ Margaretæ Roperæ. Id factum est A. 1524. Moliti sumus simile quiddam apud Aldum, post edita Proverbia, in Comœdias Terentii et Plauti omnes, sed hic nihil aliud professi, quam versuum confusorum digestionem, ubi licuisset, tum in tragœdias Senecæ, in quibus non pauca feliciter mihi visus sum restituisse, at non sine præsidio veterum codicum. Exemplaria reliquimus Aldo, permittentes illius arbitrio, quid de his statuere vellet: nisi quod Senecæ Tragœdias, post in Anglia denuo recognitas, Badio transmisimus,

qui visus est nostra cum alienis miscuisse. Porro Cantabrigiæ nacti veteres aliquot codices, adgressi sumus Senecam oratorem, magnis quidem laboribus nostris, sed quorum editio parum feliciter cesserit. Etenim quum meæ res me revocarent in patriam, dederam hoc negotii doctis amicis, ut ex his, quæ notaram in margine, deligerent, quibus videretur utendum, atque illi sane quam magnifice receperunt. Sed illic primum didici, et apud eos, qui putantur in promissis adamantini, nonnullos esse, qui parum probæ sint fidei, frustra que pœnituit non obtemperasse *Cassitæ* consilio, *Ne quid expectes amicos facere, quod per te queas*. Quin et ea pars exemplaris, quæ plurimas habebat annotationes, periit. Nonnulli suspicabantur, et erat verisimile, eum, qui negotium magnificis promissis susceptum haud scio pejore fide an judicio gesserat, clam fustulisse, ne deprehenderetur. In nonnullos libros non succurrebat aliquid vetustiorum codicum, velut in *Naturales Quæstiones*, in *Controversias*. His locis non ita multis addideramus conjecturam nostram non mutata scriptura. In alios, ubi licuit veterum librorum uti præsidiiis, totas margines expleveramus annotationibus, sed quæ requirerent expensorem. Huic operi excudendo si præsens adfuisssem, fateretur candidus lector, hoc, quicquid est operæ, non sine fructu fuisse susceptum: nunc infelicitatem meam et ipse deploro, perfidiam nemo potest objicere. Audio quosdam apud Italos moliri novam hujus auctoris editionem, ex fide vetustissimorum codicum. Horum industriæ favebimus utroque pollice, et adeo non putabimus illorum felicitatem ad nostram ignominiam pertinere, ut hinc aliquid etiam laudis simus decerpturi, nimirum quod nostro qualicunque conatu præbuerimus illis ansam stimulumque subjecerimus ad honestissimam provinciam suscipiendam. Ab his progymnasmatibus adgressus sum Novum Testamentum, in quo decreveram adeo verborum parcus esse, ut statuerim singula loca tribus verbis adnotare, præsertim quum Laurentii [Vallæ] castigationem jam edidisssem, quæ mihi verbosior quam pro re videbatur. Cæterum ubi jam accinctus esset Frobenius ad excudendum, perpulerunt amici docti, quibus aliquoties obsequentior sum, quam expedit, ut mutarem etiam editionem vulgatam, et in adnotationibus essem aliquanto copiosior. Is labor noster ut plurimos excitavit vel ad Græcas literas, vel ad studium sincerioris Theologiæ, ita mihi gloriam peperit, multa invidia fermentatam. Dedimus et hic mox pœnas non leves temeritatis, vel nimiae facilitatis, in obsequendo amicorum voluntati potius quam judicio. Non credendis laboribus totum opus retexuimus, ac rursus officinæ tradidimus. Rursum tertio manum admovimus, magna que cura locupletavimus A. 1522. quæ quidem hætenus fuit nobis operis editio novissima. Quartam habemus paratam, quod dum Paraphrases scriberemus, multa deprehenderimus, quæ prius fefellerant. Quin et Hieronymianas Epistolas, quod hæ ut plurimum habent eruditionis et eloquentiæ, ita habebantur mendosissimæ, castigavimus, ac scholiis explicuimus, nota [read notha] semovimus adjectis censuris. Quod opus rursus recognovimus A. 1522. non paucis locis vel correctis vel additis, quæ nos in priore editione fefellerant. Hoc rursus excusum est A. 1524. In hoc labore sic versati sumus, ut attentus lector facile deprehensurus sit, me non frustra recognitionem hanc suscepisse. Non defuerunt

fuerunt hic veterum codicum præsidia, sed quæ non præstarent, quin aliquot locis fuerit divinandum. Verum eam divinationem in scholiis ita temperavimus, ut ne qui facile falli possit, sed tantum excitetur ad investigandum lectoris studium. Et speramus fore, ut aliquis adjutus emendationibus exemplaribus restituat et illa, quæ nos fugerunt: quibus ut libenter tribuamus meritam industriæ laudem, ita non habebunt, quod nostros conatus insectentur, qui quum multa feliciter restituerimus, in quibusdam coacti sumus vetus sequi proverbium, ἔχ' ὡς θέλωμεν, ἀλλ' ὡς δυνάμεθα. Sunt enim quidam eo ingenio, ut si quid possint superiorum conatibus adjicere, totam laudem sibi vindicent, magnis conviciis⁹ exagitant, sicubi dormitatum est, aut sicubi non præstitit alter, quod conabatur. Quorum equidem haud scio utrum magis detestandam arbitrer inhumanitatem an ingratitude. Nul- lus illis præcludit viam, si velint dare absolutiora. Negant quicquam edendum, nisi quod sit absolutum. Hoc qui præscribunt, dicunt nihil omnino edendum; neque tale quicquam a quoquam adhuc editum. Dabamus illa Batavis, dabamus Monachis ac Theologis magna ex parte ἀμέσοις. Nondum enim hucusque promoverant bonæ literæ. Hæc si quis reputet, intelliget me nec ignavam, nec infrugiferam obisse provinciam. An Itali Critici non dabunt hanc veniam Barbaris, quam ipsi, velint nolint, dare coguntur suis, *Philelpho*, *Hermolao*, *Valis*: breviter quotquot intra annos sexaginta, vel vertendis Græcis, vel enarrandis corrigendisve Latinis industria sua juverunt publica studia? Qui nihil edunt, sic vitant culpam, ut nihil laudis prome- reantur: imo dum stulte vitant culpam humanam, in gravissimam culpam incidunt: nisi forte minus culpandus est, qui ex lautiore penu nihil depro- mit famelicis amicis, quam qui gratis et candide profert, quicquid habet, libenter daturus lautiora, si haberet. Quis insectatur annotationes Hermo- lai in Plinium, quod destitutus emendatorum codicum auxilio plurima non potuerit assequi, in multis etiam parum feliciter divinarit? Ego me pluri- mum debere profiteor Beato Rhenano, qui nobis dederit Tertullianum, multis in locis emendatum, quanquam nec totum dedit, et innumeris adhuc mendis oblitum. Non fraudatur sua laude, qui pro tempore, quod potuit, præstitit, ac viam aperuit cæteris elimatiora moliendi. Nec ullos patimur iudices iniquiores, quam istos, qui nihil omnino edunt, ac ne docent qui- dem, velut invidentes utilitati publicæ, perinde quasi ipsis pereat, quicquid compererint, esse multis commune. Et sicubi lapsus humanum depre- henderint, qui cachinni, quæ convicia, quæ tragœdiæ? Omnium feli- cissimus in vertendo fuit Theodorus Gaza. Et tamen in hujus libris depre- hendit aliquot errores Trapezuntius, quos ille monitus correxit. Hermo- laus, vir tantus, nonne statim in Præfatione Themistii in libros Aristotelis De Anima, pueriliter lapsus est, in ipso (quod aiunt) portu impingens? Quid hic memorem de Philippo Beroaldo, de Baptista Pio, denique^r similibus, ad quorum errores connivent Itali? Quid de omnibus fere, qui intra octo- ginta annos verterunt Græca, Diodorum Siculum, Herodotum, Thucydi- dem, Vitas Plutarchi, atque etiam libellos Morales? Si his ignoscimus, quod in tanta doctorum hominum, ac vetustissimorum librorum copia labun- tur aliquoties insigniter, cælum terræ miscent, si in Batavo præfidiis omni-

⁹ Perhaps exagitant.^r Perhaps de similibus.

bus destituto reperiant, quod sit emendandum? Quanquam nos ipsi in nostras lucubrationes censores agimus, multaque in his, quæ vertimus ex Græcis emendavimus: idem facturi, donec vixerimus. Sed video, mi BotzHEME, jamdudum ad Catalogum revocas. Ergo Suetonium Tranquillum cum miræ vetustatis codice contulimus, ac loca nonnulla satis feliciter restitimus, a nemine antea animadversa. Idem fecimus in operibus Cypriani. Recognovimus et Arnobii Commentarios in sacros Psalmos, quem laborem inscripsimus Adriano Pontifici Romano ejus nominis sexto, tum recens electo. Idem fecimus in Hilario, qui miris modis nos torfit. Hoc laboris dedicavimus Joanni Carondileto Archiepiscopo Panormitano, Caroli Cæsaris in Brabantia Cancellario summo. Cæterum, ubi perpenderemus quantum ad elegantiam et copiam dictionis adferant momenti sententiæ argutæ, metaphoræ aptæ, proverbia, similiaque schemata, decreveramus ex omni scriptorum probatorum genere, quam maximam harum rerum vim congerere, et in suam quæque classem digerere, quo magis essent in promptu his, qui stylum exercere vellent ad parandam orationis facultatem et copiam. Hujus rei periculum fecimus ante annos (ni fallor) viginti septem. Occasio fuit hæc. In litore Dovariensi priusquam ingrederer mare, naufragium fecit tota mea pecunia, quæ tum erat exigua, sed tamen mihi maxima, quum nihil superesset. Id factum est a præfecto, pene dixeram, a prædone litoris, Regio nomine, quum mihi Morus et Montjoius persuasissent nihil esse periculi, nisi monetam Britannicam efferrem. At ego nec Britannicam habebam, nec in Anglia partam aut acceptam. Verum in litore didici, non esse fas ullam efferre pecuniam, ne ferream quidem, ultra pretium sex Angelatorum. Tanti mihi constitit unicam legem Britannicam didicisse. Ubi nudus redissem Lutetiam, non dubitabam, quin multi exspectarent futurum, ut (quod solent literati) fortunam hanc ulciscerer calamo, scribens aliquid in odium Regis, aut Angliæ: simulque verebar, ne Guilhielmus Montjoius, quoniam dederat occasionem perdendæ pecuniæ, subvereretur, ne verterem animum erga se meum. Ut igitur et illorum exspectationem fallerem, imo potius declararem me non esse tam iniquum, ut privatum casum imputarem regioni, aut tam incogitantem, ut ob jacturam tantulam vel in me vel in amicos, quos in Anglia reliqueram, provocarem tanti Principis iram, simulque Montjoio meo testatum facerem, me nihilo secius affectum esse in amicitia, quam antea fueram affectus, visum est protinus aliquid edere. Quum nihil esset ad manum, tumultuarie paucorum dierum lectione congeffi sylvam aliquam Adagiorum, divinans hoc libelli, qualis qualis esset, vel ob utilitatem versaturum in manibus studiosorum. Hoc argumento declaravi, quam non refrixissem in amicitia. Tum adjecto carmine, cujus ante me mini, testificatus sum, quam non essem infensus vel Regi vel regioni, ob pecuniam ereptam; nec male cessit hoc meum consilium. Ea moderatio candorque mihi tum plurimos amicos conciliavit apud Britannos, viros eruditos, probos, ac potentes. Id opusculum paucis post annis excudit Badius noster, adjectis a me pauculis, et recognitis Græcis potissimum. Mox Matthias Schurerius Argentorati, quum ego interim copiosiore sylvam collegissem in Venetam editionem, quæ prodiit ex officina Aldina. Porro quoniam videbam hoc opus sic esse gratiosum apud studiosos ut victurum appareret,

pararet, et a multis typographis certatim ederetur, iterum atque iterum locupletavi, ut se dabat vel otium vel major librorum copia. Postrema manus edita est apud Joannem Frobenium, anno a natali Servatoris 1523. Porro dum locupletandis Adagiis nonnullos auctores relego, obiter collationes aliquot adnotavi, magis indicans ac præbens aliis exemplum futuri operis, quam librum justa cura absolvens. Est autem liber unus de Parabolis sive Similibus ad Petrum Ægidium Jureconsultum et civem Antverpiensem quondam mihi studiorum sodalem. Fortasse non abs re fuerit huic generi subnectere opus Epistolarum, quanquam non est aliud omnium cui minus faveam. Indultum est hic plus satis amicorum affectibus, præsertim quum hi sæpenumero pro tempore mutantur in diversos, qua de re satis testati sumus, in prima postremæ editionis Epistola, quæ prodiit ex officina Frobeniana A. 1521. Et quod tum divinabam, post nimium veris experimentis comperi. Res enim ipsa docet quosdam ex juratissimis amicis, quos Pylades poteram dicere, factos hostes acerrimos, summam ingratitude cum summa perfidia copulantes, non ob aliud, nisi quod nollem palam dare nomen periculoso negotio, quod semper hariolatus sum in perniciosam seditionem exiturum. Atqui ego nemini renunciavi amicitiam, quod vel in Lutherum esset propensior, vel quod a Luthero alienior. Tali sum ingenio, ut vel Judæum amare possim, modo sit alioqui commodus convictor et amicus, nec me coram blasphemias evomat in Christum. Atque hanc civilitatem arbitror utiliore ad finiendum dissidium. Ac leviter sane me commovet, quod, quibus ante scribebar, Sidus Germaniæ, Princeps veræ Theologiæ, Antistes bonarum literarum, nunc sim alga vilior. Siquidem gloriosos illos titulos, qui mihi nunquam non fuere molesti, lubens illis resigno, amicitiae fœdus nulli volens remitto. Tentavimus et declamationem, ad quam magis eramus natura compositi, quam ad illa collectanea, in quæ tamen maxime nos impulit nescio quis genius. Itaque lusimus olim laudem ac vituperationem Matrimonii; quæ nunc pars est libelli De Ratione conscribendi Epistolas. Id fecimus in gratiam clarissimi juvenis Guilhelmi Montjoii, quem tum in Rhetoricis instituebamus. Hunc quum rogassem, Ecquid placeret, quod scripseram: ille festiviter, Adeo placet, ut mihi plane persuaseris esse ducendam uxorem. Tum ego, Suspende sententiam, donec legeris diversam partem. Istam, inquit, tibi habe: mihi prior placet. Is jam post tertiam uxorem cœlebs est, fortasse ducturus quartam, adeo facile est perculisse plaustrum, quo sua sponte inclinatur. Sed admodum juvenes, vix annos nati viginti, scripsimus in eodem genere laudem vitæ monasticæ, hoc est, solitariae, in gratiam amici cujusdam, qui nepotem quendam venabatur profelytum, quem in nassam pelliceret. Item ante annos viginti tres Encomium Artis Medicæ, rogatu cujusdam amici, qui nuper Caroli Cæsaris Medicus fuit. Reperi inter schedas Episcopi responsionem ad populum sibi gratulantem, nec satis memini, quam occasione ea mihi scripta fuerit. Nam consolationem de morte filii præmature prærepti, scripsi Senæ, quum Alexandrum Archiepiscopum Ecclesiæ Divi Andreæ, Jacobi Scotorum Regis filium institu-erem. Sed multo ante apud Anglos descripseram Declamationem Lucianicæ respondentem contra Tyrannicidam, huc provocante Thoma Moro, tum

studiorum sodali, qui nunc Anglorum Regi est a Thesauris. Querimoniam Pacis scripsimus ante annos ferme septem, tum primum in aulam Principis acciti. Agebatur magnis studiis, ut Cameraci Synodus esset summorum orbis Principum, Cæsaris, Regis Galliarum, Regis Angliæ, Caroli nostri, atque ibi pax coiret inter illos, adamantinis, ut aiunt, vinculis. Hæc res potissimum agebatur per clarissimum virum Guilhelmum a Ciervia, et Reipublicæ juvandæ natum Joannem Sylvagium, Cancellarium summum. Obstabant huic consilio quidam, quibus inutilis est rerum tranquillitas, quibusque, juxta Philoxeni sententiam, qui dixit suavissimas esse carnes, quæ carnes non essent; suavissimos pisces, qui pisces non essent, maxime placebat pax, quæ pax non esset, et bellum, quod bellum non esset. Itaque jussu Joannis Sylvagii scripsi Pacis Querelam. Nunc res eo profecerunt, ut parandum sit Paci Epitaphium, quandoquidem nulla spes est eam revicturam; sed in his sunt, *quæ seria ducunt*, ut ait Flaccus. Moriam lusimus apud Thomam Morum, tum ex Italia reversi, quod opus quum mihi sic esset contemptum, ut nec editione dignarer (nam aderam Lutetiæ, quum per nescio quos pessimis formulis depravatissime excuderetur) tamen vix aliud majore plausu exceptum est, præsertim apud Magnates: Paucos tantum Monachos, eosque deterrimos, ac Theologos nonnullos morosiores offendit libertas: sed plures offensi sunt, ubi Lystrius adjecit commentarios, quod antea profuerat non intelligi. Conceperamus id temporis animo tres simul declamationes: *Encomium Morie, Naturæ, et Gratiæ*; sed quorundam morositas fecit, ut verterem consilium. Admodum adolescens adgressus sum *Antibarbaros*: nam et hoc opus arbitror ad declamatorium genus pertinere. Quanquam autem et in his, quæ recensui, pleraque sunt, quæ pertinent ad institutionem vitæ, tamen hæc, quæ nunc commemorabo, serio nobis scripta sunt ad vitæ rationem ac pietatem. In his est Panegyricus, quem Philippo Principi porreximus, primum ex Hispania reverso: quem sic laudavimus, ut eadem opera submoneremus, quid esset bono Principi spectandum, quod satis testati sumus in Epistola ad Joannem Paludanum, quam tum operi adjecimus. Præterea libellus de Principe Christiano, quem Carolo nunc Cæsari porreximus, recens in aulæ principalis famulitium acciti, ut essemus inter Principis Consiliarios. Atque hoc pacto primum fidelis Consilarii partes sumus auspicati: hoc enim epitheton solenniter addi solet Consiliariis, quum plerique Principes nihil minus ament, quam vere fidos Consiliarios, et plerique Consilarii nihil minus præstent, quam cognomentum suum. Et tamen hujus libelli libertate nemo magnatum offensus est. Ferunt boni Principes liberam admonitionem, seditiosam licentiam non ferunt. Enchiridion Militis Christiani cœpimus ante annos ferme triginta, tum agentes in arce Tornahensi, quo nos pestis, quæ tum Lutetiæ desæviebat, propulerat. Res est casu nata. Erat in ea arce quidam amicus mihi Battoque communis. Huic erat uxor singulari pietate prædita; ipse nulli pejor quam sibi: homo profusus scortationibus, et adulteriis opertus: alioqui comis ad omnem convictum. Theologos omnes fortiter contemnebat, uno me excepto. Uxor mire satagebat de salute viri. Hæc per Battum mecum agit ut aliqua notarem scripto, quæ religionem incuterent homini; sic tamen,

ne sentiret hæc uxoris impulsu geri : nam erat et in hanc sævus usque ad plagas, more videlicet militari. Obsequutus sum, adnotavi quædam ei temporis congrua. Ea quum placerent etiam eruditis, præsertim Joanni Vitratio, Franciscano, cujus erat in illis regionibus auctoritas summa; posteaquam rursus e Lutetia pestis undique sæviens, Lovanium nos profligasset, per otium absolvimus. Libellus erat aliquamdiu neglectus. Mox mire cœpit esse vendibilis, idque potissimum commendatione quorundam Dominicalium, quorum aliquammultos nuper alienavit addita Præfatio ad Paulum Volzium, Abbatem, virum moribus, ut si quis alius, pure Christianis. Huic adjeceramus Epistolam Paræneticam ad Adolphum Principem Veriensem, tum admodum puerum. Præterea duas Precationes, ad Virginem Matrem, in gratiam matris illius, *b. e.* Annæ, dominæ Verianæ, stylo juvenili, et ad illius affectum accommodato, potius quam ad meum judicium. Post, unam addidi ad Jesum, magis ex animo meo. Accessit pars temporariæ disputationis olim habitæ cum Joanne Coletto, *De tædio Jesu*, si tamen hæc pertinent ad morum institutionem. Hoc anno, *b. e.* 1524. emisimus Exomologesim, sive, De ratione confitendi commissa sacerdoti. Quin his majora sum ausus; explicui Paraphrasi Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos. Mox ubi successus audaciæ et amicorum hortatus me subinde longius provocarent, absolvimus Paraphrases in omnes Epistolas Apostolorum. Hoc opus quoniam non perpetuo labore, sed ex intervallis absolutum est, sic ut post unamquamque portionem absolutam statueremus ab hoc genere temperare; factum est ut præter morem meum operis summa non sit uni dedicata. Post, hortatu Matthæi Cardinalis Sedunensis, hoc nuper ausi sumus in Matthæum. Hoc lucubrationis dedicavimus Carolo Cæsari, cui scimus industriam nostram fuisse gratissimam. Jam desieram cogitare *ὡς τὸ ἀποφράζειν*, et ecce multis in hoc stadium revocantibus, absolvi Paraphrasim in Joannem, quod is præ ceteris, multis difficultatibus remoratur lectorem. Nec hic licuit quiescere: cœpit efflagitari Lucas, quod apud hunc multa sint cum nulla [read nullo] Evangelistarum communia, adeo nunquam deerat efflagitandi lemma. Hic labor dicatus est Anglorum Regi Henrico, ejus nominis octavo. Marcum denique quidam insignis amicus suasit addendum, ne lacuna in medio vacans invitaret aliquem, qui, suis admixtis, operis integritatem interrumperet. Hoc opus dicatum est Galliarum Regi Francisco, ejus nominis primo. Restabant Apostolorum Acta, pars Evangelii secundum Lucam. Ea dedicavimus Clementi, summo Pontifici, hujus nominis septimo. Apocalypsis nullo modo recipit paraphrasten. Hic itaque tandem Paraphraseôn finis satis felix. Nec enim alius labor mihi minus invidiæ conflavit quam Paraphraseôn. Scripsimus et in Psalmos duos commentarium, quibusdam magnis flagitationibus ad hunc laborem vocantibus. Verum hic non solum deterret operis tum magnitudo, tum difficultas, verum etiam turba commentariorum, ut periculum sit, ne Prophetiam obruant citius quam explant. Attamen tertium Psalmum Paraphrasi explicuimus, in gratiam eruditi amici Melchioris Viandali. Scripsimus et in Precationem Dominicam Paraphrasim, rogatu Jodoci sive Justi Wissenburgensis, Secretarii Regis Poloniae. Nuper absolvimus Concionem de misericordia Domini, ad pre-

ces sanctissimi Præfulis D. Christophori Episcopi Basiliensis, qui huic titulo facellum quoddam dedicarat. Et eodem tempore Comparationem Virginitatis et Martyrii, ad preces integerrimi viri Heliae Maccabæitici apud Agrippinam Collegii Moderatoris. Nam Concionem de puero Jesu pridem scripseram rogatu Joannis Coleti. Methodum veræ Theologiæ jam sæpius editam recognovimus ac locupletavimus Anno 1522. ac rursus anno proximo. Equidem gloriari consueveram, quod quum tam multa joco serioque scripsissem, nullum adhuc mortalium meo stylo nominatim lacerassem, sed hanc gloriam invidit mihi nescio quis malus genius. Quanquam hætenus defendi laudem innoxii styli, quod in neminem strinxi ferrum, nisi provocatus odiose: neque cuiquam respondi, nisi modestia vicerim adversarium, inferior virulentia. Nam arbitror hoc ita liquere e scriptis meis, ut mihi tantum laudis liceat citra jactantiæ notam arrogare. Primum illud erat in votis, ut nec impetitus a quoquam, nec impetens quemquam, incruento calamo luderem perpetuo. Sed hic bis infelix fui: primum quod a multis sum odiosissime libris editis impetitus: atque etiam ab his, de quibus nihil unquam fueram male meritus: deinde ab his, quos mihi nec pulchrum erat vincere, nec concertatores habuisse magnificum, ac ne frugiferum quidem. Itaque quoties huc necessitatis adactus sum, λακωνίζω, rem quam possum verbis paucissimis perstringens. Nec ulli mortalium hujusmodi lucubrationum mearum quicquam dicavi, sive quod eas victuras esse nec sperarem, nec optarem; sive quod nollem quemquam invidia degravare, quod ego per omnem vitam pro viribus cavi, ne quid ex me molestiæ rediret ad amicos.

Martinus Dorpius, instigantibus quibusdam, primus omnium cœpit in me velitari, cui respondimus ut amico amice, unica Epistola patrocinales Moriæ et Novo Testamento. Nec ob hanc velitationem discissa est nostra necessitudo, quod scirem illum non odio mei huc venisse, sed juvenem tum ac natura facilem, aliorum impulsu protrudi.

Successit huic Jacobus Faber Stapulensis, vir integer et eruditus, mihi que vetere junctus amicitia. Cui sic respondimus, ut eam necessitatem fati imputare maluerimus quam homini: nec ob eum casum tametsi gravem, illi nostram amicitiam renunciaverimus. Nam et hodie manet incolumis inter nos benevolentia mutua. Hic mihi periit opera dierum duodecim.

Non ita multo post profiliit Edvardus Leus, ex amico subito factus hostis, qui sic adgressus est, ut plane nollet ζαχαρείην, sed internecone conficere totum Erasmus: cui respondimus tribus libellis, tametsi secunda editione primum omisimus, quod is tantum ad virulentias illius et plusquam muliebres rixas responderet, ex quibus ad lectorem nulla redire posset vel utilitas, vel voluptas. Hic mihi perierunt dies, simul scribendo et edendo (nam omnes paginas ipse correxi) quinquaginta. Id possum docere testibus.

Prorepsit deinde Jacobus Latomus, tum laureæ Theologicæ candidatus, quæ, nescio quo pacto, jam annis aliquot Lovanii vix ulli contigit, nisi prius edito specimine συνοφαισίας. Hujus libello, quoniam obliquis strophis hominis ingenium referebat, plusquam λακωνικῶς respondimus, interim et ab affectibus temperantes: quoniam spes tum erat hominem aliquando sumptuum mores aliquanto candidiores. Hic mihi periit triduum, excepto tempore, quo legi libellos illius, dum curru vehor.

Subornarant

Subornarant et Atensem, ejus Academiæ tum Vicecancellarium, probum virum, et in re Theologica nullo illic non superiorem, denique nec inhumanum, et mihi satis amicum, sed ingenio irritabili. Et aderant artifices, qui quamvis placidum ingenium possent in rabiem agere, certe illum impulerunt in mortem. Nec enim erat illius ætas ac valetudo par hujusmodi tragædiis sustinendis. Hunc, inquam, subornarant, ut in publica schola, in actu solenni, miris strophis ac dictæis obliquis perstringeret me, etiam hæreseos notam impingens, quod plus satis laudassem matrimonium. Hic mihi jam satis fecerat, primum missis ad me hujus rei gratia Martino Dorpio, et Ægidio Delpho, deinde colloquio familiari.

Mox igitur edito libello respondi, non Atensi, sed hominum suspicionibus, magis illius causam agens quam meam. Et quoniam hæc ex composito gerebantur, tumultus tumultum excipiebat. Sic enim putabant fore, ut me profligato ex Academia, simul omnes linguæ cum bonis literis demigrarent in rem malam. Eodem ferme tempore clamatum est a Monachis Londini in Anglia, Lutetiæ in Gallia, Bruxellæ in Brabantia, idque in frequentissimis concionibus in me, quod vertissem: *In principio erat sermo*, pro eo, quod erat, *In principio erat verbum*. Et hunc tumultum libello compefcuimus, declarantes eos, qui sic clamassent, prorsus insanire. Quanquam id eruditis abunde perspicuum erat etiam ante quam nos verbum ullum faceremus.

Primus omnium scripserat adversus Novum Testamentum obscurus quidam, cui satis habuimus Epistola respondere, suppresso nomine.

Jamque finis videbatur futurus hujus mali, quum ecce de repente nobis ex Hispania profiliit Jacobus Lopis Stunica, homo (quod illius scripta declarant) gloriosus, effrons, excors, sibi mire pulcer, sermonis amari, dicas natum hujusmodi tragædiis. Præcesserat rumor atrox, et liber ipse miros habebat fumos. Huic paucis respondimus, nec æque poenituit ulli respondisse. Is ubi se Romam contulit, illic triumphum acturus de tam bello libello, rursus emisit in me librum, cui titulum fecit: *Blasphemiæ et impietates Erasmi*, quo nihil unquam prodiit infanius. Itaque Cardinalium ordo vetuerat excudi: excusum tamen clam per Monachos quosdam, apud quos sacrosancta est Pontificis auctoritas, quoties ipsis est commodum. Rursum vetuerunt distrahi. Vix huic responderam paucis et contemtim, ut merebatur, dum alius provolat libellus, præcursor illorum trium, in quibus velut optimus histrio declaravit, quantum valeat maledicendo. Itaque de eodem (quod aiunt) oleo responsum est huic quoque.

Aderat frater viro, Sanctius Caranza, Theologus Complutensis, qui Stunicam defenderet in tribus duntaxat locis, quos delegerat; et dum me conatur hæreticum facere, sese declarat impudentem sycophantam: et hujus libello respondimus. Et invenit Roma, qui tales nænias legant. Arguit enim esse, qui legant, quod sint, qui emant, quum vix usquam illic invenias venales libros sanctorum Patrum, qui faciunt ad pietatem. Imo non defunt, qui credant talibus præfidiis recte defendi statum Ecclesiæ: cujus negotii quum illud sit caput, ut apud omnes pondus habeant Romani Pontificis constitutiones; iste re ipsa docet quantum illis sittribuendum apud alias nationes,

nationes, quum ipse Romæ toties impune rideat Pontificum et Cardinalium edicta. Respondent non aliter Stunicam tolerari Romæ, quam Pasquillum. Verum Pasquillus et levius insanit, et semel duntaxat in anno. Iste posthabitis rebus omnibus, nihil aliud agit: et hanc putat mirificam quandam felicitatem. De Caranza nihil audio, sed Stunica totus etiamnum in negotio est: obambulat, ambit, satagit apud Pontificem, ut liceat tres illos admirandos libellos edere cum auctoritate. Equidem demiror quorundam hominum perditam impudentiam, qui quum ultro tanta virulentia incessant alios bene mereri studentes, toties deprehenfi in manifestis erroribus, tamen quasi re bene gesta rursus prodeant in arenam, ultro provocantes ad certamen. Nec se purgant interim, sed pergunt in alios lutum jacere. Ego certe, si quid mihi simile accidisset, abderem memet in solitudinem, et puderet rursus in eruditorum hominum prodire theatrum. Veniam exorat, qui studens promereri, labitur. Quis autem ignoscat his, qui sic impetentes alium, ipsi turpissime labuntur? Stunica primitias suæ maledicentiæ ediderat Compluti. Verum quum essent pauci, qui talem librum vellent emere, velut *ἔμπορος* Romam merces suas deportavit. Quumque reliquas sycophantias per Leonem Pontificem non liceret edere, post hujus obitum interregni tempore vulgavit, ut dixi, quædam, editurus plura, ni Cardinalium edicto semel atque iterum fuisset cohibitus. Nam Adrianus complures menses hæsit in Hispania priusquam se Romam conferret. Quumque apud hunc quoque frustra molitus esset, ut liceret, quod scripserat, emitte, mox ab hujus obitu rediit ad ingenium: dumque Cardinales inclusi de novo Pontifice creando decertant, emisit conclusiones aliquot ex omnibus meis lucubrationibus decerptas, adornans interim et reliqua in vulgus dare. Et fecisset, ni Clementis VII. auctoritas hominem palam furem compescuisset. Et huic igitur libello paucis respondimus, quanquam et ante jam responderamus.

Est Lovanii Theologus quidam^s Carmelita, qui se gloriari solet habere linguam pro calamo, et omnino linguam habet, sed dignam usu, quem indicavit Catullus. Huic ludus est Erasmus, in computationibus, in prælectionibus Theologicis, ac publicis etiam concionibus, hæreticum vocare, ac tantum proficit, ut apud omnes, qui sani sunt, insanus habeatur. Et hujus exemplum imitantur complures, qui vel hoc solo nomine putant se videri magnos Theologos, si quos libuerit, appellent hæreticos, aut schismaticos, aut falsarios, quasi idem non possint aurigæ. Is igitur publicitus in ordinaria lectione, mihi duo levia crimina impegit, hæreseos, et falsatæ Scripturæ Sacræ: quod in Epistola ad Corinthios priore, verterim id, quod solum reperi apud Græcos: *Non omnes quidem dormiemus, sed omnes immutabimur*. Hanc calumniam insigniter impudentem libello brevi refellimus, sed absque convicio, suppresso etiam hominis nomine; et tamen indignatur. Age, si ipse putat æquum fore, ut aliquis ipsi indignetur abstergenti lutum, quod quispiam injecisset in candidum ipsius pallium, quod solum habet candidum; fatebor æquum, ut mihi indignetur, quod tam impudentem calumniam refello, etiam ipsius interim nomini parcens. Et quum hisce moribus

^s Egmond.

omnibus bonis displiceat, uni sibi displicere non potest. Clamat in libellos famosos. Non sunt libelli famosi, qui tuentur innocentiam adversus furiosam calumniam: sed lingua famosa est, quæ manifesto mendacio tam atrox crimen impingit immerenti, vel potius benemerenti. Idem nuper in libello Colloquiorum quatuor hæreses deprehenderat, atque hoc nomine nusquam non triumphabat, in computationibus, in concionibus, in colloquiis, in prælectionibus, præter hæreses nihil habens in ore. Et huic calumniæ paucis respondimus. Hujus intemperii Adrianus Pontifex imposuerat silentium, misso diplomate, quo diligenter præcipiebat, ne quid blateraret in Erasmus. Siluit ad tempus, licet ægre. Mox a morte Pontificis rediit ad pristinos clamores, quasi quod recte præcipit Pontifex, non oporteat esse perpetuum. Itaque reversus ad ingenium, pristini silentii jacturam diligentia maledicendi sarcit. Prælegebat Evangelium Matthæi, nec raro jaciebat aliquod saxum in caput meum e cathedra Theologica, sed tam impudenter, ut nullus scurra possit impudentius: tam ridicule, ut bona pars non ob aliud veniat in illius auditorium, quam ut rideat: nec desunt, qui interpretentur hominem studio sic ineptire, ut inveniat auditores. Emiseram Apologiam de loco in Epistola ad Corinthios: *Omnes quidem resurgemus, sed non omnes immutabimur.* Ea quum tam manifestis argumentis diluisssem hominis calumniam ut digitis (quod aiunt) res sentiri possit, tamen perinde quasi nihil esset responsum, non puduit hæc dicere publicitus: *Hic, inquit, multi sunt, qui favent Erasmo, ego tamen non tacebo verum. Quicquid tenet Ecclesia, hujus contradictorium est falsum et hæreticum: Erasmi lectionis contradictorium tenet Ecclesia; ergo Erasmi lectio est falsa et hæretica.* Capite Matthæi tertio, quo pro eo, quod erat, *pœnitentiam agite, verteram, resipiscite.* Hic ille: *Erasmus, inquit, negat pœnitentiam, quasi pœnitentiam agere sit Latinis idem quod explere satisfactionem pro commissis indictam:* aut quasi *pœnitentiæ* vox dicta sit a *pœna*, ac non potius a *pone tenendo*, h. e. a posterius intelligendo, quemadmodum a Græcis *μελόνοια*: aut quasi ideo sublata sit satisfactio, si peccator jubeatur resipiscere. Capite sexto plane florebat illi Theologia. Negabat quicquam absurdius potuisse fieri, quam quod pro *dimitte, et dimittimus, novassem remitte, et remittimus.* *Remittere, inquit, declarat iterum ad aliquem mittere. Quis nunc orat, ut iterum ad se mittat Deus peccata per confessionem abolita?* Demiror cur non eadem opera rideat in symbolo fidei, atque adeo in ipsis Evangeliiis *remissionem peccatorum* toties iteratam: cur hic non jubet scribi, *dimissionem?* Quin iisdem dicteriis exagitat caput Lucæ septimum, ubi bis ponitur *remittendi* verbum: *Remittuntur ei peccata multa, quoniam dilexit multum.* Et mox: *Remittuntur tibi peccata.* Non vidit ille Coræbus, quicquid hic blateravit in meam versionem, cadere in lectionem Ecclesiasticam. Secundo Matthæi capite, pro, *Omnis Hierosolyma, verteram, Tota Hierosolymorum urbs:* non damnans, quod erat verbum, sed explanatius eloquens quod sensit Interpretes. Hic e suppositionibus Sophistarum demonstravit non posse eundem esse sensum in verbis meis, qui est in verbis Interpretis, propterea quod in meis non possit esse *suppositio, pro singulis generum, aut pro generibus singulorum.* Hujusmodi nœnias quotidie deblaterat homo senex, Theologorum Lovanien-sium coryphæus: et mirantur Pontificis negotium parum procedere, quum

per tales hisce modis administretur. O dignos homines, quos otiosos alat mundus! O Theologum gravem ac dignum cui cordati cives credant suos liberos! Nam hanc provinciam suscipit, quo plus arceat a bonis literis. Nulla res magis commendavit Lutherum orbi, quam hominum hujusmodi mores. Quin et Novo Testamento prodituro, unam atque alteram apologiam adjecimus, divinantes non defuturos, qui calumniarentur. Sunt et Epistolæ cæteris admixtæ, aut separatim excusæ, quæ videri possint Apologiæ, qualis est illa ad Marcum Laurinum, ad Jacobum Hogestratum.

Sed a rixarum commemoratione libenter discedo, et jam rixandi videbatur finis, nisi subito ac præter omnem spem exortus fuisset Ulricus Huttenus, ex amico repente versus in hostem, tantum valet apud leves homines mala lingua: hoc nemo scripsit in Erasmus hostilius. Et tamen non eramus responsuri, nisi graves amici judicassent hoc ad meam existimationem interesse. Exiit itaque *Spongia* ipso titulo styli moderationem pollicens, quam tamen videor nonnullis nequaquam præstitisse; quum ego, teste conscientia, summo studio sim adnixus, ne quem omnino per occasionem attingeret mea defensio: ipsi etiam Hutteno parcere studens, quantum res ipsa pateretur. Qui Hutteni famam apud omnes fartam tectam volunt, illis indignentur, qui hominem suis mendaciis huc perpulerunt, magis etiam istis, aut iisdem potius, qui hoc summis viribus agunt, ut in mortuum etiam stringam calamum. Quod tamen a me nunquam extorquebunt: nec enim libet furere. Et video rem prorsus exisse in rabiem.

Proinde posthac non est animus cum istiusmodi gladiatorii libellis congregari. Primum adnitar, ut hanc conscientiam approbem Christo, speroque futurum, ut consilii mei rationem optimus quisque suo calculo comprobet. Istis vero rabulis, qui prorsus nescire videntur, quid intersit inter scribere et furere, equidem malefacere malim, quam maledicere, si Christianum esset omnino cuiquam male velle. Ab iis vero, qui *Spongiam* atrocem ac procacem videri volunt, tantum illud petam, cogitent, quam non vulgariter dilexerim Hutteni ingenium, quanto candore, quot editis scriptis illum nondum admodum celebrem orbi commendarem: quot epistolis illum prædicarem apud amicos, præsertim apud Reverendissimum Cardinalem Moguntinum. In quadam Epistola confero illum cum Thoma Moro, quo viro multis jam seculis nihil sol vidit integrius, candidius, amicius, cordatius. Hujus se vehementer dissimilem probavit Huttenus, meque vanum præconem fecit. In opere Novi Testamenti jam tertium edito, quam non vulgari affectu laudes illius persono? Jam et illud cogitent, quam illi nulla a me præbita est occasio recedendi ab amicitia, quam non oportuit absque gravissimis causis rescindere. Deinde quam ille non solum violarit amicitiae jura, verum etiam, velut ex insidiis, plusquam hostiliter impetierit et famam et vitam amici. Nam omnino res ipsa loquitur, Huttenum non alio consilio scripsisse sic in me, quam ut calamo jugularet, quem gladio non poterat. Et, ut sibi videbatur vir fortis, sic cogitabat: Seniculus est, valetudinarius est, meticulosus et imbecillus est; mox efflabit animam, ubi legerit hæc tam atrocia. Hoc illum cogitasse, voces etiam, quas jactabat, arguebant. Nunc appellabo conscientiam illorum, qui Huttenum domestice noverant, quanquam

quanquam et hi, quibus cum illo nulla erat familiaritas, norunt quam fuerit omnis illius vita militaris, ne verbo utar acerbior: et tamen in tota Spongia nusquam objicio luxum, quem illum nec miserabilis ille morbus dedocere potuit, nusquam aleam aut scorta, nusquam profusione decoctam pecuniam, conflatum æs alienum, ac frustratos creditores. Jam illa facinora, quæ designavit extorta a Cartusiensibus pecunia, truncatis aliquot Monachis, impetitis in via publica tribus Abbatibus, ob quod facinus unum e famulis deprehensum decollavit Comes Palatinus. Hæc, inquam, atque hujus generis permulta etiam populus ubique novit, ego tamen nihil horum in Spongia refrico, nec in hostem regero vera notaque crimina, quum ille in amicum atque etiam benemeritum tantam falsissimorum criminum Lernam impudentissime congefferit. At in tota Spongia nullum prædonis, raptoris, aut latronis, aut decoctoris convicium. Nam quod illic in genere dicitur, ad nullius contumeliam, sed ad omnium utilitatem pertinet. Et sunt, quibus videor atrox in Spongia. Quas nugas ille expostulator, quam atrocibus verbis exaggerat? Ego in tam multis et vulgo notis, an non potuissem esse disertus, nisi meum ingenium vehementer abhorreret a maledicentia? De vulgata ad Cardinalem Moguntinum Epistola sic refero, ut ipse solus fuerit intellecturus. Alterum facinus hoc etiam perfidiosius nec attingo, quod utrumque condonaram amicitiae nostræ: et ille putabat æquum, ut ob excusatum colloquium sic debaccharetur in amicum, idque in gratiam unius aut alterius, quibuscum contraxerat novam amicitiam, ipsi non magno futuram usui. Si falsa crimina falsis retaliassem, par pari relatum erat, nisi quod plausibilior est ejus causa, qui laceffitus prodit in pugnam. Nunc acerbus videor, qui sic laceffitus tot sycophantiis, ne veris quidem ac populo notis criminibus abutor ad mei defensionem. Jam in invidiam mei vulgarunt Martini Lutheri epistolam, privatim ad amicum scriptam, de Spongia. Quantum sit huic Lutheri judicio tribuendum, in præsentia non disputo: me certe nihil movet, illud requiro, quur, qui hanc epistolam ediderunt, non eadem opera vulgarunt epistolas Philippi Melanchthonis, quibus hunc Hutteni conatum detestatur, ut pestiferum Evangelico negotio, et non semel insaniam vocat. Sunt apud me tres illius epistolæ ad diversos amicos scriptæ, in quibus execratur rabiosos libellos, quos nobis subinde mittit novum hoc Evangelium. Quamquam plura scripsit aliis. Ea premunt homines callidi, interim furiosis et anonymis aut pseudopigraphis libellis debacchantur, et post hæc jactant, se pro Evangelio decies mori paratos. Quur igitur non docent Romæ? Magna est vivæ vocis energia. Quur non debacchantur in Cæsarem æque atque Pontificem? quia minus tutum est. Ubi igitur votum martyrii? Certe docere debuerant, si nolunt provocare. Non me fugit, hoc fuisse consilium quorundam, qui se falso jactant Evangelii nomine, ut me libellis rabiosis obruerent, ne quid molirer in Lutherum. Fingant lapidatum Erasmus, an illico res illis bene sit habitura? Nec perpendunt, si mihi tanta esset ulciscendi libido, quanta illis lædendi, quantopere et potuerim et possim istorum causam affligere. Quis non agnoscat hic Spiritum Evangelicum, quo mille jam annis caruit mundus? Esto, sit Evangelicum libere debacchari conviciis in noxios, verum

manifestis mendaciis impetere caput immerentium, an et isthuc exemplum Evangelicum est? Vinum infundit vulneribus Medicus Evangelicus, sed idem addit oleum: et vinum infundit, non acetum. Isti[†] quidam venenum infundunt pro vino. Neminem occidunt gladio, sed sceleratius linguis et calamo. Et tamen non habent, quod objiciant mihi, nisi quod nolim mei capitis periculo profiteri, quæ vel non assequor, vel pro dubiis habeo, vel non probo, vel nullo fructu professurus sim. Alioqui quis plura scripsit adversus fiduciam cærimoniarum? Adversus superstitionem ciborum, cultus, et votorum, adversus eos, qui plus tribuunt hominum commentis, quam literis divinis; qui pluris faciunt humanas constitutiones, quam præcepta Dei; qui plus præsidii collocant in Divis, quam in ipso Christo; adversus Theologiam Scholasticam Philosophicis et Sophisticis argutiis corruptam, adversus temeritatem quidvis definiendi, adversus præpostera vulgi judicia? Quam vero non blandiar summis etiam Principibus, libri mei satis declarant.

Hæc aliaque permulta, quæ pro modulo gratiæ mihi datæ docui, constanter docui, non obstrepens cuiquam, qui doceret meliora. Et Erasmus nihil docuit nisi eloquentiam. Utinam istud persuadeant amicis meis *μαλακίο- λόγοις*, qui constanter jactant, quicquid docuit Lutherus, hausisse e scriptis meis. Tametsi non invideo laudem istam Luthero, habeat in solidum, modo glorificetur Evangelium. Summa criminum meorum est, quod sum moderatior, et hoc nomine male audio utrimque, quod utramque partem horter ad tranquilliora consilia: libertatem non improbo caritate conditam. Ex rabiosa maledicentia quid nasci potest, nisi cruenta seditio? Si nos Romanam Ecclesiam infamemus, et illa vicissim nostra prodat mala, nonne præclarum spectaculum edetur hostibus nostræ Religionis? Clemens offert se paratum ad corrigendam Ecclesiæ corruptelam; misit[†] Legatum, quo nullus optari potuit vel æquior vel humanior. Et isti tantum maledicunt, quasi nihil sit illis dulcius rerum omnium confusione. His imputent, si Principes tandem efferati sævire promiscue cœperint in fortunas et in capita plurimorum. Id si fiat, vereor, ne quidam sero probaturi sint meam moderationem. Quis enim ferat istos quosdam, qui prætextu Evangelii nec Principes audiant, nec Pontifices, nec ipsi auscultent Luthero, nisi quum est ipsis commodum? Alioqui et Lutherus illis homo est, et humano spiritu ducitur, aut non scripsit ex animo suo. Magnum vero crimen, si, quod nunc seditiose fit, cupio citra seditionem fieri, Principum assensu, qui si non facturi sunt, quod optimum est, quid sceleris admissum est, quod illos admo- neo? Nec revoco volentes incendium restinguere, sed eos damno, qui oleum addunt camino, et morbum, qui jam annis plus mille inveteravit, violentis pharmacis subito volunt tollere, maximo totius corporis periculo. Quam moderationem Apostoli præbuerunt Judæis, qui a saliva Legis inolitæ non poterant abduci; eandem, opinor, recte præstarent his, qui plurimis jam seculis, tot Conciliorum, tot Pontificum, tot insignium Doctorum auctoritatem sequuti, gravatim hujus recentis doctrinæ mustum recipiunt. Et interim pono illos errasse, hos omnia vera docere. Agat utraque pars Chris-

[†] Read *quidem*.

[†] *Campegium*.

tianis rationibus Christi negotium, et videbit, quid sim pro mea qualicumque portione in medium allaturus. Sed longius efferor: ad Huttenum redeo.

Utinam, qui tragœdiam hanc excitarunt primum, et nunc renovant, paterentur Hutteni manes quiescere, neque nos huc perpellerent, ut (quod dici solet) cum larvis luctemur? Quamquam cum larvis pugnat, non qui maledico libro, quem aliquis velut injecto jaculo venenis tincto relinquens fugit e vita, respondet, sed qui mortuum non responsurum ultro criminatur. Ego Hutteni manibus, ubi mors hominis est nunciata, animo Christiano precatus sum Dei misericordiam: et audio hominem sub mortem deplorasse quod deceptus quorundam versutia, laceffisset amicum.

Video me longius digressum ab eo, quod institueram, sed tamen non possum mihi temperare, quin in amici sinum effundam, quod hisce diebus comperi, quo plane intelligas quam non Evangelico spiritu quidam diffidorum materias captent ac gignant, qui se vehementer Evangelii nomine jactitant. Rem narrabo. Auctorem ipse facile divinabis, de quo quum mihi frequenter relatum esset, quod parum amice de me loqueretur, neglexi, adeo ut nec expostularim in colloquio. Tandem ubi renunciatum esset, quod me satis odiose dixisset *Prophetam Balaam*, quasi mercede conductus essem ad maledicendum populo Dei, non arbitratus sum tam atrocem contumeliam dissimulandam. Itaque casu nactus hominem, seduco; rogo num verum esset, quod ad me delatum erat. Ille tergiversatur, nec inficiens, nec confitens. Tandem urgenti respondet, id dictum fuisse a mercatore quodam Gallo, qui tum hinc abierat. Et fieri potest, ut hoc mercator dixerit, sed ab hoc doctus. Quum instarem, ut redderet causas, quur illi viderer dignus eo convicio, respondit, se audisse, quod jactassem me habere consilium, quo prorsus extingui posset hoc incendium Lutheranum, *b. e.* Evangelium. Nam hanc interpretationem ille adjecit. Ego nondum intelligens, unde natum * est hoc mali, respondi me Principibus pollicitum esse consilium, quo posset componi diffidium hoc quam minimo tumultu, citraque dispendium libertatis Evangelicæ, modo id vellent fieri clam ac tuto. Verum hoc consilium esse tale, ut verear ne Principes non sint admissuri. Post aliquot dies, originem hujus mali forte fortuna didici ex oratione Pellicani nostri. Narrabat enim clarissimum Poloniæ Baronem Hieroslaum, Palatinum Siradiensem, quum hic ageret, nescio quid minitatum in Lutheranos, ubi redisset in patriam. Eum quoniam senserant amantissimum mei, crebroque nos invisere, suspicati sunt quidam meis verbis exasperatum, meoque armatum consilio. Nunc rem, ut habet, accipe, mi Botzheme, et intelliges quod frequenter

Maxima de nihilo nascitur historia.

Quum induxisssem Hieroslaum in Bibliothecam, ille injecit mentionem de Luthero: rogavit, num doctus esset? Probavi doctrinam. Quid sentirem de dogmatibus ejus? Aio rem esse supra meam cognitionem: tametsi negari non posset illum multa præclare docuisse, multa recte monuisse, et ulcera quædam fortiter exagitasse. Rogat quos illius libros potissimum probarem. Nomino Commentarios in viginti Psalmos, et opus De quatuordecim spectris;

* Perhaps *esset*.

addo

addo eos libros etiam illis probari, qui reliquos damnarent: quanquam et in his, inquam, admiscet quædam sua. Ille repetens pronomen *Sua*, risit. Hoc fuit nobis primum colloquium de Luthero, ex quo nec ille satis percepit, quid mihi esset animi in Lutherum, nec ego, quid illi. Rursum quum iterum inviseret me, forte jacebat in mensa inter multas chartas epistola, quam Lutherus recens ad me scripserat. Ex hac ille nescio quo pacto verba quædam oculis rapuerat, quibus Lutherus videbatur parum magnifice de me sentire. Mox inter confabulandum visus est velle suffurari literas. Id ego dissimulans receptas e manibus illius reposui. Post hæc ingressi sumus *πύργον* nostrum, et aliquamdiu confabulati sumus de rebus, quæ nihil ad Lutherum attinebant. Interim animadverto illum rursus eandem epistolam tenere clanculum. Ibi ridens, *ut video*, inquam, *moliris hic furtum aliquod*. Arrisit ille, et fassus est. Rogo in quem usum vellet eam tollere: *Dicam*, inquit, *multi conati sunt nostro quoque Regi persuadere tibi cum Luthero fædus esse arctissimum: eos coarguent hæc literæ*. Ad hoc, inquam, reddam te instructiorem, et hanc dabo *ἀντίγραφον*, simulatque fuerit descripta, et addam duas alteras, in quibus odiosius etiam de me prædicat, quarum alteram excuderant Argentorati, alteram nuper ediderunt nescio qui. His, inquam, potes et apud Cæsarem (nam eo proficiscebatur legatus) docere, mihi non tam arctam esse necessitudinem cum Luthero, quam multi prædicant. Rursus alio colloquio, roganti numquid scriberem contra Lutherum, aio me tot laboribus necessariis distrahi, ut ad alia nulla esset otium. Tum aperit mihi quantopere Poloniæ Rex infensus esset Luthero, narrans ejusdam prædivitis fortunas omnes addictas fisco regio, ob unicum Lutheri libellum, in illius ædibus repertum. Ibi satis præ me tuli mihi non probari vel sævitiam, vel exemplum, per occasionem, invadendi domos civium. Denique consensurus equos redit ad me, ac deposito in mensam vasculo argenteo; *Rogo*, inquit, *ut hoc animi mei pignus sinas esse apud te*. Quum ego recusarem, causans me nihil unquam de illo promeritum, nec esse in quo possem illi gratificari: *Nihil*, inquit, *aliud abs te peto, quam ut ames hunc hominem*. Tandem tradit et regium edictum, formulis excusum. Hæc est tota nostra de Luthero confabulatio. Sic ille decessit a me instructus et exasperatus in Lutherum. Hunc igitur, ut nunc intelligo, interpretati sunt esse Balac, qui me vasculo conduxerit, ut maledicerem Evangelico populo. Atqui hanc amicitiam non conflavit inter nos Lutherus, ante tres annos coierat inter nos notitia: primum Bruxellæ, mox Coloniae, quum id temporis Regis sui nomine apud Cæsarem legatione fungeretur. Comperi juvenem quum non vulgariter eruditum, tum erga meliores literas favore singulari ac religiosa quadam veneratione affectum. In hac legatione secum ducebat duos fratres suos, Joannem aliquanto natu minorem, et Stanislaum, utrumque pulchre literatum, nec aliter affectum erga bonas literas, quam erat ipse: in quibus quoniam omnes sibi persuaserant me esse aliquid, ipsis oculis ac fronte, totoque, quod dicitur, corpore miram quandam in me spirabant benevolentiam. Talium hominum favorem ut non illibenter amplexus sum, ita gratulor bonis literis, quod incipiant a summatibus etiam viris coli. Jam si iniquior erat Luthero, eum animum secum huc attulerat, non hic hauserat. Per me citius mitior factus est quam

quam irritior. An mihi submovendus erat a colloquio, quod non probaret Lutherum? At eodem tempore non submovi qui venerant Wittenberga Luthero addictissimi, cupidissime visurus ipsum etiam Philippum Melancthonem, si huc se contulisset. Ego nulli unquam renunciavi amicitiam, vel quod in Lutherum sit propensior, vel quod a Luthero alienior; modo mihi fidum et comem præstet amicum. Sed istos quosdam ingratos, perfidos, leves, furiosos, seditiosos, maledicos, vanos, perniciosissimos hostes et Evangelii, et bonarum literarum, et publicæ tranquillitatis odi, in utracunque parte fuerint. An Hierosolai munusculum, quod ille sui *μνημόσυνον* apud me residere voluit, ideo rusticana incivilitate rejicere debui, quod ille male sentiret de Luthero? Certe nullus Principum hætenus mihi quicquam potuit obtrudere hoc nomine, ut scriberem in Lutherum, quod tamen Evangelici quidam contra suam ipsorum conscientiam impudentissime mentiuntur. Habes totam comœdiam.

Jam scio dicturus es, *τί ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον*; Recte mones, itaque recurro ad Catalogum. Ad Apologiarum genus referri potest et Epistola, quam nuper scripsimus ad omnibus Episcopalibus dotibus ornatissimum dominum Christophorum, Præsulem Basiliensem, *De esu Carnium*: quam tamen non in hoc scripseramus, ut ederetur. Verum ubi sparsam sensissemus, et omnino futurum, ut alius ederet, ipse recognitam edere malui: præsertim submonitus, ut id facerem, a quibusdam hujus Academiæ proceribus. Nunc indicabimus, quæ prodierint mutila, quæque adhuc sint id manibus nondum absoluta. Opusculo *de Copia* deest exemplum argumenti summa brevitate perstricti, ac rursus fusissime tractati. Thema delectum erat; *Pueros statim literis instituendos*. Est adhuc apud me, sed duæ, paginæ mediæ minutissimis literis descriptæ perierunt Romæ, culpa eorum, qui librum descripserant. *Antibarbarorum* libros duos recognoveramus ac locupletaveramus Bononiæ: in reliquos sylvam jam olim congestam habebamus. Hæc cum nonnullis aliis perierunt: non quidem perfidia Richardi Pacæi sincerissimi amici, apud quem Ferrariæ deposueram, Romam abiturus: sed alterius cujusdam, qui dum sibi nimium esset amicus, nulli poterat esse fidus amicus, quanquam post forte nactus sum ex Anglia secundi libri principium, et Bruggis finem, multis paginis in medio desideratis. Si secundus contingeret, cæteros facile absolverem: nec dubito quin lateat apud aliquam Lavernam, quum ego geminum exemplar deposuerim. Sunt adhuc apud me nonnulla, jam olim cœpta, quorum de numero sunt, *Commentarii in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos*: cujus operis absolveramus libros quatuor, ante annos, ni fallor, viginti duos. In opus *De Ratione Concionandi*, tantum adnotaveramus quædam rerum capita. Et tamen si Christus dabit vitam ac tranquillitatem, est animus *Opus Concionandi* in publicam utilitatem absolvere, præsertim huc adhortantibus magnis auctoribus. Tribus Dialogis pridem adgressi sumus collationem verius, quam disputationem de negotio Martini Lutheri, sed mutatis nominibus. Nam Thrasymachus Lutheri partes aget, Eubulus diversas, Philalethes aget arbitrum. Primus Dialogus inquit, an expedierit hac via rem tractari, etiam si Lutherus omnia vere scripsisset. Secundus excutiet aliquot illius dogmata. Tertius ostendet viam, qua tumultus hic ita possit sopiri,

ſopiri, ut in poſterum non facile repulluſcat. Res peragetur inter duos abſque conviciis, nulla contentione, nullo fuco, tantum nude ſimplex et ruſtica veritas proponetur, tanta æquitate, tantaque moderatione, ut majus periculum videatur, ne mihi ſuccenſeat pars diverſa, videlicet lenitatem meam interpretans colluſionem, quam Lutherus ipſe, ſi modo micam ullam habet ejus mentis, quam multi de illo prædicant: et ego certe gratulor, ſi habet: opto, ſi non habet. Video multis magis placere ſævitiā, ac per me quidem licebit, ut ſuum cuique judicium blandiatur. Sævire facilius eſt, ſed hoc mihi viſum eſt conducibilius. Si corporis affectio in uno quopiam membro verſetur, fortasſe profuerit cauterium aut ſectio: cæterum ubi malum per omne corpus fuſum eſt, ubi per intimas venas ac fibras ſparſum eſt, fortasſis aliquo Mercurio ſit opus, qui quemadmodum lethalem ſoporem exemit ex omnibus membris Pſyches, ita paulatim ex intimis educat id, quod eſt noxium. Suſcepimus autem hoc opus complurium hortatu. Primum, ne commemorem omnes, R. P. Marini Caracciolæ, Nuncii apud Cæſarem Apoſtolici: præterea clariffimi viri Hieronymi Aleandri, trilinguis eruditionis hoc ævo ſine controverſia principis, qui et ipſe tum apud Carolum Cæſarem nomine Pontificis Nuncium agebat. Ad hæc R. P. Joannis Glapionis, qui Cæſari erat a concionibus. Nam is ex Cæſaris voluntate frequenter hac de re ad me ſcripſit, non minus diligenter quam amanter. Hortatus eſt eodem pridem Gulielmus Montjoius: nuper etiam illuſtriſſimus dux Georgius Miſnæ Princeps. Multa tamen intercurrerunt, quæ me non patiebantur longius in opere cœpto progredi, quam ad unam aut alteram pagellam, ut opus conceptum ſit magis quam cœptum: quanquam et alias ab hoc ſcripti genere natura ſatis abhorreo. Odi cruenta diſſidia, luſibus innoxiiis magis capior, velut huc natus. Tum mihi probe conſcius ſum, quantum Herculem hæc res poſtulet, et quantulus ego ſim Pygmæus. Ac prorſus nondum mihi ſatis decretum eſt, an velim, quod inſtitutum eſt, abſolvere. Quicquid fiet, non fiet temere; nec exhibit omnino, niſi privatim lectum ac probatum ab his, quos maxime decet favere gloriæ Chriſti: nam in hoc certe cudetur, ſi tamen cudetur unquam. Siquidem video partem utramque ſic eſſe accenſam, ut aut tota velit vincere, aut tota perire. Porro altera devicta magnam Evangelicæ veritatis ac libertatis ruinam ſecum trahet: altera non opprimetur, niſi pernicioſiſſimo orbis tumultu, qui multos etiam innoxios involvet. Ego malim rem ita componi, ut utraque pars victoriam concederet veritati et gloriæ Chriſti. Hac de re obtuli ſecretum conſilium meum Monarchis, ſi jubeant exhiberi. Nolim igitur interim, ut quiſquam ex hoc promiſſo præſumat ſententiam vel in hanc partem, vel in illam. Abſit præjudicium, ſed ex edito libro¹ fiet judicium.

Quod hætenus de hoc opere recensui, vulgatum erat in prima Catalogi editione. Ea res quum neminem æqui judicii commovere debuerit, tamen Evangelicos quosdam, ut vocari gaudent, præter Evangelii doctrinam pene adegit in rabiem, quaſi piaculum eſſet lapidatione publica dignum cum Luthero vel diſcendi gratia diſputare. Nunc amicis, ejus conſilii myſterium aperiā, et tibi nominatim, mi Botzheme, qui me tetrico vultu, minime-

¹ F. fiat.

que

que tuo castigabas, quod in re feria viderer ludere. Ego vix ulli concesserim, ut magis faveat Evangelio quam faveo. Cæterum hoc negotium ea moderatione tractari cupiebam, ut absque seditione fieret omnium commune. Proinde scripto publico spem feci hujus argumenti, captans id, quod optabam, ut utraque pars amore concordiae hortaretur me ad promissi voluminis editionem. Et hac de re nonnihil actum est apud Cæsarem. Sed ut animadverti neutram partem de se præbere spem componendi dissidii, nolui frustra fumere operam, utrimque malam gratiam initurus mea sedulitate. Hæc erat illa techna mea, non aliunde profecta, quam ab animo dissidiorum osore, pacis avido. Nunc precor, ut Dominus Jesus, qui solus potest, has rerum undas et hanc Ecclesiæ tempestatem jussu suo tranquillet. Aggressi sumus et omnia divi Aurelii Augustini opera e vetustis exemplaribus emendata, scholiis adjectis edere, notatis ac semotis, quæ illi falso inscribuntur. Summa librorum omnium in septem partes seu tomos distributa. Primus designatus erat progymnasmatibus, *h. e.* quæ scripsit Catechumenus, aut circiter id temporis. Secundus Epistolis, quarum aliquot scripsit juvenis. Tertius destinatus erat τοῖς θεωρητικοῖς, *i. e.* contemplativis: cujus ordinis sunt libri Confessionum et Soliloquiorum, hisque consimiles: quibus adjungere erat animus libellos, qui faciunt ad institutionem vitæ. Quartus decretus erat τοῖς διδασκαλικοῖς, *h. e.* in quibus docet rem Theologicam. Hujus classis sunt libri De Doctrina Christiana, et libri De Trinitate. Quintus habuisset τὰ πολεμικά, in quibus belligeratur adversus varias hæresiarcharum pestes: quo quidem in genere scripsit plurima: in quibus sunt libri De Civitate Dei. Sextus habuisset τὰ ἐξηγηματικά, quibus enarrat Divinæ Scripturæ libros. Septimus habuisset τὰ νόθα καὶ ἀμφίβολα, *h. e.* vel falso illi inscripta, vel ejus generis, ut merito de auctore dubites. Idem indicaturus erat, quæ temporum injuria interciderunt. Deterrebat negotii magnitudo, sed invitabat auctoris erudita pietas, invitabat publica utilitas. Proinde provinciam immensam in doctos aliquot partiti sumus, sic ut sua cuique laudis portio maneat incolumis.

Tantum laborum quum gratis suscipiamus, juvandis publicis studiis, tamen fortiter oblatrant quidam, qui mallent me scribere de indulgentiis, ac de colligendis caseis. Epistolarum tantum scripsimus et hodie scribimus, ut oneri ferendo duo vix plaustra sint futura paria. Ipse multas casu nactus exussi, nam sensi servari a compluribus. Bononiæ scripseram declamationunculam in genere suasorio, dehortans a vita Monachorum, et rursus adhortans ad hoc vitæ genus, meo judicio non indignam, quæ vulgaretur, si quid tamen meum hoc honore dignum est, sed perierunt utrimque extremæ paginae, reliquum adhuc est in chartis meis. Romæ quum agerem, in gratiam Reverendissimi Domini Raphaëlis Cardinalis tituli Sancti Georgii, dissuasi bellum suscipiendum adversus Venetos, qui hoc a me flagitabat Julii nomine: nam id tum agebatur in Senatu Cardinalitio. Rursum suasi bellum in Venetos. Posterior oratio vicit, tametsi ego priorem majore studio magisque ex animo tractaveram. Periit perfidia cujusdam archetypum. Coeperam ex memoria rursus notare quædam argumenti capita, et arbitror alicubi latitare inter schedas meas. Intercidère permulta, quæ nolim superesse;

esse : cupiam autem exstare Orationes aliquot concionatorias, quas olim habui Lutetiæ, quum agerem in Collegio Montis Acuti.

Habes, ornatissime Botzheme, nugarum mearum elenchum, quo magis irritem tuam emacitatem. Porro quod quereris exhauriri loculos, quod eundem librum cogaris identidem emere, ita velim apud te rationem ineas. Finge nunc primum prodisse Proverbiorum opus, ac me protinus ab opere vulgato mortem oppetiisse : num futurum esset, ut te pœniteret impendii ? Non opinor. Jam et illud mihi finge, me post annos aliquot reviviscere, simulque opus idem mecum renasci melius, ac locupletius ; utrum deplares dispendium, an simul et amico et amici monumento gratulareres ? Jam scio quid dicas, redivivo quidem gratularer, at quod fingis non est. Utrum igitur tu judicas esse felicius, a morte reviviscere, an non mori ? Si gratulareres redivivo, multo magis gratulare superstiti. Postremo, si postrema editio nihil habet novo pretio dignum, liberum est non emere : si habet, lucrum est, non dispendium. Si prior editio fructum attulit tantilla pecunia dignum, et si posterior idem facit, nimirum auctus es gemino lucro, non mulctatus es damno. Poteras, inquires, prima statim editione librum absolutum dare. Imo quemadmodum ipsi semper hoc agimus, dum vivimus, ut nobis ipsis reddamur meliores : ita non prius desinemus nostras lucubrationes elimatiores ac locupletiores reddere, quam desierimus vivere. Quemadmodum nemo tam bonus est, quin fieri possit melior : ita nullus liber tam est elaboratus, quin reddi possit absolutior. Quanquam ipse jamdudum ingenue fassus sum, me hic indiligentiorum esse, quam par est : sed interim alii, mea sententia, gravius peccant ; qui quum sint longe doctiores, superstitione quadam aut nihil edunt, aut fero. Proinde ne quid speres per me quidem liberum te fore hac molestia, prius quam exiens e proscenio, semel dicam vobis omnibus, Valet et plaudite. Id, mihi crede, brevi futurum erat, nisi vinum Burgundiacum, velut ἀπὸ μηχανῆς Θεὸς succurrisset. Tu delibera, utrum malis hoc optare, an subinde mercari librum auctum aut recognitum. Porro, si recolās quantam pecuniæ vim in quas nugas olim collocaris, minus, opinor, te pigebit hujus impendii. Jam audio quosdam amicos subinde mussitantes de lucubrationibus meis omnibus in tomos digerendis. An sit quicquam meorum scriptorum quod posteritatem mereatur, aliorum esto judicium ; certe si ad posteros pervenient, optarim mihi Tironem quempiam fidum ac doctum, qui hoc mihi vita defuncto præstet, quod ille suo Ciceroni. Et tamen si cui visum erit hoc conari, age, viam indicabimus, quo id fiat commodius.

In primum Tomum conferri poterunt, quæ spectant ad institutionem litterarum, &c.

Nolim hic omitti Præfationes, quæ declarant, quid cuique dicatum sit.

Secundos Tomus dedicetur Adagiis, quæ sola justum volumen conficiunt, et argumentum non abhorret a titulo superioris Tomi.

Tertius assignetur Epistolis, quod in his quoque complura sunt, quæ faciunt ad exercitamenta studiorum : nam plerasque lusimus adolescentes, aut certe juvenes : his repurgatis addemus nonnullas, aliquot fortasse submovebimus. In hunc ordinem addi velim Præfationes aliquot dedicatorias, quas
typo-

typographi suo arbitratu solent vel omittere vel mutare, Talis est Præfatio in opera Divi Hilarii et Cypriani, in Lexicon Græcum, Epistola ad Joannem Paludanum addita Panegyrico ad Philippum, Præfatio addita libello de Principe ad Ferdinandum Caroli fratrem, aut si quæ videbuntur indignæ, quæ pereant.

Quartus detur his, quæ faciunt ad morum institutionem, &c.

Quintus attribuitur his, quæ instituunt ad pietatem, &c.

Sextus designetur Novo Testamento, a nobis verso, et nostris in idem annotationibus, quod opus jam quintum recognovimus et locupletavimus. Id dividi poterit in duo volumina, si cui non placet codicum magnitudo.

Septimus assignetur Paraphrasibus in totum Testamentum Novum, excepta Apocalypsi, &c.

Octavum occupent Apologiæ. Me miserum! Et hæc justum volumen efficient.— quibus utinam nihil accedat, &c.

Nonus dicetur Epistolis Hieronymi, in quibus tantum laboris, a nobis exhaustum est, ut non impudenter possim hoc opus meorum catalogo attexere: quāquam et in Hilario non parum erat negotii, nonnihil in Cypriano, de Q. Curtio nihil dicam, de Seneca nihil mihi possum vindicare, nisi quod illic dum nimium fido promissis amicorum, multum laboris perdidit. Si Christus suppeditabit vitam ac vires, ut absolvam Commentarios in Epistolam ad Romanos, occupabunt Volumen decimum.

Scio tibi jamdudum molestam esse tam prolixam supputationem, verum hoc est Catalogum scribere: atque adeo si cui placebit in hoc genere omnes diligentiae numeros absolvere, addat singulis operibus initia: quod a nobis in perpaucis factum est obscurioribus, ne fallerent. Video, cupis dimitti: id faciam, ubi paucis respondero istis, qui jactant, me ex lucubrationum mearum dedicationibus amplas prædas referre, propterea quod permulta dicarim Principibus. Hinc me calumniantur quidam vel famam venari vel pecuniam, aut fortassis utrumque. De fama responsum est alias, me hic studiis ambitiosum fuisse potius quam mihi. His provehendis captavimus illorum favorem, neque defuit successus nostro proposito. Quibusdam bene de me meritis hoc officio volui non quidem referre gratiam, sed animum accepti beneficii memorem testari. De proventu nunc accipe rationem. Apud amicos mediocres scis ipse quam non sim φιλόδωρος, qui tentatis omnibus nihil mihi potueris obtrudere. Nam hic sincerus animus mihi quovis dono pretiosior est. Porro quum artis sit, munus vel accipere dextre, vel recusare comiter, sciunt amici, me longe disertiores esse in recusando, quam in accipiendo. Quod si quando quid ab his sic offertur, ut non liceat recusare, soleo pro viribus paria facere, aut etiam vincere, si queam. Ex his igitur, quæ non pauca dicavimus amicis mediocribus, amplissimum fructum capio, quod illis gratificatus sum, quod illorum memoriam cum mea conjunxi, fortassis et apud posteros victuram. De Principibus illud mihi præfandum est, me quibusdam non minus debere, qui nihil dederunt, quam qui dederunt: et his qui dederunt, hoc amplius debere, quod ultro dederunt. Guilielmus Montjoius clarissimus Angliæ Baro, cui Proverbiorum opus et totum et toties jam locupletatum dedicavi, scit me sibi multo plus debere benevolentiae,

volentiæ, quam munificentiae nomine. Reverendissimus dominus Guilielmus Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis promptissima in me benignitate est usus, sed et hic mihi testis erit, quam sæpe delatam munificentiam recusarim, affirmans mihi plus satis esse pecuniarum. Eas quum scirem mihi amicitiae jure cum illo communes, tutius arbitratus sum apud illum custodiri. A Leone decimo cui dedicavi Novum Testamentum, ducatum unum nec expectavi, nec accepi. Tantundem ab Adriano sexto, cui misi libellum, cujus apparatus mihi constitit quatuor florenis; additus est unus eunti nuncio, rursus reduci nonnihil. Ille codicem læta fronte accepit, et bajulo numeravit ducatos sex: mihi detulit sacerdotium satis honorificum, quod simpliciter recusavi. Misi Clementi septimo suam Paraphrasim, ne verbo quidem vel per me vel per amicos significans, me quicquam muneris ab eo expectare: et adeo non expectavi, ut Adriano paranti munus honorarium mittere scripserim, ne quid mitteret: misit tamen Clemens florenos ducentos, non alio nomine quam ob inscriptam Paraphrasim Actorum; plane recusaturo, si missum fuisset alio titulo. Id ipso diplomate docere possum. Et tamen non defuit rabula, qui Sacras Literas non didicit, nisi ad maledicendum, qui me ex Erasmo faceret Balaam. Cardinalis Grimanus, cui dedicavi Paraphrasim in Epistolam ad Romanos, teruncium non misit, nec ego expectavi. Quod ambiebam, præstitit, favorem ac benevolentiam, non mihi, sed studiis et Reuchlino. Cardinalis Campegius ante complures annos annulum misit ex Anglia, amicitiae pignus, cui postea dedicavi Paraphrasim, non captans, sed rependere studens beneficium. Cardinalis Sedunensis obtulit permulta, si Romam venissem. Cæterum is per me non est teruncio factus pauperior, neque me vel una drachma ditiozem fecit Cardinalis Sanctorum quatuor, cui dicavi Cyprianum emendatum. Reverendissimi Patris Joannis Carondileti Archiepiscopi Panormitani scriniis non decessit obolus ob Hilarium, quum ego illi per proprium famulum misissem volumen. Præstitit ille totum, quod venabar, nempe favorem et benevolentiam. Philippus a Burgundia Episcopus Trajectensis, ad cujus Dioecesin ego pertineo, post dicatam Pacis querimoniam, quum Præbendam oblatam recusassem, donavit annulum incluso sapphiro, quem olim gestarat David ipsius germanus, quondam ejusdem Ecclesiae Præsul. Atque hoc munus misit nec ambient, nec expectanti. Nihilo magis vel expetitur vel expectatum est poculum amoris, quod misit Cardinalis Moguntinus. Cardinali Eboracensi, cui dedicavimus libellum Plutarchi, puto me nihil non debere ob singularem favorem, quo me jam olim prosequitur, et tamen hætenus ex illius munificentia non sum pilo factus ditior. Episcopo Leodiensi nunc Cardinali, cui inscripsimus Epistolas ad Corinthios, cui libellum inauratum misimus, cui donavimus duo volumina Novi Testamenti in membranis non ineleganter adornata neque pretii mediocris, ut libenter debemus pro splendidis promissis, quæ non semel obtulit: ita non est, quod illi pro pro donato teruncio gratias agamus. Tantum donavit, quantum si incidat in oculum quamvis tenerum, nihil tormenti sit allaturum: id ipse non inficiabitur. Carolus, Princeps meus, me jam adsciverat in ordinem Consiliariorum, jam sacerdotio donarat, antequam illi libellum de Principe vel inscriberem vel exhiberem, ut hic non captatam prædam, sed relatam gratiam intelligas.

Eidem

Eidem Paraphrasim e Basilea Bruxellam per proprium famulum meo sumtu misi. Dati sunt redituro duo floreni, et tamen animus Principis alacriter accipientis munus meum, non minus gratus fuit, quam si numerasset aureos mille. Ante complures annos Plutarchi librum De discrimine adulatoris et amici consecraram Regi Britanniae Henrico octavo. Huic me puto tantum debere, quantum obtulit, si voluissem accipere: obtulit autem fortunam meis meritis longe maiorem. Cæterum multo post jam oblito dedicationis illius misit Angelatos sexaginta, impulsu vel admonitu potius Joannis Coleti. Eidem post dedicavi Paraphrasim in Lucam. Ferdinandus Caroli Cæsaris germanus, ut est animi generosissimi, Paraphrasim in Joannem summa cum alacritate accepit, misitque cum literis suis honorarium munus florenos centum, quum ego nihil minus expectarem. Si spectem animum Regis Galliarum in me, si reputem, quid in me conferre voluerit, vix ulli Principi plus debeo: verum Hilario meo, qui codicem reddidit, numerati sunt coronati triginta, viatici nomine. Ad me præter benevolentiam nihil pervenit; nec enim aliud ambiebam. Breviter, ex universis Paraphrasibus obolus ad me non rediit, præterquam a Ferdinando, et Clemente Pontifice. Sed pene fugerat me Philippus Ferdinandi pater: is olim pro Panegyrico exhibito numeravit Philippicos quinquaginta. A cæteris aut nihil est datum, aut exilius erat, quam ut sit memorandum: loquor de his duntaxat, quibus inscripsi lucubrationes meas. Jam si quis nominum ac titulorum pompam spectet, meque talem esse credat, quales sunt plerique mortalium, nonne suspicabitur ex dedicationibus meis Midæ opes collegisse? Non hæc commemoro, quod me poeniteat benignitatis Principum. Meis scriniis accrevisse credo, quicquid accessit honestis studiis; in horum profectum captavi Principum favorem. Porro quod hic non sordide captarim illorum munificentiam vel illud arguit, quod toties mihi laborandum fuit, ut illorum in me munificentiam possem citra illorum offensam recusare.

Annui reditus statim sunt paulo plus quam quadringenti floreni aurei. Atque hic census impar est, fateor, sumtibus, quos exigit hæc ætas ac valetudo, famulorum et scribarum necessaria studiis meis opera, tum *ἰκποροφία*, crebra migratio, atque etiam hic animus, ne quid aliud dicam, abhorrens a fordibus, nec ferens appellansem creditorem, aut non pensatum officium, aut neglectam amicali inopiam. Itaque sunt amici, qui, quod censui deest, suppleant sua munificentia, sed obtrudentes potius quam dantes. Quod largiuntur, negant se dare Erasmo, sed publicis studiis impendere. Sunt autem ea fortuna, ut opes illorum hanc jacturam non sentiant, tum eo animo, ut nec prædicari postulent suam benignitatem, nec agi sibi gratias patiantur, atque hoc quidem indigniores, quorum bonitatem ignoret posteritas. Habes thesaurum ex ambiosis meis inscriptionibus conflatum.

Locus hic admonet ut placemus et figulos quosdam, qui mihi conflant invidiam apud ignaros, quasi messem opimam demetam ex benignitate Joannis Frobenii, cui non alio nomine magis faveo, quam quod vix alius Typographorum majore studio propagat honesta studia, idque facit majore fama quam lucro. Et certe non parum emolumenti ex eo cepissem, si quicquid ille detulit (est enim perbenignus) accepissem. Nunc ipse mihi testis erit,

erit, quam hoc sit exiguum, quod mihi obtrudi passus sum, nec hoc erat a me impetraturus, nisi docuisset eam pecuniam ex societate dari, ut portione, quæ ipsum contingeret, minimum gravaretur. Et tamen si nihil aliud quam famulorum meorum operam pensare voluisset, plus erat dandum quam accipi. Nec mensam apud illum mihi gratuitam esse passus sum. Nam decem fere menses in illius ædibus vixi, sed pro his compulsus est a me accipere florenos aureos centum et quinquaginta, magnopere quidem reluctans, maluerat enim tantum addere, sed tamen compulsus est. Et ne quis me credat ex Frobenii benignitate pendere, testis erit idem Frobenius, qui bonam partem suis manibus Francfordiæ meo nomine recepit, summam pecuniæ, quam partim huc mecum attuli ante biennium, partim ex Brabantia missam recepi, excedere mille nongentos florenos aureos. Cujus summæ nunc non ita multum superest. Et tamen interim differtur Cæsaris pensio, sed ita differtur, ut parata sit illico redeunti. Id enim suis ad me literis pollicetur illustrissima Domina Margareta Caroli Cæsaris amita: cui nuper scripsit ex Hispaniis ipse Cæsar, ut mihi extra ordinem pensio numeraretur. Nam cæteris officiis, ob bellorum onera, suspensæ sunt pensiones. Itaque qui Frobenio invidet, certet potius cum illo benefactis, et vincenti favebimus. Certe nulla causa est quur mihi illius amicitiam quisquam invideat. Sic per illum profum studiis, ut nemini noceam, aut obstem *εις ἀφενον ἀρεῶν*: nec ullum mihi cum illo foedus est, præter liberam ac mutuam benevolentiam, qua non patiar me a quoquam superari si quis provocaverit.

Reddidi bona fide rationem; æquum est ut desinant obmurmurare. Hæc misera necessitas nos habet, qui libris editis populo fabulam agere cœpimus, ut omnes nobis placandi sint vel infimæ plebis homines. Scripsit mihi R. D. Ennius, Episcopus Verulanus, isthic esse quendam, qui polliceatur certissima remedia calculi, tanta artis fiducia, ut nolit mercedem, nisi depulso morbo. Sed quem sponforem dabit, non recursurum, ubi fuerit depulsus? Denique quis præstabit, ne morbum sic expellat, ut simul et vitam? Non arbitror tutum hoc corpusculum ignoto medico committere. Nactus sum hic juvenem quendam Joannem Antoninum Cassoviensem, natione Hungarum, eleganter eruditum, moribus candidissimis et perquam amoënis, qui mihi, præter alia remedia, dedit Leonem astrologicum, unde bibo. His quæ sapiunt magiam, an aliquid tribuendum sit nescio; certe dies jam complures mitius me tractat calculus, sive hoc vino mutato, sive aliis remediis, sive Leoni debeo. Nec me fugit vetus proverbium, juvenem tonsorem, medicum senem arcessendum esse. Verum in Antonino meo nihil juvenile video præter faciem: mores et eruditio suam habent caniciem, quum ætate non sit major annis viginti quinque, Græce Latineque doctus, mei sic observans, ut, si filius esset, non posset religiosius. Cura, ut quam bellissime valeas, ornatissime Botzheme, cum optima sodalitate, cum Gratiis ac Musis tuis, inter quas tibi contingat diu ac suaviter vivere. — Basileæ, tertio Kal. Feb. Anno a Christo nato MDXXIV.

Erasmus, in his Epistle to Bœotius, which was written some years after, gave an ampler Catalogue of his Works; and yet not a complete one, because he was always composing something or other, almost to the last day of his life.

The

The Authors whom Erasmus published, were Plautus, Terentius, Cato, Mimi Publani, Officia Ciceronis, and Tusculanæ Quæstiones, Ovid's *Nux*, the Senecas, Suetonius, Pliny the elder, Q. Curtius, Arnobius Junior, Hieronymus, Cyprianus, Hilarius, Irenæus, Ambrosius, Lactantius de Opificio Dei, Augustinus, Algerus, Origen, two Hymns of Prudentius, Basil, Ptolemy's Geography, Haimon, the New Testament, &c.

N^o. XXXIV.

Answer given by Erasmus to the Magistrates of Basil, concerning the Reformation.

* **E**RASMUS cum Magistratui Basileensi, uti circa alia quædam Reformationem concernentia, ita circa licentiam imprimendorum librorum, quod ea videretur nimia, expetenti consilium denegare non posset, satis candide tum respondisse fertur: Enimvero, postquam in hanc sententiam præfatus esset, “*Primo* quidem ^y se peregrinum esse, nec satis aptum ad hanc causam, gravissimam in se, et circa quam divisi essent ipsi Helvetii, quinimo urbis et Senatus Basileensis proceres, definiendam. Deinceps se intra breve tempus Basilea excessurum, ne amplius illo privaretur, quod a Cæsare habebat salario, quodque jam per integrum triennium ipsi persolutum non erat; ipsas, porro addebat, partes litigantes nimium præ se ferre fervoris, atque ultra quam satis hanc contentionem protelare. Neque tamen, ultimo, ita se alienum esse a judicio suo ipsis impertiendo referebat, ut ipsa officia, quibus apud Basileenses durante suæ commorationis apud ipsos tempore gavisus erat, id quoque efflagitarent.” Is ita demum judicabat; sibi videri 1. Quantum ad causam imprimendorum librorum, æquum non esse, ut sine discrimine quivis imprimerentur; sed posse tamen tuto imprimi libros ^z Pellicani, et Æcolampadii: Imagines, Cantica, Chrisma, aliaque ejus generis inter res indifferentes haberi posse. Apprime opportunum esse, si ad refarciendam concordiam inter Helvetios, Tigurinis ea quæ circa Missam et Imagines acta erant, remitterentur usque ad Concilii universalis convocationem: quod si autem Tigurini vel his non contenti essent, non tamen utile esse ut bellum in ipsos fusciperetur. A Papa facile quoque obtineri posse Communionem sub utraque specie. 2. Neque difficile esse impetratu Papalem circa cibos dispensationem, cum ejusmodi dispensationes apud Italos omnibus ferme Quadragesimis essent venales. 3. Consultius esse ut quidam, vitæ sustentandæ ignari, in ipsis claustris conventualibus retinerentur. De reliquo vero vel Comitia Imperii, vel Concilium quoddam, facili negotio Clericis permittere posse conjugia; itemque Monialibus, ut sicubi vellent, libere Conventibus exire possent. *Gerdesius Hist. Evang. Ren. tom. II. p. 295.*

* Life of Erasmi. p. 381.

^y Vid. URSTIS. Chronic. Basil. lib. VII. c. 14. qui et hoc consilium Germanice versum nobis suppeditat. Erasmus autem hanc rem commemorat in Ep. ad Jo. à Lasco.

^z Ruchat. tom. I. p. 322. habet: *les livres de Pomeran et d'Oecolampade*. Sed legi, procul omni dubio, debet *Pellican*. Pellicanus enim tum quoque Basileæ versabatur, et ipsi Erasmo in conficiendo Indice in Hieronymi Opera atque in Plinium dabat operam.

From

From this account it may be collected that Erasmus had very little of the Papist in him, and was much more inclined to the Protestant cause.

N^o. XXXV.

Jo. Christ. Iselii de Vita Lud. Beri relatio.

NA T U S est ante finem Seculi XV. Lud. Berus. — Puer adhuc Parisios missus est. — Quum in patriam revertisset, nomenque dedisset Academiae Basileensi, statim anno insequente 1513. in Collegium Ordinis Theologici adscitus est. — Quin anno post, Rector Academiae pariter, et Ordinis Theologici Caput, quod Decanum vocari moris est, creatus fuit. — Postea et Collegii Canonorum Petrinorum hujusce urbis [Basileæ] quæ præcipua erat in eo dignitas, Præpositus creatus est; et demum etiam ab Episcopo Basileensi, ad quem inde a prima origine hujus Academiae suprema ejus potestas ac Præfectura spectat, quam Cancellarii appellatione complecti placuit, munus hoc Vicario nomine administrare jussus est; et supremum denique Academiae Magistratum iterum gessit A. 1520. —

Vocat eum absolutissimum Theologum Erasmus: — quæ nimirum ipsi causa vel sola sufficebat, cur hunc potissimum Libelli sui *De Libero Arbitrio* vellet Aristarchum esse, ejusque judicio ante alios quosvis stare constituisset, hominis in omni contentiosa ac disputatrice Theologia versatissimi, cujus spinas et aculeos nimis omni ætate reformidarat fugeratque Erasmus, quam ut sibi satis ab ea ad grave ac ferium, quod tum aggrediebatur, certamen paratus esse videretur.

Cæterum illud quoque constat, antequam de emendanda religione contentiones vehementius effervescerent, nequaquam ita sententiis a præceptoribus atque in schola haustis mordicus inhæsisse Berum, neque adeo ei cultui religionis, quem a puero usurpari viderat, deditum fuisse, ut non utrobique nævos complures et agnosceret ultro, et volens lubensque confiteretur. Jam tum A. 1516. literis ad Erasmus scriptis apertissime declaraverat, libros ejus, quibus nimirum haud pauca in pervulgata ejus temporis religione passim vellicabantur, aliis plerisque Monachis atque Theologis vehementer licet obrectantibus ac reprehendentibus, mirifice probari. Quod vero idem Erasmus Lutheri doctrinam sibi sic satis placere, etiam qua tempestate editus jam ab hoc fuerat de *Captivitate Babylonica* liber, cremataque media Wittenberga Pontificum Decretalia, ad Berum scripsit; rationem duntaxat ac viam, qua utebatur Lutherus, acerrimumque illum viri fervorem improbens, ac optimam causam non optime agi ab ipso dicens: quod item in mores pravissimos hominum sacris initiatorum consecratorumque liberrime multa apud eundem jacent; denique quod ipsius, quæ vocabatur *Scholastica Theologia* nævos missis ad eum epistolis aperte demonstrat carpitque Erasmus, homo, id quod omnes norunt, non libenter amicorum offensam incurrens, id omne argumento esse nobis debet, minime in initiis illis quidem cæco plane studio affectuque quicquid erat receptarum ac pervulgatarum opinionum ac religio-

^a Life of Erasmi. p. 381.

num tueri ac venerari solitum hunc Berum fuisse; planeque in ista parte alteri ejus ætatis celebrato Theologo, pariterque ex amicis Erasmi, Martino Dorpio fuisse dissimilem, qui quantopere propter hujuscemodi sententias in libris quibusdam positas Erasmo succensuerit, quamque acriter cum ipso ea causa expostularit, ex epistolis liquet utriusque, quas etiamdum habemus.

Sed nimirum utcunque non pessime de multis religionis capitibus, quæ tum in controversiam erant adducta, senserit, emendationemque pariter cum Erasmo desideraverit Berus; tamen idem eum ad extremum, qui Erasmus, qui Glareanum, qui Joannem Fabrum, qui Gropperum, qui alios, aliquanto tempore religionis emendationi faventes, ab hac causa abstraxit avulsi que five animorum æstus, five tempestatum. — Sane ubi primum illæ religionis disputationes hinc in proscriptionem atque anathemata, illinc in secessionem necessariam erupere, ac in duas partes veluti in justas acies discessum est, adhæsit utique Pontificiæ sectæ Berus; cumque eam omni modo tuendam et confirmandam suscepisset, non familiam modo suam atque affinitates et cognationes, quibus magna pars Procerum hujusce civitatis continebatur, apud quos ille tam propter dignitatem, qua erat præditus, quam ob existimationem doctrinæ et ingenii, auctoritate imprimis pollebat, quoad potuit, in ea retinere annisus est: qua de re præter alia inedita testimonia, aliquamque, sed, ut fit in rebus vetustis, quæque nullis literis sunt consignatæ, paulo nunc obscuriorem incertioremque famam sive traditionem, epistola imprimis illa ad Capitonem Œcolampadii nos docet, quam in Annalibus Evangelicis ad annum 1529. publicavit vir eximius ac in hujusce generis fragmentis colligendis diligentissimus Abrahamus^b Scultetus p. 185. &c. Sed et aliis rebus omnibus studium acre et incitatum illarum partium præ se tulit.

Disputationem religionis, ^c quæ A. 1526. apud Aquas Helveticas (vernacule *Badam* vocamus) celebrata est, cum aliis tribus moderari jussus, sine controversia cunctis auctoritate antecelluit, partesque istas plurimum juvit Eccii sententiis postremo subscribens.

Postea cum nutarent in hac urbe Pontificiæ religiones, missaque et imagines, ac reliquæ illæ cærimoniarum nulla sacrarum Literarum auctoritate subnixæ, prorsus essent abolitæ, ex primis doctorum hominum, qui urbem ea causa defererent, ac sese Friburgum, quod est in Brisgovia, conferrent, Berus fuit, quum Ordinis Theologici cum maxime caput esset, sive, ut loquimur, Decanus. Secuti eum cum alii ex eodem ordine, tum imprimis Erasmus atque Glareanus.

Et Erasmus quidem certe revertit post non ita multi spatium temporis, et in hac urbe diem suum obiit. Berus autem mansit Friburgi, ac illi Academicæ operam diligenter ad finem usque vitæ navavit.

^b Et Hottinger. Hist. Eccl. tom. IX p. 17. T. d. H.

^c De illo Colloquio Badensi vide Urst. Chron. Basil. lib. VII. c. 17 Sculteti Ann. ad A. 1526. tom. II. p. 10 J. Jac. Hottingeri nunquam satis laudatam Hist. Eccl. Helv. tom. III. p. 295.—331. — In libello quodam, qui de illa disputatione tum temporis editus est Argentorati, narratur Berum accessisse Œcolampadium in diversorio, et illum rogasse, ut vel ab unico de Eucharistia articulo desisteret, tum de reliquis facile inter illos conventurum. — T. d. H.

Surgit hinc igitur veluti nova quædam ei honorum series. Namque in Friburgensem Academiam cooptatus, præcipuum ibi Ordinis Theologici columen atque ornamentum, quoad vixit, deinde est habitus. —

Edidit non valde multa in lucem publicam Berus. Cæterum paucis illis libellis, quos ipsius industria elaboratos accepimus, tractanda atque explicanda sibi sumsit argumenta hujusmodi, non quæ ad vexatas passim eo tempore controversias religionis pertinerent, sed potius, quæ ad excitandam pietatem ac vitæ sanctimoniam essent apta. Ita ille *de Christiana ad mortem præparatione* libellum scripsit; deinde et *Psalmorum* quorundam expositionem; ac demum *Discussionem Quæstionis, Numquid Christiano homini, ingruente pestilentia, fugere liceat?* Quod nostri institutum, uti in illo partium studio, quo flagrasse videtur, ac in ea item scientia *Theologiæ Scholasticæ*, quam in ipso constat fuisse, aliquis fortasse miretur; ita, sine dubio, laudi dari homini debet ac nescio quo pacto aliunde conceptam opinionem, de nimio quodam ipsius in puriorem religionem odio, non parum imminuit.

Supereft ut de arctissima, quæ Bero cum Erasmo intercessit, amicitia ac necessitudine verbum adjiciam. Plane amavisse plurimum inter se, et arcana omnia mutuo credidisse, ex Erasmi Epistolarum opere liquido patet. Cujus rei præter eam, quam supra commemoravi, mentis ac sententiæ Erasmi de religione, de cærimoniis, de hominum Ecclesiasticorum vita ac moribus, liberam atque luculentam declarationem, illud quoque præcipuo argumento est, quod in literis datis A. 1529. quo tempore Friburgum Berus jam concesserat, Erasmus autem adhuc dum ob morbum Basileæ morabatur, palam hic illi diserteque confessus est, quum a Monachis et reliquo illo hominum genere, qui tum rem Pontificiam furore potius et rabie, quam ratione aliqua ac modo defendebant, identidem læderetur, sic se nonnunquam vindictæ studio exardescere, ut sese adversariis eorum adjungere cupiat; mox tamen iterum hosce motus animi sedare et reprimere. Profecto non levis momenti confessio, et quæ, uti erant ejus ævi mores, si continuo emanasset in vulgus, sine dubio, plerorumque animos in iis partibus, in quibus tamen manere Erasmus perseverabat, adversus ipsum exacerbasset. Sed sciebat omnino, id quod et in eadem hac Epistola præfabatur, *exploratæ fidei amicum* sibi Berum, *cujus in sinum suos affectus omnes, sicuti lubenter effundebat, ita etiam tuto posset effundere.*

Etiam quo tempore Friburgo Basileam Erasmus rediit, res suas ibi relictas custodiendas, procuranda item reliqua negotia, ædesque vendundas Bero potissimum commisit; qua de re in iisdem, quas jam sæpe citavi, epistolis exstant testimonia. Ad extremum, moriens Erasmus, ut post obitum quoque amoris sui pignus ac monumentum Bero relinqueret, testamento suamet manu exarato, quod etiamdum inter Bibliothecæ Basileensis visenda adservatur monstraturque, et, ut hoc obiter adnotem, in editione Batava Operum Erasmi excusum est quidem, sed nimium multis mendis deformatum; eo, inquam, testamento primum ei locum inter legatarios complures, delectos ex omni multitudine amicorum, tribuens, id quod in supellectile sua pretiosissimum habebat Bero legavit, aureum videlicet horologium. Superfuit deinde Erasmo annos pæne integros duodeviginti. Mortuus est Friburgi, A. 1554.----

Nº. XXXVI.

^d *Ex Erasmi Epistola ad Bilibaldum Pirckheimerum præfixa Chrysostomi libris de Sacerdotio.*

^e — **R**EDITUS est mihi bona fide anulus, sane quam elegans, quem apud me tui *μνημόσυνον* esse voluisti. Scio gemmam hoc nomine commendari, quod salutem adferat in casu: sed addunt, si casus erat exitium allaturus homini, malum in gemmam averti, eoque ruptam conspici post lapsum. Olim apud Britannos una cum equo delapsus sum ex aggere non mediocriter alto; nihil quidem noxæ deprehensum est vel in me vel in equo, gemma tamen, quam gestabam, integra. Id erat munus Alexandri Archiepiscopi S. Andreae. Quum Senæ discederem ab eo, deductum e digito tradidit, &c. Tibi contigit Apelles tuus, videlicet Albertus Durerus, vir ita laudem primam obtinens in arte sua, ut nihilo minus admirandus sit ob singularem quandam prudentiam. Utinam in fusili tibi perinde contigisset Lysippus aliquis. Utramque imaginem, unam ex ære fusilem, alteram pictam accepi. Cubiculi mei paries habet te fusilem, lævus pictum, &c. Quod si tuto commearent epistolæ mutuae, quantulum esset, obsecro, quod vel ego tui vel tu mei desiderares. Habes Erasmus fusilem. A Durerio tanto nimirum artifice pingi non recusem: sed qui possit, non video. Nam olim me Bruxellæ delineavit tantum, at cœptum opus interruperunt aulici salutatores. Quamquam jam olim infelix exemplar exhibeo pictoribus, in dies exhibiturus infelicius, &c. Satis declaras, quam tibi sit curæ mea salus, qui tot remediis me armaris adversus calculum. Terebinthino vix assuevi, nunc utor aliquoties. Ritii pharmaco nondum usus sum, quod hiems quædam nobis negaret, quæ ille præscripsit, &c. Remedium habebam, quod numquam fefellit, nisi proximo paroxysmo, qui me sic adortus est sub Calendas Februarias, ut speraverim malorum finem — Calculus e potu cerevisiæ conceptus hælerat in sinu quopiam sex hebdomadas; interim non urgebat quidem dolor, sed ipsa natura sollicita ac dejecta monebat subesse magnum periculum. Remedium non prius scies, quam indicem auctorem. Is erat Thomas Linacrus Regis Anglorum medicus primarius, vir ut in omni genere disciplinarum exacte doctus, ita nusquam non supersticiosæ, pene dixerim, diligentiae. — Accersitus pharmacopola: decoctum in cubiculo meo pharmacum; admotum ipso præsentem medico. Bis admotum fuerat, et mox a somno sum enixus calculum parem nucleo amygdalino. Hujus remedii vice, Germani utuntur balneis. Verum hoc quum idem efficiat, multo parabilius est. * Camamillas ac petroselinum involvo linteo, decoquo in vase puro, aquâ mundâ, ferme usque ad dimidium: linteum, ut est fervens, eximo ex olla, et, humore celeriter quantum potest expresso, admoveo lateri. Si fervor est intolerabilis, sacculum, in quo sunt herbæ, obvolvo linteo sicco, sic ut velut ansis hinc atque hinc

^d From Maittaire, *Ann. Typ.* II. 661.

^e Life of Erasmi. p. 399.

* Chamæmelon, I suppose.

teneri possit. Et si initio latus non fert contactum ob fervorem, suspendo supra locum, ut vapor afficiat corpus, donec fervor cœperit esse tolerabilis. Mox compono me ad somnum, post quem si recrudescat dolor, reservefactum linteum admoveo. Id a me nunquam bis factum est, quin calculus descenderit ad loca vicina vesicæ, in quibus dolor est mitior. Id tamen præsidium fefellit me primum in proximo nixu. Hoc malum ad te quoque pervenisse doleo. Medici dicunt podagram et lithiasim sorores esse, &c. Mitto ad te Joannis Chrysostomi Dialogos sex. — Eruditi quidam literis hoc a me postularunt, ut studiosis gustum aliquem præberem Chrysostomi sua lingua loquentis. — Nam eo jam ubique profecerunt Græcanicæ literaturæ studia, ut interpretum opera non sit ita necessaria, etiam si Chrysostomum haberemus fideliter versum. Nunc nec totum habemus; et quod habemus, habemus incuria scribarum multis mendis inquinatum; deinde non ea felicitate translatum, quam merebatur Auctoris vel erudita facilitas, vel pia jucunditas. Hujus rei exemplum in promptu est [*Hic addit locum in Comment. ad Matth. ab Aniano perperam versum.*] — Impegit non minus insigniter, idque in ipso statim limine Hermolaus Barbarus, vertens Themistium in Aristotelis libros de anima. Tantum abest, ut his negem humani lapsus gratiam, quam ipse cogor toties petere, ut ingenue profitear me talibus etiam interpretibus plurimam debere gratiam. — Spero futurum, ut hic gustus simul studiosos exstimulet ad flagitandum cætera Chrysostomi volumina, et principes viros animet ad hanc utilitatem sua benignitate parandam communibus ac justissimis studiosorum votis. Certe primitias has largimur interim ego et Joannes Frobenius, ille suo sumtu, ego describendi conferendique studio. — Juvabis autem, si quæ parum feliciter habemus versa ex Chrysostomi monumentis, tu rursus eadem vertendo efficias, ut qui Græcus plane *Chrysostomus* est, apud Latinos etiam hoc cognomine dignus appareat, &c. Floret Lovanii supra quam credas trilingue Collegium, adeo ut jam nunc sophorum istorum invidiam meruerit. Hoc exemplum imitatur vir quidam Tornaci. Moliebatur idem Christianissimus Rex Galliarum Franciscus, et hac potissimum de causa me toties invitavit in Galliam. Non ille quidem mutavit animum; sed vides rerum tumultus, &c. Bene vale. Basileæ, Prid. Id. Martias. 1525.

Nº. XXXVII.

Erasmi Præfationes et Censuræ in Ambrosium.

Erasmus Roterodamus pio Lectori S. D.

P R I M U S hic Tomus continet τὰ Ἠθικά, hoc est, quæ ad mores Christianorum instituendos faciunt, quorum oportet primam esse curam. Quæ videbantur νόθα non semovimus; vel quia pauca sunt, vel quia non indigna lectu cujuscunque sunt. Pagina 174. Libellus cui titulus ad virginem devotam, nihil prorsus habet Ambrosii, nec in phrasi, nec in sententiis. Ad id persuadendum, satis arbitror monuisse lectorem ut inspiciat.

^f Life of Erasmi. p. 420:

Pagina

Pagina 178. Libellus qui hunc proxime sequitur titulo ad virginem lap-
sam, videtur non ineruditus. Apparet declamationem esse, qualis est illa
Sancti Hieronymi de matre et filia reconciliandis. Et habetur inter hujus
opera, si titulis habenda fides: quanquam hic, ne deprehenderetur fucus,
scriba omisit principium, et in fine quædam adjecit, aliaque nonnulla varia-
vit. Hujus extrema pars in qua consolatur virginem, non est novus libel-
lus ut a typographis distinctus est, sed extremum caput superioris. —

CENSURA ERASMI ROTEROD.

NIHI L ex his quæ prius fuerant excusa detraxi. Quæ videbantur
esse notha, suis tomis indicavi. Primus nihil habet in quod cadat ul-
la suspicio. Nam libros de vocatione gentium in aliud semovimus volumen,
de quo nostram opinionem et illud confirmat, quod Augustinus libris ad Bo-
nifacium, quum ex Ambrosianis lucubrationibus recenseat aliquot testimo-
nia adversus Pelagianam hæresim, multo post exortam quam illa scriberet
Ambrosius, tamen ex his libris, qui, velut ex professio, pugnant adversus
illorum dogmata, nullum adfert: ut alterutrum fuerit necesse, aut Ambro-
sium extrema senectute congressum cum Pelagianis, aut opus alterius esse,
quod mihi fit probabilius. Extra controversiam est, Ambrosium jam vita
defunctum quum Augustinus scriberet adversus Julianum: lege primum li-
brum. Creditur Hegesippum de excidio urbis Hierosolymitanæ vertisse e
Græco, quod opus non addidimus, vel quia vix credibile est esse Ambrosii,
vel quia jam toties excusum nusquam non est ad manum. Sanctus Augusti-
nus libro ad Bonifacium quarto, capite undecimo, non semel profert testi-
monium ex Ambrosii commentariis quibus exposuit Esaïam. Quod opus
fane dolemus hætenus inveniri non potuisse. Rursus contra Julianum Pe-
lagianæ hæreseos instauratorem refert ejus verba, ex commentariis in Psal-
mum quadragesimum octavum, nec hos hætenus invenire licuit. Idem ad-
versus eundem libro secundo crebro refert Ambrosii testimonium ex libro de
sacramento regenerationis, vel de philosophia. Joannes Tritenhemius ab-
bas in catalogo refert, illius in Psalmos libros undecim, quos tamen negat
sibi conspectos esse. Idem recenset librum de judiciis, de quadraginta duabus
mansionibus, nec hos repertos. Addit librum Hymnorum et Præfationum,
quem intercidisse doleo. Declarant enim hæc fragmenta quæ nunc in tem-
plis canuntur depravatissima, illum in modulandis lyricis haud quaquam in-
felici fuisse vena. Et tamen his submotis quidam maluerunt nugaces næ-
nias, fortasse deliri cujuscpiam, in quibus nec sensus est sanus, nec latinitas
pura, nec ulla metri ratio. Hoc tantum præferuntur Ambrosianis, quod ab
eiusdem ordinis sodali venerint. Ex Anglia quidam docti miserunt ad me,
speciminis loco, paginam descriptam ex commentariis in epistolam ad Hebræ-
os, quibus præfixum erat Ambrosii nomen; sed tota phrasis magis referebat
Remigium aut Anselmum, aut alium ejus notæ scriptorem, quam Ambro-
sium. Qui vitam Ambrosii descripsit, titulo S. Paulini, meminit cujusdam
libri quem Ambrosius scripserit infanti, quem excitarat a mortuis, de quo
sentiens nescio. Porro, si quis me roget, quid de hoc historico sentiam, di-
cam,

cam paucis, hac lege, ut nihilo fecius suo quisque fruatur iudicio. Idem est artifex, qui tam multa contaminavit in Scriptis Hieronymianis, et Augustinianis, natus ad hunc ludum. Habebat historiam Ambrosianæ vitæ, ei attexit præfationem, ut vides, lepidam, intertexuit interloquutiones, addidit coronidem, et affinxit aliquot prodigia. Adjungerem causas quur ita sentiam, sed apud imperitos id frustra fecero, peritos monuisse satis fuerit. Conferat, qui volet, Paulini stylum cum hujus assutis pannis, deinde perpendat quanta sit orationis inæqualitas. Postremo, quot locis sic frigeat ut facile appareat illum fingere. Bene vale, Lector, et fruire quod dāmus bonis auspiciis.

H I C secundus Tomus, optime Lector, exhibebit tibi pugnas adversus hæreticos, quanquam ea res frequenter et in cæteris operibus incidit, præsertim in enarrationibus. In hoc ordine sunt duo libelli de vocatione omnium gentium, quos arbitror alterius esse. Cujus rei si nullum esset aliud argumentum, tanta tamen est totius phraseos dissimilitudo, ut primo statim gustu Lector deprehendat alium loqui quam Ambrosium. Atque utinam tales multos libellos Ambrosianis admiscuisset, qui hos admiscuit. Tales imposturas facile tulerimus, quæ pro auro supponant aurum. Ineptum autem sit nec admodum refert divinare quis fuerit, quum ætas illa tot habuerit eruditos ac eloquentes viros. Res ipsa loquitur hominem fuisse in sacris literis diligenter exercitatum, ingenio sano et acuto. Ipsa phrasis sic Isocraticis illis schematibus modulata tinnulaque est ut, quod in hac affectatione difficillimum, præsertim in argumento subtili, nusquam desideres sermonis perspicuitatem, nusquam offendaris odio captatæ concinnitatis, nec usquam frigeat affectatio sententiarum argutularum, sed quod puer in scholis didicerat, feliciter accommodat ad seriam Scripturarum tractationem. Nec deest orationis copia, idque citra tædii sensum. Pelagianorum meminit cap. 7. quos haud scio an noverit Ambrosius. Siquidem Pelagius sub extremam Hieronymi ætatem cœpit apud Italos impietate celebris esse. Nec Hieronymus in Catalogo meminit librorum quos scripsit adversus Pelagium. Contextuit autem catalogum, vivo etiamnum Ambrosio. Rursus, lib. II. cap. 8. refert hæc verba, ex libro cujusdam Pelagiani, *habet gratia quod adoptet, non habet unda quod diluat*. Capite decimo, hoc est, ultimo subindicat se fuisse Romanum aut certe Italum, hunc in modum loquens: *At alii barbari dum Romanis auxiliantur, quod in suis nosse non poterant, in nostris didicere regionibus, et ad suas sedes cum Christianæ religionis institutione remearunt*. Quanquam fateor hoc argumentum esse dilutius, eo quod id temporis pleræque mundi regiones parebant imperio Romano. Stylus non prorsus abhorret a phrasi * Eucharîi Lugdunensis episcopi. In Veteris Testamenti citatione nusquam utitur nostra translatione, ne in novo quidem per omnia convenit cum hac nostra, quod sane vetustatis est indicium. —

* Eucharîi.

TERTIUS hic Tomus exhibebit orationes, epistolas, et conciones ad populum breves, quas supposititias esse nihil addubito, nihil enim in his Ambrosianæ venæ. Videntur ejusdem cujus multos habemus sermones Augustini titulo, ad fratres eremitas, de tempore, &c. Quin hic non pauci sunt, quos videmus inter eos qui Augustino tribuuntur, veluti qui hic est nonus Ambrosii, illic est xxv, Augustini de verbis Apostoli. Rursum qui hic est xxxvii, illic est inter sermones de tempore lxxviii; et qui hic lxxix, illic est de Sanctis xxvi; et qui hic lxxii, illic de Sanctis est xxxi. Rursus idem sermo bis habebatur in hoc volumine sub numero ix et lxx, et idem habebatur inter Augustinianos. Sermo de Agne cujus sit nescio. Appendix in fine indicat artificem: *Hæc ego Ambrosius*, &c. Quis enim unquam appellavit *Divina Volumina*, præter Scripturas canonicas? Ultimus de baptismo divi Augustini, citra controversiam, impostoris est ac blateronis, adeo nihil est illic Ambrosianum. Verum dum Augustinum in baptismo statim ornat cuculla nigra, et cingulo coriaceo, satis indicat de quo grege fuerit, qui hæc confinxit. Nam hac specie pingunt etiam illum bonum virum ii qui nunc vulgo dicuntur Augustinenses. Simili stultitia adjecit Augustinum esse religionis exordium. Si religionem sentit monachismum, bis fallitur, quum Augustinus nec monachus fuerit, nec exordium hujus instituti, si monachus fuisset. Postremo nullus illa ætate monachismum appellavit religionem. Sed impudentius est quod addit, jam vaticinans, ex eo multas religionis constitutiones oriri posse, et eum a posteris divinis honoribus colendum. Quis unquam Christianus, homini tribuit honores divinos? Male sit talibus rabulis.

HIC quartus Tomus complectitur Scripturarum explanationes, in quibus est libellus de Salomone argutus et eruditus, sed nonnihil dissonans a stylo Ambrosiano. —

Additæ sunt duæ preces præparantes sacerdotem aditurum missæ munus, quas ut pias nec indoctas fateor, ita judico non esse Ambrosii. —

In Novi Testamenti voluminibus nihil admixtum alienum comperi, nisi quod in singulas Pauli epistolas adjecit argumenta nescio quis, Ambrosii titulo, aut certe quæ posuerat Ambrosius, contaminavit, præsertim in epistolas ad Romanos, ad Corinthios, et ad Galatas: et in ipsis commentariis alicubi videntur adjecta quædam, alicubi decurtata.

Nº. XXXVIII.

§ *A Letter from George of Saxony to Erasmus.*

— **L**EGITUR quoque Georgii Saxonie Ducis ad Erasmus epistola Dresdæ Kal. Jan. 1527. data; in qua infensissimum in Lutherum animum acerbissimis criminationibus prodit, quas divulgare et

§ *Life of Eras. p. 421.*

viri

viri innocentia et pudor vetat. In calce epistolæ ait, se Henrici VIII. Regis Angliæ Responſionem ad Lutheri librum Erasmo mittere, eundemque, ut Luthero se opponat, his verbis cohortatur: *Tu vero ex usu rerum Christianarum nobis facere videris, si et tu, magni illius Regis exemplo, animo forti et sincero parias tandem, quod jamdudum te in Hæresiarchæ istius dogmata parturire scripsisti.*

Index Epistol. MSS Wolfii, p. 24.

Nº. XXXIX.

A Letter of Erasmus to Carinus.

Habe tibi sequentem Erasmi epistolam Ludovico Carino, Confluentiæ tunc degenti, Basilea, 9 Kal. Apr. 1527. datam, nec adhuc editam.

SI recte vales, ignoscemus Jovi, qui te tam duriter tractavit, ut homo nimium mollis ^h *duret*, Ceres. Plus satis indulges medicis. Si veredarius esses, melius haberes. Leodegarium video nusquam. Quantum periculum est, quosdam demeruisse! Tuos sex coronatos nondum queo conquere, quos præter meum et morem et ingenium obtrusisti, homo violentissime. Respondi tuo Furtstero, sed paucis. Fac sciam, quid agas, quidque valeas.

P. S. Respondissem D. Cancellario, sed illius epistola inter tot acervos schedarum non venit ad manum. Tu fac epistolæ partes expleas tua facundia.

Index Epistol. MSS Wolfii, p. 138.

Nº. XL.

I.

ⁱ *D. Erasmo Rot. Jacobus Wimphelingus Selestadiensis, nomine sodalitatis literariæ Argentinenſis S. D.*

JUMENTO nonnunquam ineptiori manticæ et sarcinæ imponuntur: sic et mihi veterano, minusque idoneo, sodalitas literaria apud Argentoratum id oneris imposuit, ut te omnium nomine salvum jubeam, tibi bene esse exoptem; tuas literas, quæ status tui certiores nos efficiant, ad nos propediem mittendas exoptulem. Credimus te quoque a Basileensi gymnasio humaniter exceptum, atque perbenigne foveri inter doctos doctissimum. Præcipue vero in convictu philosophico nihil tibi, quod jucunditatem præstare possit, Beatum Rhenanum, qui te alioquin colit, amat, observat, speramus negaturum. Commendat sese tibi universa nostra sodalitas

^h *duret*, Ceres. It should be *duresceres*. It is somewhat strange that the Editor should let such nonsense pass, and not see so obvious an emendation.

Amongst the letters of Erasmus, there is one to this Carinus, *Ep.* 391.

ⁱ Life of Erasmi. p. 470. Hæc duæ epistolæ excuduntur ad finem Erasmi. De Copia Verbor. in editione Simonis Colinzi, 1528. *Maittaire*, An. Typ. tom. II. p. 60.

literaria:

literaria: Sebastianus Brantus, Jacobus^k Sturus, Thomas Rappius, Thomas Aucuparius, Matthias Schurerius, Joannes Rudalpingius, Stephanus Tielerus, Joannes Guida, Petrus Heldungus, Hieronymus Gebuillerus, Joannes Ruferius, Otomarus, et cæteri, quorum nomina me fugiunt, et ego in primis. Vale. Ex Argentorato, prima Septembris, 1514.

Nº. XL.

II.

D. Erasmus Rot. Jacobo Wimphelingo, Germanus Germano, Theologus Theologo, literarum scientissimo, literarum sitientissimus S. D.

QU I D ais, mi Wimpheling? Itane tu vocas istud, bovi clitellas, quod tibi potissimum ad nos scribendi datum est negotium? At mihi plane videtur illud quod Græci dicunt *παροισιαζόμενοι, τὸν ἵππον εἰς πῆδον*. Nam cujus humeris aptius ista sedisset sarcina, aut cui rectius hoc muneris delegare poterat Argentinensis illa sodalitas (sic enim tu vocas) non literatissima modo, sed humanissima, quam Wimpheling, cum bonarum literarum apud suos facile principi, tum omnis humanitatis antistiti? — Magnopere te rogo ut elegantissimam istam sodalitatem, hoc est, Musarum et Gratiarum omnium Collegium, diligentissime meis resalutes verbis: nominatim incomparabilem illum juvenem Jacobum Sturmium, qui majorum imagines morum illustrat integritate, juventutem ornat senili morum gravitate, doctrinam haudquaquam vulgarem incredibili modestia mire condecorat: deinde Thomam Rappium, ipsis oculis, ipso vultu, suavitatem et candorem ingenii præ se ferentem: Thomam item Aucuparium, quem ego fane vel ob hoc laurea dignum existimo, quod ab omni fastu longe sit alienissimus, cui morbo fere genus hoc hominum videmus obnoxium. Hunc cum plurimi faciam, tamen quo parcius laudem, ipse fuit in causa, qui me suo carmine laudavit, non dicam quam vere, sed prorsus amantissime, ne^l *quid* illud in nos jaciat, *Mutum muli scabunt*. Ad hæc Matthiam Scurerium, virum cum aliis multis nominibus egregie charum mihi, tum hoc etiam chariorem, quod hunc quoque fertilis illa tot eruditorum hominum, tot felicium ingeniorum, edidit Selestadium, cui et Beatum Rhenanum et Joannem Sapidum debeo, et ipsum denique Wimphelingum. Matthiam igitur, nisi vehementer amem, merito dicar ferrum et adamantem gestare in pectore; adeo me prior et officiis suis, et beneficiis ad amicitiam provocavit: neque committam, ut animo certe studioque superatus videar; etiamsi ille priores occupavit, assequar aliquando et officiis, si modo non desint animo vires. Ad hæc salutabis accuratissime Hieronymum Gebuilerium unum omnium, quos adhuc viderim, humanissimum, qui me suis laudibus, doctissimis quidem illis, sed plane, ut Germanus germane dicam, vanissimis ad cælum usque vexit: et sic orationis suæ præstigiis mihi imposuit, ut prorsus ipsi mihi viderer aliquid esse, vixque post biduum ad me redierim, quid essem agnoscens. Præterea Joannem Rudalpingium plane *μεσινώτατον* non arte solum, sed et moribus: hoc est, festi-

^k So Maittaire hath given it: but it should be *Sturmius*.

^l Rather *quis*.

vissimum et compositissimum, qui me una cum Hieronymo ad proximum diversorium est profecutus. Neque præteribis Otomarum, hominem citra ostentationem, ut mihi videtur, eruditum: qui nos suis toties vocem imitantibus cannis, ut vel lusciniam vincerent, adeo delectavit, ut divina quadam voluptate rapti videremur. Eadem opera salutabis optimæ spei juvenem Joannem Ruferium, nostri, ut visus est, studiosissimum. Item elegantissimos juvenes, Stephanum Tulerum, Joannem Guidam, Petrum Heldungum, et, ut finiam, cæteros omnes, quorum, etsi nomina me fugiunt, tamen memoria præcordiis intimis penitissime insculpta est, ac semper erit. Nam Sebastianum Brant, ut eximium, extra omnem et ordinem et aleam pono: quem ego virum, mi Wimphelingæ, tanti facio, sic amo, sic suspicio, sic veneror, ut magna quædam felicitatis pars accessisse mihi videatur, quod illum coram intueri, coram alloqui et amplecti contigerit. ---- Joannes Sapidus, tuus in literis alumnus, qui te moribus quoque mire refert, quique te non secus ac patrem et amat et suspicit, Basileam usque nos est profecutus. Illic admonueram hominem ne me proderet: delectari me paucis amiculis, sed exquisitis ac delectis. Primum itaque non aderant alii, quam ii, quos maxime volebam. Beatus Rhenanus, cujus ego prudenti modestia, et acerrimo in literis judicio vehementer delector, nec est quicquam hujus quotidiana consuetudine mihi jucundius. Item Gerardus Listrius medicæ rei non vulgariter peritus, adhæc Latinæ, Græcæ, et Hebraicæ literaturæ pulchre gnarus, denique juvenis ad me amandum natus. Ad hæc Bruno Amerbachius singulari doctrina trilinguis et hic. Joanni Frobenio reddidi literas ab Erasmo missas, addens esse mihi cum eo familiaritatem arctissimam, ab eodem edendis illius lucubrationibus negotii summam mihi commissam, ut quicquid egissem, id perinde ut ab Erasmo gestum, ratum fore. Denique me illi adeo similem, ut qui me videret, Erasmus videret. Is postea risit, intellecta fraude. Socer Frobenii resolutis omnibus, quæ debebantur in diversorio, nos una cum equis et sarcinis, in suas ædes traduxit. --- Basileæ, xi Calend. Oct. MDXIV.

Nº. XLI.

^m *Erasmi Præfationes ac Censuræ in Augustinum.*

ⁿ EPISTOLA ad Alphonsum Fonseca, Archiepiscopum Toletanum.

T O M. I.

Erasmi Censura in Libros Retractionum et Confessionum Augustini.

ERIT fortasse qui miretur, cur his duobus operibus primum dederimus locum. Is rationem accipiat: Duæ res sunt quæ vehementer et accendunt ad lectionem, et conducunt ad intellectum voluminis, vita auctoris cog-

^m Taken from the *Appendix Augustiniana*, published by Le Clerc, under the name of Joannes Phereponus.

ⁿ This Dedication, which I omit, is to be found amongst the Epistles of Erasmus, Ep. 1084. See Life of Erasm, p. 480.

nita, et operis non ignotum argumentum. Plurimum enim refert, quam existimationem, quem animum afferas ad legendum: nec facile dictu fit, quantum in judicando momenti habeat præsumpta de homine opinio. Frequenter exosculamur dictum ab eo profectum quem amamus, de quo magnifice sentimus, consputuri si ab alio quem odimus venisse crederetur. Utramque commoditatem vir sanctus juxta ac prudens Augustinus his duabus lucubrationibus nobis procuravit. Libris Retractationum omnium operum suorum argumenta contexuit, et Confessionum libris vitam omnem suam depinxit, quorum utrumque tam diligenter ab illo factum est, ut iniquior aliquis suspicari possit non prorsus abfuisse humanum affectum *κενοδοξία* seu *φιλαυλία* cuiuspiam affinem. Verum res longe secus habet, si quis optimi viri consilium expendat. Olim solemne erat præstantium virorum gesta libris et orationibus celebrare. Hoc exemplum a militia ad studia, a Græcis ad Latinos et Barbaros, a ducibus ac Philosophis ad Episcopos demanavit. Perspiciens itaque frequenter in historiis hujusmodi multum falsitatis inveniri, siue immodico studio, siue errore scriptoris, siue etiam inopia fidei ac laudis amore, maluit ipse sui historiographus esse; nimirum, sibi conscius quam non assentaretur sibi; deinde probe cognitum habens, se nulli mortalium notiozem esse posse, quam esset sibi; nam ut omittam animorum abstrusos sinus, quos quisque suos novit, nec quilibet tamen pernovit, quotam vitæ portionem noverunt, qui nobis arctissima familiaritate juncti sunt? Porro famæ quanta levitas, quanta vanitas? Ad hoc quantum humanæ memoriæ ° perfluvium? cum duo rem aut orationem eandem, cui pariter interfuerunt, referunt, quanta narrationis diversitas? Jam quid istos memorem qui fabulis impudenter vanis et confictis miraculis memoriam eorum quibus favent, student vulgo commendare, nonnunquam ea laudantes quæ laudatus nec fecit, nec probavit? Et arbitror fuisse qui pium existimarint hujusmodi fucis animos ad religionis studium accendere. Ego pestilens hoc rabularum genus inter Christianos semper sum execratus, qui neque sciunt veram pietatis imaginem adumbrare, quod nemo novit nisi vere pius, quales si essent illi, nunquam talibus mendaciis fallerent discipulos illius, qui Veritas est, et hujusmodi technis hoc efficiunt, ut nec vera narrantis habeatur fides. Horum ne quid accidere posset, Augustinus suo penicillo seipsum nobis depinxit, idque ut majore cum fide faceret, nec mala sua reticuit, nec hominibus ista loquitur, sed Deo confitetur, cui mentiri nec pium est, nec tutum. Jam in voluminibus quanta fuerit inscriptionum vel impostura vel infelicitas reputans, dum vel incuria multæ celebrium scriptorum lucubrationes intercidunt, vel inscitia studiove fraudatis auctoribus in alienum nomen plagio transferuntur, vel sub gratioso piorum hominum titulo supposititii nugonum, ne dicam hæreticorum libelli sparguntur in vulgus, libris Retractationum his malis occurrit tanta cura, ut singulorum operum et titulos et tempora et argumenta et occasiones et initia notarit, adeo nihil prætermittens, ut nec ea quæ prælusit catechumenus, quæ vix orsus fuerat, quæ non agnoscebat, denique nec Psalmum vulgari rythmo scriptum in Donati factionem præterierit. Patiar ut hanc diligentiam reprehendas, si prius supputaris quantum egregiorum voluminum nobis aliorum indiligentia perierit, quantum næniarum mendacibus titulis obtru-

° It should be *profluvium*.

sum sit orbi Christiano. Atque utinam pari diligentia quod coeperat absol-
visset. Recognovit enim quicquid aliquo pacto libri nomen meretur. Su-
pererant Epistolæ et Tractatus, quas ipse testatur ab aliis Homilias vocari;
hos dividit bifariam, in dictatos, et dictos ad populum. Quædam enim sic
dicebantur, ut ex consensu dicentis ad preces amicorum a notariis exciperen-
tur quæ dicebantur. Idem nonnunquam fiebat et apud populum velut in
actis sollemnibus. Quanquam id temporis fere notariorum celeritas excipie-
bat, quicquid publicitus apud multitudinem dicebatur. Quod quidem ut
ubique facere molestum sit, ita in feriis disputationibus aut concionibus fa-
cere vehementer conducibile fuerit. Nunc quidem apud multitudinem
quamlibet frequentem dicunt quicquid animo collubatum fuerit: cum ur-
gentur, dejerant se nihil ejusmodi dixisse: ex adverso nonnullis exhibetur
negotium, quasi dixerint quod non dixerunt. Hic si quis citet testem popu-
lum, bellua multorum est caput, ut ait ille: scriptura manens certius li-
tem dirimit. Recognita certum habent parentem. De Epistolis et Tracta-
tibus aliunde sumendum est judicium. Neque tamen protinus adulterinum
haberi debet, quicquid in Catalogo non recensetur, cum nec epistola sit nec
homilia. Quanquam enim senex hoc opus accuravit, tamen certum est il-
lum postea quædam dedisse in hunc ordinem accersenda, veluti librum de
hæresibus ad Quodvultdeum. Aliis igitur argumentis docendum est quæ-
dam esse ambigui partus, quædam certo notha. Porro libri Confessionum
non solum huc conducunt, ut avidius legamus illius scripta, cujus et since-
rissimam erga Deum pietatem et flagrantissimam erga proximum caritatem
cognovimus. Verum habent et aliam utilitatem, eamque geminam. Alte-
ra est, qua hinc cognitis personis rectius intelligimus Dialogos illius et Epif-
tolas: altera est, qua qui familiariter ^p noverant ingenium, sensum ac dictio-
nem hominis, multis non offenduntur quibus graviter erant offendendi, si
hæc ignorarent: id esse verissimum, abunde docet vitæ communis experien-
tia. Quosdam natura tristiores, parum amicos crederes, ni perspectum ha-
beres ingenium. Alios blandiores vel adulari vel ridere credas: rursus alios
occulta naturæ vi proclives ad jocandum, parum graves arbitrere, ni propius
ac domestice noffes. Nec dubito quin hoc multis usu veniat eorum, qui re-
cens ad Augustinianorum voluminum lectionem, velut in colloquium illius
veniunt. Offendit species quædam loquacitatis, offendunt in longum pro-
ductæ periodi, offendit oratio nonnunquam ad popularem sermonem dege-
nerans, offendit earumdem rerum crebra repetitio; dicas alicubi quiddam
esse subinane, et affectum hominis sibi plus æquo placentis. Cæterum ubi
diutina lectione factus sis familiarior, sermonis copiam et eadem subinde ite-
rata facile excusat docendi studium, et quod docuit, penitus animis hominum
infigendi: circuitus prolixiores quibus comes esse solet obscuritas, arguunt
admirandam memoriæ felicitatem, et ut ingenio fœcundissimo plurima sese
confertim offerunt, multa paucis complectendi studium: dictionis humilita-
tem excusat caritas, *ἔχ' ὑψηλοφρονῆσα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ταπεινοῖς συναπαγομένη*: Pauli-
nis enim verbis libenter utimur. Quemadmodum autem erat alienarum
virtutum candidissimus æstimator, ita mire *Φιλόσοφος* fuisse videtur erga

^p Perhaps *noverunt*.

cognatos

cognatos et amicos, quod ipsum eximiae cujusdam humanitatis indicium est. Suas vero dotes nec ignoravit ob stultitiam, nec odit ob putiditatem. Verum haecenus, ut ea res nihil officiat hominis insigni modestiae. Non aliter amat, non aliter praedicat in se dona Dei, quam amaret ac praedicaret in aliis. Ignorare tua bona, stupiditatis est: non praedicare Domini benignitatem, ingrati- tudinis: non expendere in utilitatem proximi quod acceperis, impietas est. Non gaudere de fructu fraterno quem Dominus per te contulit, impii simul et ingrati livoris est. Quomodo depromes talentum in usuram, si non agnoscas quod tibi traditum sit? Quomodo possis inde tollere cristas, quod intelligas totum esse gratuita Dei benignitatis? Quoties autem divina bonitas te velut organo dignatur uti, ad juvandos alios, non habes quod insolescas, sed habes unde gratulere fratribus, unde gratias agas Deo, tuo pariter et illorum nomine. Sic amavit, sic praedicavit suas dotes vir sanctissimus. Quamquam in iis libris quos scripsit catechumenus, deprehendas nonnihil humanae gloriae, quem affectum minime malum generosissimis quibusque ingeniis potissimum videmus insitum esse. Non enim excusare conabor quod ipse putavit accusandum, dicens eos libros quos scripsit rudis adhuc velut infans in philosophia Christiana, ita servisse Christo, ut adhuc resiperent scholam superbiae, magisque spirarent Platonis dogmata, quam divinarum Scripturarum mysteria. Habet Africa suum quoddam ingenium, et habebat omnino quiddam suae gentis Augustinus, nisi Christus illum in alium virum trans- formasset. Porro Confessionum libri, quos et otiosus et otiosis scripsisse videtur, habent quiddam peculiaris molestiae. Primum in hoc quod multa de seipso commemorat, partim minutiora, quam ut ea severiore praeditus ingenio com- memoranda putaret, partim ad gloriae speciem accedentia. Quid autem fas- tidiosius, quam humani livor ingenii, si quis quid quamlibet modeste de seip- so praedicet? Ad haec, dum de rebus humilioribus, ne dicam sordidioribus, velut de infantia, de ephebia, de affectu libidinis, deque similibus verba faciens, studet iis quae dicuntur orationis honorem addere, veluti pu- dorem sententiarum hoc velo tegens, fit hac occasione nonnunquam obscu- rior. Verum haec taediola si devoraveris, reliqua cum majore tum fructu, tum voluptate perleges.

In Soliloquiorum libros Censura.

OPUS mire resipiens optimi viri infantiam in Christo. Nam Rationem ita loquentem facit cum Augustino, quasi Ratio non sit potior Augusti- ni pars. Tolerabilius Seneca fingit Rationis et Sensus Dialogum. Ad haec, quasi vero duo loquantur homines, in disputationes et libros dissecatur sermo, ne defatigentur: nonnunquam et in sophistica leviculaque argutatione implo- ratur auxilium divinum. Lectorem requirit patientem et candidum.

In libros de Moribus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ et Manichæorum Censura.

DUO opuscula quæ sequuntur, alteri loco fuerant destinata, prius πολεμικῶν, posterius διδακτικῶν. Verum quoniam altero fortissimus tiro velitatus est in hæreticos, altero mirandus doctor futurus, prælusit in expositionem mysticarum Scripturarum, quæ juxta varios sensus tractantur, visum est huic Tomo clausulam addere. Mox ut nomen dederat imperatori Christo, quo commilitonibus suis certissimam fidem faceret, se bona fide a Manichæis transfugisse, sub quorum signis novem annis militaverat, prodit illorum mysteria. Idque facit admirabili sermonis elegantia, qua utinam illi licuisset in cæteris uti lucubrationibus. Hoc sane opere declaravit, si quid offendit eruditos in ipsius dictione, non fuisse incitiæ, sed caritatis, qua stylum demisit ad imperitorum intelligentiam. Quandoquidem et textores et textrices id temporis intelligebant Latinam orationem simplicibus verbis ac sensibus contextam, qualis est divi Gregorii, non intellecturi dictionem Hilarii. Itaque quo latius pateret lectionis utilitas, ad vulgi captum mutavit stylum in opere posteriore, quod idem in plerisque suis operibus fecisse videtur. Tandem usus, ut fit, in naturam abiit. Itaque demum factum est, ut hodie nec a tenuiter literatis fatis intelligatur, et a politioribus non sine tædio legatur, nisi pietas excludat fastidium.

In Regulam ad Servos Dei Censura.

HÆC Regula et sententiis et dictionis figura refert Augustinum, quin et pia civilitate humanitateque præfert auctorem suum: quamquam probabile est eam non clericis, sed scæminis esse scriptam, quæ in unum collectæ sub moderatione sororis Augustini vivebant: eam Præpositam vocat, sed omnium summa potestas erat penes Presbyterum. Nonnullis autem immutatis accommodarunt eam viris, velut ubi de modestia cultus præcipit scæminis: *Non sit notabilis habitus vester, nec affectetis vestibus placere, sed moribus: ne sint vobis tam tenuia capitum tegmina, ut retiola subter appareant.* Sic enim arbitror legendum. *Capillos ex nulla parte nudos habeatis, nec foris vel spargat negligentia, vel componat industria:* quod viris accommodari non poterat, omiserunt. Et in proximo: *In omnibus motibus nihil fiat quod cujusquam illiceat libidinem:* sic mutatum est: *quod cujusquam offendant aspectum.* Rursus, quod præcipit, de non aspiciendis scæminis: item de hoc, ut bini aut terni procedant: de lavandis propriis vestibus: de operando in commune: aliaque permulta parum congruunt in clericos ejus temporis, quorum tum erat major et libertas et dignitas. In calce alludens ad formæ studium, speculum et odores quibus scæmineum genus peculiariter delectatur, quæ dicit: *Donet Dominus ut observetis hæc omnia tamquam spiritalis pulchritudinis amatrices, et bono Christi odore, de bona conversatione fragrantés, et vos autem in hoc libello tamquam*

quam in speculo, possitis inspicere, &c. non perinde quadrant in viros. Sunt alia quædam, verum hæc exempli causa proposuisse sufficit. Postremo, ut nihil sit quod non possit ad clericos detorqueri, certe nihil est hic quod illis cum fœminis non sit commune. At quam multa erant præscribenda de Presbyterorum, Hypodiaconorum, ac Diaconorum officiis, si illis regulam præscribendam judicasset? Et tamen hæc regula fundamentum est multorum Ordinum, quam fœminis traditam utinam bene servarent viri. Habetur autem in Epistola cxix. Ineptum est autem de hujus viri titulo contendere: magis ad rem pertinet pietatis et eruditionis illius æmulatione decernere, ut ii optimo jure dicantur Augustinenses, qui virtutes Augustini proxime referunt. Illud constat Orationem quæ *cucullæ* et *baltbei* meminit, sub Ambrosii nomine confictam esse. Nec ipse Augustinus usquam se Monachum vocat, nec suos clericos eo nomine designat, quamquam exiguum in cognomine momentum est. Ipse fatetur se reliquisse omnia, et eodem multis provocasse: tum in oratione quadam apud populum, negat se usurum *pileo rubro*, quod *pyrrhum* dicitur, nos corrupte *byrrhum* vocamus. *Decet*, inquit, *Episcopum, at non decet Augustinum*: ubi magis dicendum erat, non decet Monachum. In libris de Moribus Ecclesiæ, præter anachoretas et cœnobitas, tradit genus tertium, eorum qui, quoniam in eremum secedere non erat commodum, vel ob parentes, vel ob liberos, aut alias causas, tamen⁹ non quietius viverent, complures in iisdem ædibus commorabantur, nullo imperio, sed libera caritate omnia moderante. Eos conventus *diversoria* vocat, quæ Romæ permulta viderat. Hoc exemplum videtur imitatus in Africa, sic ut nec cultu notabiles essent, quemadmodum Monachi, et liceret ab eo convictu discedere, si cui parum esset commodus: licet Possidius appellet ea *Monasteria*.

T O M. II.

Pio Lectori, S. D.

EX calce secundi libri Retractationum, item ex Epistola quæ præfixa est Catalogo Hæreseon ad Quodvultdeum, satis quidem perspicuum est, id temporis nec Epistolas, nec populares Orationes ab Augustino fuisse digestas: nec post id ab eo curatum, vel illud arguit, quod in hoc Volumine, neque temporum, neque personarum, neque materiarum ulla videtur habitatio. Certius autem id arguit, quod quædam admistæ fuerant, quæ primo statim gustu deprehendebantur Augustini non esse, quas addita Censura, notavimus: nonnullæ simpliciter confictæ, quod genus sunt illæ Bonifacii ad Augustinum, Augustini ad Bonifacium. Nullam tamen omnino loco movimus, præter unam et vehementer prolixam, et insigniter illiteratam: ne id quidem facturi, nisi eadem in Tomis haberetur. Tanta nobis cautio fuit, ne quis quid de nostra queri possit industria. Ad hæc inspersæ sunt nonnullæ, quas Augustinus ipse in Retractationibus Libros appellat. Quamquam

⁹ I suppose it should be *quo quietius*.

interdum subdifficile est Epistolam a Libro distinguere. Augustinus alicubi sic loquitur, quasi brevitās aut prolixitas tribuat adimatve nomen Epistolae verius, quam orationis genus, aut argumenti ratio: praesertim quum hoc exemplum ab Apostolis venerit, ut argumenta quamvis seria committerentur Epistolis. Siquidem exceptis Evangeliiis, quo nomine complectimur et Apostolorum Gesta, praeter Epistolas nihil scripto prodiderunt, sed eas de rebus haudquaquam familiaribus, tum quas vellent ab omnibus legi. Alicubi putat Epistolam non videri, quae non praeferat nomen et scribentis, et ejus ad quem scribitur. Et sane sunt aliquot, quas vere possis Epistolas dicere, referentes familiare quiddam, et instar humani colloquii, licet perpaucae. Verum de hac re liberum esto suum cuique judicium. Illud ausim affirmare, non alio in opere magis elucescere sanctissimi viri pietatem, caritatem, mansuetudinem, humanitatem, civilitatem, studium crediti gregis, amorem concordiae, et zelum domus Dei. Ut satagit, ut molitur, ut se vertit in omnia, quoties affulsit aliqua spes pertrahendi vel Paganum ad Christum, vel Hæreticum ad Ecclesiae communionem? Ut se submittit, ut (juxta Paulum) mutat vocem suam, undequaue venans occasionem excitandae propagandaeque pietatis, ubicumque sentit aliquam bonae mentis scintillam residere? Cui mulierculae, cui plebeio, cui aulico, cui pagano, cui hæretico, non promte, mansuete, blandeque respondet? Quam anxia sollicitudine pro sceleratissimis, nec una morte dignis circumcellionibus intercedit? Quis majori studio pro suis amicis interpellavit, quam ille pro suis hostibus? Quanto nixu parturit omnes Christo, quam gratulatur resipiscentibus, quam sollicite prospicit periclitantibus, quam sedulo docet errantes, mederi studens omnibus, perdere neminem? Quam misere uritur, ad quodvis exortum offendiculum? Videas vere gallinam Evangelicam sollicitam et anxiam, ut sub alas colligat foveatque pullos suos. In nonnullis Epistolis agnoscere licebit et illud forense dicendi genus, quod Græci *δικανικόν* appellant: praecipue cum agit adversus Donati factionem: nec deest argumentorum subtilitati, quae illi peculiaris est, *δείκνυσις*. Verum siue docet, siue corripit, siue pugnat cum deploratis hostibus, nusquam tamen non sentias Christianae caritatis nativam dulcedinem: ut (si tamen congruit hæc collatio) mihi videatur quemdam e comœdia referre Mitionem, qui tum etiam mitis est, quum objurgat maxime. In hoc uno, velut in speculo, contemplari licet Episcopum, qualem depinxit Paulus, *ἀνεπίληπτον, νηφάλιον, σώφρονα, κόσμιον, φιλόξενον, διδακτικόν, μὴ πάροινον, μὴ πλῆκην, μὴ αἰχροκερδῆ, ἀλλ' ἐπιεικῆ, ἄμαχον, ἀφιλάργυρον, μὴ αὐθάδη, μὴ ὀργίλον, φιλάγαθον, ἐγκρατῆ, ὅσιον, δίκαιον, ἀντεχόμενον τῇ κατὰ τὴν διδασχὴν πεισθ' λόγῳ, δυνατὸν ἢ παρρησιασθῆναι ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῇ ὑγιαίνουσιν, ἢ τὰς ἀντιλέγοντας ἐλέγχειν μετὰ πάσης πραότητος*. Ad hoc speculum si sese contemplantur Episcopi, et qui praecipuam Episcoporum functionem occupant Theologi, pudebit, opinor, quosdam sui supercilii cum inscitia conjuncti: pudebit saevitiae cum impuris moribus copulatae. Ex aliis Augustini libris perspicere licebit, qualis fuerit adhuc infans in Christo: ex aliis, qualis fuerit juvenis, qualis senex: ex hoc uno volumine semel totum Augustinum cognosces. Uberiores fructus nobis dedisset illud ingenium, si in Italia, Galliave, vel nasci, vel vivere contigisset. Rudis erat Africa, voluptatum avida, studio-

rum inimica, curiosarum rerum appetens. Unde frequenter exercent illum quæstionibus subfrivolis, nec multum facientibus ad pietatem: et ad suæ gentis affectus sæpe cogitur attemperare calamum. Verum tali excolendo senticeto tali opus erat agricola. Quamquam digniora lectu scripturus erat, si vel ad Romanorum aut Græcorum judicia se composuisset, vel minus indulgisset simplicium imperitiæ. Sed Christiana caritas prius habet prodesse quam plurimis, quam probari præcipuis, fraternæ salutis quam suæ gloriæ sitientior. Quosdam autem, præcipue mulierculas, pia quædam habebat ambitio, pulchrum esse ducentes, qualecumque scriptum impetrasse ab Episcopo. Ita factum est, ut dum vir pius omnium votis obsequitur, minus alicubi satisfaciat lectori fastidioso. Vix quemquam crediturum opinor, quantum mihi sudoris exhaustum sit in tollendis mendis, ac reponenda sermonis confusissima distinctione. Sed ea demum perfecta est eleemosyna, quæ confertur nescienti; generosior etiam, quæ confertur averfanti. Hæc Christo sceneramus, non hominibus; quorum vix credibilem ingratitude in nimium multis experimur. Quamquam horum malitia nequaquam nos a benefaciendi studio deterrebit umquam: cum optimæ fidei debitore nobis res est. Ne quid omittam, ab hujus Voluminis calce rescuimus loquacissimam coronidem sub titulis Cyrilli, subito Latine loquentis, et Augustini Græco male Latine scribentis, impudentissime confictam: cujus tamen legendæ si quem forte tenet libido, reperiat inter ea quæ divi Hieronymi Tomis adjuncta sunt. Illic expleat sese affatim, qui talibus capitur deliciis. Hæc, cordate Lector, fac evolvas attente: non poenitebit infumti operis. Bene vale. Dat. Basileæ, Anno M.D.XXVII.

T O M. III.

IN hunc Tertium et Quartum sequentem Tomos digessimus τὰ διδασκικά, hoc est, quæ nec sunt epistolæ, nec ad populum dicta, nec adversus hæreticos pugnancia, sed Lectori erudiendo scripta. Notha censuris additis indicavimus, ne quis erraret insciens.

In Speculum Censura.

HO C opus vix eram adscripturus Augustino, nisi Possidonius, sive, ut quidam malunt, Possidius in vita nominatim illi tribuisset: et præfatio non abhorret ab ejus stylo. Versatus est in simili negotio Cyprianus, et apud Græcos nonnulli, sed majore ingenio curaque. Cæterum infimis etiam inservire gaudet Christiana caritas.

T O M. IV.

Ad Lectorem.

ENARRATIONES sacrorum voluminum apud populum habitas, quas Græci vocant Homilias, divus Augustinus appellat *Tractatus*: nos *Conciones* possumus appellare. In his fere solebant notarii quod dicebatur excipere: nonnunquam qui dicturus erat, vel antequam diceret, digerebat in schedulam quod parabat differere, vel quod dixerat literis mandabat.

bat. In hoc dictionis genere, multa dantur auribus imperitæ promiscuæque multitudinis. In primis aliquot Psalmis adstrictior est et accuratior. In posterioribus identidem exspatiatur in longas digressiones, mutata, ut apparet, voluntate. Lege diligenter, reperies arcanae doctrinae thesaurum inæstimabilem. Vale.

TOM. V.

QUÆ sine controversia sunt Augustini, primo posuimus loco. Impudentissimum figmentum Sermonum ad Fratres in eremo agentes, in suum angulum rejecimus: de quo suo loco nonihil dicemus. Insunt et cæteris multa parum referentia phrasim et eruditionem Augustini, quorum aliquot notavimus.

TOM. VI.

De Quæstionibus LXXXIII.

AG N O S C I T quidem hoc opus Augustinus, mihi tamen videtur a studioso quopiam ex omnibus illius libris collectum, in quod congestum est si quid habetur argutius dissertum. Huic studio favens Augustinus recognovit, et quædam elimavit. Hanc conjecturam non omnino somnium esse declarat illud, quod q. xii habet fragmentum ex Fontei libris decerptum. Et cap. xxxi habet locum ex secundo M. Tullii de Inventione libro descriptum. Sunt autem et alia quæ mihi non videntur per omnia sapere phrasim Augustini. Ad hæc erant quædam confusa, vel huc translata ex quæstionibus Evangeliorum, vel hinc illo transmissa. Postremo multa sunt, quæ non habent ullam speciem quæstionis, nisi quod quicquid doceri potest, idem et quæri potest. Ita tot nascentur quæstiones, quot sunt sententiæ, sive proloquia. Ipsum tamen opus eruditum est, et lectu dignum.

Libri de Fide Censura.

LI B E L L U S hic ex diversis Augustini epistolis consarcinatus est, maxime quod ad sententias attinet. Probabile est hunc esse Hugonis Victorini.

At hanc Erasmi Censuram recte confutarunt Benedictini.

In librum de Continentia Censura.

LI B E L L U S pius nec indoctus: Augustini non esse, phrasis arguit. Mihi videtur Hugonis Victorini.

Sed vide Editores Parisienses, in admonitione huic libello præfixa, ubi Erasmus confutant:

In librum de Bono Viduitatis Censura.

MI R A dictionis facilitas et candor clamat non esse Augustini. Probabile est esse Juliani, cujus exstat epistola ad Demetriadem de Virginitate. Nam et orationis filum congruit, et hic bis citat eum libellum. Sunt tamen quædam de libero arbitrio, quæ videntur ab alio correctæ. Ad-
de

de quod titulus alienissimus sit ab Augustini consuetudine. Hunc affixit aliquis, ut opusculum alioquin pium gratioso nomini vindicaret.

Sed de hac Censura vide admonitionem Editorum Parisiensium huic libro præfixam.

In librum de Patientia Censura.

AUGUSTINI non esse, phrasis arguit, congruens cum ea, quam habent libelli superiores.

Vide admonitionem, &c.

In Sermones ad Fratres in Eremita Censura.

ORATIO confarcinata ex Augustini Regula, nihil alioqui habens Augustini. Artifex qui finxit, hoc agit ut ordinem, qui Augustinensium dicitur, orbi commendaret. Itaque quotquot sunt hujus generis, & præfixa notavimus.

Quoniam Benedictini omnes hosce Sermones, quorum plerisque & præfixerat Erasmus, exceptis duobus, obelo critico jugularunt, nihil opus indicari eos, quos vir summus damnavat.

TOM. VIII.

Lectori S. D.

QUEMADMODUM in præliis solet potissimum emicare virtus et ardor militum ducumque, ita divus Augustinus, quum nusquam non sit multis suspiciendus nominibus, haud alibi tamen eluxit, quantum valuerit acumine ingenii, subtilitate judicii, vehementia copiaque differendi, quam in his libris; in quibus pro tranquillitate domus Dei, quam unice diligebat, pugnat adversus hæreses: quas quum hoc odio majore prosequeretur, quo impenitus amabat Christi sponsam Ecclesiam, tamen ubique singulari caritate laborat, ut homines sanet potius quam perdat. Lege feliciter, ac vale.

IN this *Appendix Augustiniana*, Le Clerc hath given us his own remarks upon all the writings of Augustin; remarks very useful, and well deserving to be carefully perused by all who apply themselves to the study of Divinity. His principal design is, to expose the false reasonings of this Father, particularly his trifling and injudicious interpretations of the Scriptures, his defence of persecution, and his predestinarian jargon.

Nº. XLII.

Letters of Agrippa and Erasmus.

I.

Agrippa ad Erasmus.

LITERAS tuas, colendissime Erasme, a 13 Calend. Octobris ad me datas, accepi quinta Nonas Novembris. Vix dici queat, neque tu forte, si dicatur, fidem habeas, quam incomparabili lætitia affectus sim hac

Life of Erasme. p. 533.

O o o 2

in signi

infigni in me animi tui humanitate, qui me ignotum tibi hominem non solum literis tuis illustrare dignatus sis, sed etiam plus præstas, quam sperare liceat. Declamationem nostram de Vanitate Scientiarum atque excellentia Verbi Dei totam te lecturum, tuamque de illa sententiam te mihi uberius perscripturum, polliceris. Age ergo nunc, precor, Domine mi Erasme, tantillum laboris tui Agrippæ causa ne refugias, et quid tua præstantia de hac sentiat mihi significes. Tuus enim sum, et in tua juratus verba tibi me fidissimum militem dedo, condono, et commendo, cujus judicium erit semper mihi loco antiquæ et venerandæ auctoritatis, tantumque de humanitate tua mihi persuadeo, ut te credam nostram libertatem dicendique licentiam boni consulturum. Nosti enim quid sit Declamatio. Sed et illud te admonitum volo, me de his, quæ ad religionem attinent, nequaquam secus sentire, quam sentit Ecclesia Catholica. Andreæ sacerdotem, tuarum literarum latorem, virum pium ac modestum, et propriis virtutibus et tuis literis mihi commendatissimum, detinui apud me aliquot diebus. Utinam is sim qui suis desideriis satisfacere queam; aut talis aliquando futurus sim, qualem ille me existimat. Vale felicissime, illudque certo scias, nihil posse mihi gratius contingere, quam si spiritus meus tibi consecratus, eadem, qua offertur, animi magnitudine recipiatur. Iterum vale. Ex hac omnium bonarum literarum virtutumque noverca, Aula Cæsarea, apud Bruxellas, decimo tertio Cal. Jan. Anno 1531.

Epist. Agrippæ, xxxvi. p. 999.

II.

Erasmus ad Agrippam.

QUUM huc rediisset Polyphemus e Ratisbona, et languebam, et ædificabam, quo mihi nihil molestius; et obruebar studiorum laboribus: itaque malletm ferius ad te scribere, quam committere ut jure queri possis te non accepisse justam epistolam. Bellum cum Turca suscepimus, cunctis male ominantibus. Eo mittendi erant illi^s robusti bonis lateribus, ac bene vocales. Bene vale, Corneli doctissime. Ex nundinis scribam et alacrius, et copiosius. Eriburgi, Jacobi, Anno 1532.

Epist. Agrippæ xi. p. 1010.

III.

Agrippa ad Erasmus.

EX literis tuis, candidissime Erasme, quas mihi Polyphemus ante nundinas reddidit, accepi te et languore corpusculi, et labore studiorum, et ædificandi molestia obrutum non potuisse tunc longiores ad me literas dedisse: pollicebaris tamen post nundinas et alacrius et copiosius te scripturum. Itaque expectabundus tuarum literarum, nolui tibi molestus esse usque adhuc:

^s He means the Monks.

nunc

nunc vero nactus nuntii hujus opportunitatem, statui rursus silentia rumpe-
re, non quod tecum expostulem, sed ut te admoneam me nullas tuas acce-
pisse, ne quando si forte scripsisses, et interceptæ mihi perierint, meum in
respondendo silentium ignaviæ aut ingratitude vitio abs te jure argui possit.
Scripturus itaque ad me literas, destinabis Coloniam, ad Tilmannum de Fos-
sa. Ego quas ad te redditurus sum, destinabo Basileam, ad Frobenium,
vel Cratandrum. Sic, spero, neuter nostrum fraudabitur. Cæterum, quod
te scire volo, bellum mihi est cum Lovaniensibus Theosophistis. Hactenus
variis insidiis in meis castris oppugnatus, velitari eruptione me defendi:
nunc autem ingravescente prælio, patefactis foribus, in apertam pugnam
prorupi cataphractus. Non sunt illos ^t destituta Coloniensium et Parisien-
sium subsidia: mihi quæ futura sint præsidia, nescio, nisi quod ea causa fre-
tus, quam nulla expugnare potest contradictio, non ulla maculare potest
falsitas, quæ nec ab advocatorum penuria, nec a fraude judicum ullum pati
potest detrimentum. Sic munitus non dubito me vel solum exponere peri-
culo: sed si vicero certamen, non minor tua, quam mea futura est gloria,
qui non minus tuis, quam propriis armis atque telis strenue pugno, eoque
audentius in hunc campum profilio, videbisque proxime prodeuntem imper-
territa libertate novum in arma militem. Tunc tu ridebis, scio: alii admi-
rabuntur: Sophistæ crepabunt medium. Ego interea aut vicero aut evasero.
Vale, et boni consule. Ex Bonna, 13 Novemb. Anno 1532.

Epist. Agrippæ XVII. p. 1015.

IV.

Agrippa ad Erasmus.

PUDET me, colendissime Erasme, tot ^v infundis literis, et quæ, præ-
ter Salve et Vale nihil habent amplius, occupationes tuas interpellare:
sed cum huc transiret iste tuus servulus, tuas mihi impartiens salutes, tur-
pissimæ ingratitude accusari possem, si non scriberem. Impatiens itaque
silentii tui nominis veneratio hunc abortivum calamum coëgit, non aliud
nunciantem, quam si quid apud me est, quod tibi conducere putes, utere
opera mea: nam neque tardum neque defatigatum offendes tui Agrippæ
animum. Scripsi præstantiæ tuæ a decimo tertio hujus mensis per Re-
verendissimi Cardinalis Campegi chartophorum, quas literas tibi redditurus
erat Cratander Basileensis typographus, ex quibus intelliges, quale bellum
mihi est cum Theologis. Vale felicissime. Ex Bonna, 22 Novemb. An-
no 1532.

Epist. Agrippæ XVIII. p. 1016.

V.

Erasmus ad Agrippam.

SALUTEM P. Hactenus, vir eruditissime, tuis literis non respondi,
satiùs esse ducens, omnino filere, quam negligenter respondere. Hac-
tenus sane expectatum est otium, sed hactenus non datum. Quem Carto-

^t Perhaps destituta.

^v Perhaps infacundis, or, infæcundis.

Phorum narres, nescio : nec tuam epistolam historiæ Theologicæ narratricem Cratander reddidit. Si quid posthac autem mihi bona fide reddi cupis, fac tradas Hieronymo Frobenio. Tibi cum crabronibus rem esse doleo. Explica te quantum potes. Paucis bene cessit cum illis conflictari. Ad novam hirundinem scribam copiosius, favente Christo. Interim tibi persuade Erasmus esse de numero bene cupientium Agrippæ. Vale. Friburgi, nono die Decembris, Anno 1532.

Epist. Agrippæ xix. p. 1017.

VI.

Agrippa ad Erasmus.

MULTIS et magnis de rebus ad te scripturus forem, ter maxime Erasme, nisi ex te plura majoraque exspectarem : sic namque prioribus literis tuis polliceris, te per ocium longas easque necessarias literas ad me daturum : sed occupationes tuas ulterius interpellare non audeo, eo quod talem me fateor, qui tibi, quod te dignum est, retribuere non possim. Tuas tamen literas summo desiderio exopto, rogoque, ut qui te grandi diligit affectu, Agrippam tuam ne contemnas. Libellus meus quem adversus aliquot Theologistas Basileæ excudendum tradidi, re infecta ad me rediit, eo quod nonnullos offendisset. Is nunc excudetur alibi. Scripsi ad te de hac re latius, sed eas literas tibi non fuisse redditas, ex tuis cognovi, pariterque ex Cratandro intellexi : sed de his alias. Cæterum nunc quod te scire convenit, Reverendissimus atque Illustrissimus Princeps Elector Archiepiscopus Colonienfis, qui scriptorum tuorum studiosissimus, te unice diligit, amat, observat, et veneratur, tecum auspicari cupit amicitiam, teque coram videre et audire desiderat, jussitque ad te scriberem, sciremque ex te, si per hanc æstatem sese accedere velis Bonnam, sive Coloniam, aliquot vel pauculos dies illi morem gesturus ; effecturum se, ut te itineris illius minime pœniteat. Tu quid factururus sis, rescribe. Unum hoc scio, si venturus sis, offendes Principem Christianissimi animi, et penes quem Christianæ Reipublicæ, ac publicæ tranquillitati tu plurimum conferre atque prodesse poteris. Vale felicissime. 10 April, Anno 1533. festino calamo.

Epist. Agrippæ xxxviii. p. 1054.

VII.

Amicus (i. e. Erasmus) ad Agrippam.

SCRIPSI pridem ad te paucis, significans in opere illo tuo, Libro de vanitate scientiarum, doctrinam hic doctissimis quibusque placuisse : nondum enim ipse legeram ; aliquanto post nactus librum commodato, jussi famulum a cœna recitare. Nec enim alias vacabat, et ipse cœnatus ab omni studio temperare cogor. Placuit *δένωσις*, et copia, nec video cur tantopere indignentur Monachi. Ut vituperas malos, ita laudas bonos, sed illi tantum amant laudari. Quod tum tibi suasi, rursus suadeo, ut, si commode possis, extrices te ab ista contentione. Sit tibi exemplo Ludovicus * Barguinus,

* Berquin.

quem

quem nihil aliud perdidit, quam in Monachos ac Theologos simplex libertas, vir alioqui moribus inculpatissimis. Sæpius illi suasi ut arte explicaret sese ex eo negotio; illum fefellit victoriæ spes. Quod si non potes effugere, quin experiare Martis aleam, vide ut e turri pugnes, nec te committas illorum manibus. Illud imprimis cave, ne me isti negotio admisceas. Plus satis oneror invidia; ea res et me gravabit, et tibi magis obfuerit quam profuerit. Idem rogaram Barguinum, et ille promittebat; sed fefellit, plus suo tribuens animo, quam meo consilio. Exitum vides. Ne tantulum quidem fuisset periculi, si meis consiliis obtemperasset. Toties illi occinebam, nec Theologos nec Monachos vinci posse, etiamsi haberet causam meliorem, quam habuit S. Paulus. Et si quid haberem apud te auctoritatis, etiam atque etiam monerem, ut istuc operæ, quod insumturus es periculosa digladiationi, impendas liberalibus studiis provehendis. In præsentia non vacabat pluribus, scribo enim plurimis amicis. Vale Friburgi, 21 April, Anno 1533.

Epist. Agrippæ XL. p. 1056.

Nº. XLIII.

A Character of Paungarten.

Desid. Erasmus Roter. D. Joanni Vergaræ, insigni Theologo S. D.

* **F**ORTASSE visus sum vobis paulo impotentius ferre mortem Guilielmi Warami Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, qui literis tam plorabundis ac lamentatricibus animi mei dolorem in sinum tuum effuderim. Idem, opinor, visum Archiepiscopo patrono tuo; nam simile fere responsum accepi a R. D. Bernardo Episcopo et Cardinali Tridentino, et a Christophoro Episcopo Augustensi. Soleo quidem, uti scribitis, in simili casu aliorum mederi luctui, sed ipsa re sum expertus esse verissimum illud Comœdiæ, *Tu si hic sis, aliter sentias*. Et tamen ne quod res est dissimulem, ipse mihi nonnihil in tanta tamque diuturna animi ægrimonia displicui, eademque tum mihi dixi, quæ aliis eram dicturus: Mortalis erat, ad extremam pene senectutem pervenit, summa cum dignitate vixit, pietatem insigniter coluit, honestam sui memoriam reliquit, ex hoc infelici exilio migravit ad æternam tranquillitatem, ibi te exspectat, mox sequuturum. Si vere diligis virum, est quod illi gratuleris, non est quod deplores. Hæc aliaque permulta colloquebar cum animo meo, sed ad omnia furdo. Neque vero hic locus erat illi Satyrico,

Ploratur lacrymis amissa pecunia veris.

Si æstimetur quod illius obtulit benignitas, maximum erat; si quod accepi, minimum erat emolumenti. Sed in illius amicitia sic conquiescebam, ut mihi viderer abunde dives, qui talem haberem patronum, unde petere quidvis possem, si qua incidisset necessitas. Ea non incidit, nec facile potest in-

* Life of Erasmi. p. 542.

cidere frugaliter viventi, atque iis rebus contento, quas postulat corporis necessitas. Conduplicavit hunc luctum meum mors Christophori Schydlovicii, hominis apud Polonos summæ auctoritatis, ac nostri amantissimi. Sed Dominus pro sua clementia multis solatiis mitigavit hæc vulnera, fecitque cum tentatione proventum, ut possim sustinere. Siquidem in Archiepiscopi demortui locum ac dignitatem successit R. D. Thomas Cranmarus, professione Theologus, vir integerrimus candidissimisque moribus, qui ultro pollicitus est sese in studio ac benevolentia erga me, priori nequaquam cessurum, et quod sponte pollicitus est, sponte præstare cœpit, ut mihi Waramus non ereptus, sed in Cranmaro renatus videri queat. Dedit et Vindelicorum Augusta candidos aliquot amicos, eosque ultroneos. Quorum, ut tempore, ita benevolentia primus est R. D. Christophorus a Stadio Episcopus Augustanus, vir ut majorum imaginibus illustris, ita prudentia, consilio, pietatis amore, ac munificentia vix ulli in hisce regionibus secundus. Huic accessit vir animi decoribus quam imaginibus clarior, ac virtutibus quam opibus ditior, Antonius Fuggerus. Cui adhæret nivei pectoris amicus Joannes Cholerus Præpositus Curiensis. At vir antiquæ nobilitatis, moribus aureis, Joannes Paungartnerus a Paungarten et Ernbach, ut tempore postremus est, ita nemini cedit parata munificentia, non in unum alterumve, sed erga omnes qui doctrinæ ac pietatis elogio commendantur. Hunc vir clarissimus Ulricus Zasius, hujus seculi ornamentum, multis jam annis possidet: nunc ut est candidissimi pectoris, hoc nomine sibi gratulatur, quod eum mecum habet communem. Fuggeri nomen arbitror Hispanis esse notum ac celebre. Joannis a Paungarten an vobis auditum sit nescio. Itaque paucis hominem tibi depingam, quo sicut pridem meo dolore doluisti, ita nunc meo gaudeas gaudio; et quemadmodum ibi consolando declarasti tuam in me benevolentiam, ita hic gratulatione declares inter veros amicos tristitia simul ac læta esse communia. Ergo quod Joannes a Paungarten amplissime dives est, cum aliis aliquot habet commune; sed illud cum paucis habet commune, quod opes suas possidet, non ab eis possidetur; quodque illi servit pecunia, non ipse pecuniæ. Possidet autem ista fortunæ quæ vocantur munera, non tantum heriliter, verum etiam philosophice; persuasum habens, hæc non esse propria hominis bona, quæ promiscue probis et improbis contingunt, nec tam egregium existimat divitias habere, quam contemnere. Contemnit autem, qui juxta sapientis consilium illis affluentibus non adjicit animum, qui nec lucro tali fit obesus, nec jactura macilentus: quippe perpendens hæc quoque a cœlesti Principe dari, non ut amentur, sed ut recte prudenterque dispensentur. Dominus hortatur, ut divites de iniquo Mammona sibi parent amicos, a quibus recipiantur in æterna tabernacula. Majus est, quod præstat Paungartnerus, qui de juste partis mira benignitate reficit egenorum viscera, bene fœneratum existimans, quod Christi membris fuerit impensum. Juxta Stoicos nulla felicitatis pars est habere divitias, sed sic habere, meo quidem judicio, magna felicitatis pars est. Sic Deo charus fuit ille prædives Abraham hospitalitatis et magister et exemplum. Accedit huc generis pervetusta nobilitas. Exstant enim instrumenta testantia familiam illam inter claras habitam ante multa secula. Origo gentis fuit e Franconia Orientali vetustissima nobilium virorum parente, unde qui

nunc

nunc apud Gallos Franci dicuntur profecti sunt. Ibi sedem olim habuerunt majores hujus. Est etiamnum in ea regione Monasterium, horum benignitate tum ornatum magnifice, tum amplissimis dotatum censibus. Verum, ne nimis antiqua persequar, pater hujus, de quo nunc agimus, ob eximias animi virtutes, integritatem in moribus, prudentiam in consiliis, fidem ac dexteritatem in negotiis, pietatem erga patriam, in summa, tum gratia, tum auctoritate fuit apud supremos orbis Monarchas, Matthiam Hungariæ regem, excussi judicii virum, Fredericum Imperatorem, quem nominasse satis est laudasse, et hujus filium Maximilianum. Quibus omnibus sæpenumero belli domique fidelem ac præclaram navavit operam. Non ultima laus est principibus placuisse viris, præsertim laudatis, et ob laudanda. Nec minus interim gratosus apud proceres ac populum, ob morum amabilem comitatem, ac promptam perpetuamque de omnibus benemerendi voluntatem. Cæterum ut sunt humanarum rerum æstuariæ vices, hujus familiæ clarissimæ facultates per se quidem amplissimæ, sub majoribus vehementer decreverant partim bellorum inundationibus, partim filiabus multis summa cum dote splendide elocatis, quæ magnam opum partem secum in familias alienas attraxerant. Quanquam autem veræ nobilitatis minima portio est opulentia, tamen hoc quicquid est decoris, Joannes a Paungarten non passus est suo decedere generi: sed jacturam sub progenitoribus acceptam singulari prudentia, vigilantiaque ita sarfit, ita lacunas omnes explevit, ut nullum usquam restet facultatum attritarum vestigium. Ne in principum quidem amicitiiis parente fuit aut est inferior, apud quos ob raram ingenii dexteritatem ac singularem prudentiam, summa in gratia summoque in pretio et fuit hætenus, et est hodie, nobilibus ac popularibus tam charus ob expositam in omnes præsertim egenos liberalitatem, ut optimo jure patriæ delictum possit appellari. In expeditione Turcarum a Carolo Cæsare accitus, illi et facultatibus largiter, et consiliis fideliter, et opera fortiter adfuit, omnium periculorum socius, paratus et vitam patriæ ac Cæsari impendere, quum ante id temporis in hoc ipsum bellum suis impendiis Cæsari misisset xxxii cataphractos pulchre instructos, non numerum hercle, sed viros e multis selectos, quorum plerique poterant egregios belli duces præstare. Porro fidem, studium, et operam, quam præstitit Caroli Cæsari, eandem nunc præstat hujus germano Ferdinando, cui et ipsi ob raras animi dotes cum primis charus est. Habes hominis pietatem in patriam et in Principem. Nunc audi qua pietate foveat liberos suos. Quatuor habet filios, filias totidem, omnes felici indole. Dices forsitan, felicitatem hominis mihi narras, non pietatem. Sed mane, mox audies eximiam. Tanta solitudine, tanta sanctimonia prudentiaque curat omnes educandos, ut, non corporum modo, verum etiam animorum parens optimo jure dici possit. Nullum omnium destinavit negotiationi, aut aliis sordidioribus artibus. Ad eruditionem, ad pietatem, ad gerenda Principum ac Reipublicæ splendida munia instituit omnes: ad quæ frequenter evadunt parum appositi, qui libris ac disciplinis insenuerunt: nam umbris assueti, nescio quo pacto stupefcunt, ac veluti glaucomate oculis oborto mentis vertiginem quandam patiuntur quoties in pulverem ac solem, hoc est, ad civilia munia adsciscuntur. Tenera ætas domi formatur ad omnem probitatem atque innocentiam. Adhibentur

præceptores, non de trivio, sed exploratis moribus ac literatura non vulgari. Adolescentia prima statim ab ædibus paternis ablegatur in Italiam, aut in Galliam: quo simul et linguis et moribus alienis assuescant. Hæc est ingeniorum velut insitio, qua mitescunt ac naturam exuunt silvestrem, si quam habent. Nihil enim fere morosius iis, qui in patria consenuerunt; oderunt exteros, ac damnant quicquid a vernaculis ritibus diversum est. Quibusdam permittit ut Principum aulas degustent, sed electas: neque enim parum interest inter aulam et aulam: tametsi, in omnibus aulis ut est varia rerum experientia, ita non desunt illecebræ, quæ juventutem ad dulcia quam ad salubria proniorem corrumpant. Verum ab his periculis nullum vitæ genus liberum est, etiamsi te abdas in Cartusiam. Adversus has Sirenes non locus nos tutos reddit, sed pro auribus animus diligenter obturatus, non cera quemadmodum fecit Ulysses Homericus, sed philosophiæ præceptis. Itaque natus maximus Joannes, parentem nomine et cognomine referens nec minus indole, primum in Gallia, deinde in Italia literis haudquaquam infelicitè institutus, nunc agit in aula D. Mariæ, quondam Hungariæ Reginæ, qua foemina nihil habet hæc ætas sanctius ac prudentius. Huic proximus Georgius Jurisprudentiæ destinatus est, qui jam et in bonis literis, et in Legum sapientia supra modum ætatis promovit. Tertius Antonius agit Venetiæ, velut in theatro totius Italiæ splendidissimo, variis linguis expeditus, et omni morum elegantia perpolitus ad unguem. Daniel natus minimus, adhuc domi fingitur ad innocentiam, mox dicendus instituto, ad quod videbitur natura compositus. Nimirum intelligit vir ingenii perspicacissimi, ad hominis felicitatem plurimum referre, ut in teneris annis ad hoc quisque institutum applicetur, ad quod videatur natura compositus. An non istuc demum est vere patrem esse? Cur enim patres appellantur, qui nihil aliud gignunt quam corpora, ac mox natorum curam omnem abjiciunt, aut si quid curant, præter corpora nihil curant? animi, quæ præcipua pars hominis est, nulla ratio. Sed his quoque deteriores sunt, qui pueros ad honestum vitæ institutum ut a natura factos ita et animo propensos, ad illiberalia studia retrahunt. Hoc profecto non est educare liberos, sed exponere. Ac, mea quidem sententia, sceleratius est ingenium exponere vitiis, quam corpus incertis casibus. Sit aliqua felicitatis pars ex opulentis nasci, e claris et illustribus progigni; summa tamen ac proinde rara felicitas est ex tali parente nasci, qualem se præstat suis Joannes Paungartnerus. Quid ego nunc memorem, quam pia, quam vigilantis sollicitudine filias educet, qua comitate regat uxorem, qua pietate foveat optimæ matris senectutem? Dicas hominem virtuti natum, qui nusquam cessat in officio. Quid hoc viro felicius, si qua omnino in hac vita felicitas? Contigit antiqua majorum nobilitas; contigerunt opes imaginibus dignæ; contigit uxor ex animi sententia, claris et ipsa majoribus; contigerunt liberi a parentis optimis moribus haudquaquam degeneres. Ipse corpore felici, ætate integra virentique, sed animo cano, tot egregiis dotibus prædito, ut in ratione beatitudinis extremum calculum occupent opes ac generis claritudo. Arces duas possidet, alteram cognomento Paungarter, quam superiorum incuria neglectam magnifice reficit, exornatque structuris. Altera cognomento Ernbach, hætenus corrupte vulgo dicta Erbach, sita

sita est ad Danubium paulo supra Ulmam, loco amenissimo, ditione satis ampla, cui oppidum subjacet ejusdem nominis. Felix ille populus tali Domino, cujus auspiciis omnia redduntur floridiora. Tanta hominis est in negotiis dexteritas, ut hunc vel unum dicas esse, qui ex parva civitate magnam, ex obscura possit illustrem reddere. Abundat Germania magnis et excellentibus viris; sed utinam quamplurimos haberet Paungartnero pares. Adde his, quod quum eximia virtus ac magna felicitas semper obnoxia soleat esse invidiæ, Paungartneri successibus applaudunt omnes, invidet nemo. Tanta est ingenii suavitas, tantus animi candor, tanta erga omnes homines morum comitas, ac, ut Græce dicam significantius, χρηστότης. Quantum bonorum in hoc uno viro possidet hæc natio, qui Cæsaribus in negotiis civilibus præstat fidelem juxta ac prudentem Consiliarium, in rebus bellicis fortem ac promptum ducem, idque ἀδάπανον, patriæ civem pacificum ac salutarem, domui suæ commodum ac vigilantem curatorem, probitatis ac literarum amatoribus benignum Mæcenatem, amicis jucundum convictorem, egenis liberalem nutricium, aut parentem verius? Felix Germania tali heroë. Felix ego tali amico, quicum mihi sunt omnia communia. Hoc jus non exstat quidem in Cæsarum legibus, sed in Gratiarum tabulis descriptum est, quo meum esse duco, quicquid est in bonis Paungartnericis. Non quod illius fortunas velim imminuere, quod nec animus hic postulat, nec res familiaris exigit: sed ob hoc ipsum vivo tranquillius, quod existimem in meo esse mundo quicquid possidet sincerus amicus. Proin nunquam videbor mihi inops aut destitutus, quamdiu tales supersunt amici, non ita multi quidem illi, sed eximii, ut horum quilibet esse possit πολλῶν ἀνιάξι' ἄλλων. Sincero amico nulla possessio pretiosior: in hac soleo præcipue conquiescere, meque ipsum adversus τὸ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ ἐξ consolari: sed quoniam in hoc seculo nihil est proprium aut perpetuum, consultum est, juxta Sancti Pauli consilium, hanc quoque possessionem sic habere quasi non habeamus. Volubiles sunt animi mortalium, et ut tale nihil accadat, a morte nemo tutus est. Sed absit omen finis. Communi patrono Archiepiscopo Toletano fac me commendes, quoties inciderit opportunitas. Complures sunt anni, quod me dignatus est in amicorum numerum adscribere, et tamen ut omnes uno ore prædicant, totus adhuc in benevolentia recens est. Bene vale. Datum apud Friburgum Brisgoiæ 19 Novembris, Anno 1533.

Ep. 1261.

Nº. XLIV.

Omniū facile Principi, ac bonarum literarum instauratori, Domino D.

Erasmo Rot. Domino suo honorandissimo, Jo Paungartnerus S. P.

VIR excellentissime, accepi tuas literas, quibus intellexi, missum a me poculum ad te pervenisse. Non erat necessitas, accurate agere gratias. Nam tibi de me optime merito majora debeo, totusque in ære tuo hæreo. Non rem ipsam ponderare velis, quæ parvi est momenti, sed ani-

num tibi serviendi promptum amplecti. Ais in senem beneficium non esse conferendum. At ita ego sum affectus, ut non modo amicos senes, sed fatis etiam defunctos soleam deamare, ac eorum memoria delectari impendio. Zafius, ut scis, erat mihi amicus sincerus. Hujus ego demortui filium, Joannem Ulrichum, nunc curo Patavii meis impensis imbuendum artibus liberalibus, præcipue, quod is præ cæteris liberis forma genitorem referat, uti ad me perlatum est. Quod si æquum est de amicis, qui e vita excefferunt, bene mereri, quanto magis tibi vivo vel seni debeam gratificari? Tuus sum, quantus quantus sum, et tuus ero, quoad vixero. Feliciter vale. Ex Augusta, 25 Junii, Anno 1536,

Tuus ex animo Joannes Paumgartnerus a Paumgarten.

Ep. 383. c. 1773.

Nº. XLV.

Remarks on Erasmus, by Seckendorf.

IN T E R E A dum Concilii spes jam multos teneret, Erasmus enarrationem Psalmi LXXXIV. *Quam dilecta tabernacula*, &c. edidit; et ut semper ad pacem Ecclesiæ suo ingenio propensus erat, ita hoc tempore, cum pacto illo Norimbergensi aliqua inter dissidentes de religione in Germania quies constituta, et spes Concilii tam propinqua esset, liberius, quam antehac ausus erat, cogitationes suas explicavit, qua nempe ratione concordia in religione constitui posset. Ex iis compendium quoddam hic exhibere haud inconveniens esse duxi, non quod promiscue approbem Erasmi consilia, sed ut appareat quæ ejus sententia fuerit, et quam frustra nuper aliquis ex Gallia auctor, Romanæ Ecclesiæ placita omnia ex Erasmo stabilire conatus fuerit. Neque dubitandum est, multos earum partium viros, pietate et doctrina illustres, qui conciliationem controversiarum optabant, et aliquando proponebant, Erasmi ductum secutos esse. — Postquam igitur multa in Psalmum, quem tractat, pie et erudite commentatus esset, nec pauca libere sparsisset, in vitia Clericorum non minus quam Laicorum, circa finem propositum exsequitur. Taxat ex parte Pontificia eos, qui impotenter vociferantur: *Hæresis, hæresis; ad ignem, ad ignem*; et qui in peiorem partem ambigue dicta interpretarentur, et pie dicta per calumniam depravarent; ex altera vero parte illos, qui plausibili Evangelii titulo molirentur, quæ ex diametro pugnant cum Evangelio; utrosque, quod nimium tendant funiculum contentionis, ut utraque pars rupto fune in tergum cadat. Dein præcipuum mali fontem indicat, impios mores hominum, neutros enim culpa carere existimat, et pravo protoplastorum exemplo, frustra alios eam in alios rejicere. Itaque ante omnia suadet, ut *quisque sit quod esse debet*. *Sint Pontifices Christi vicarii, sincero corde gregis Domini curam agentes: sint Principes, divine justitiæ ministri, tanquam Deo reddituri rationem: quem ob hoc magis oportet ab illis timeri, quo liberiores sunt a timore hominum: Magistratus rempublicam bona fide administrent: Monachi perfectionem quam titulo profitentur, moribus præstent: Sacerdotes noctes et dies meditentur in lege Domini, quo possint esse sal populi: qui Laici sunt, sint quod dicuntur; non præeant, sed reverenter obtemperent sacerdotibus;*

² Life of Erasmi. p. 544.

fideliter

fideliter pareant Principum legibus; in suo quisque officio probet suam conscientiam summo illi κατὰ δύναμιν. In genere postea exigit συγκατάθεσιν, accommodatorem mutuam, et ut ponatur ambitio et pertinax vincendi studium. Principium autem esse statuit, quod penitus infixum omnibus esse oporteat, non desciscere temere ab iis, quæ auctoritate majorum tradita sunt, quæque longo seculorum usu consensuque confirmata, nec quicquam omnino novandum esse, nisi aut cogat necessitas, aut insignis invitet utilitas. Hoc quidem, si de ritibus et opinionibus, quæ manifeste non sunt in Scripturis decisæ, quæstio est, etiam Lutherus multoties inculcabat, ut multis exemplis maxime ex actis contra Carolostadium et Fanaticos, comprobatur. Jam ex iis, quæ de controversiarum præcipuis capitibus Erasmus commentatur, sequentia integre abscribi merentur. De libero arbitrio (ita loquitur) spinosa verius est, quam frugifera disputatio: et si quid de hoc quærendum est, in theologicis diatribis sobrie discutiatur. Interim inter nos illud convenire satis est, hominem ex suis viribus nihil posse, et si quid ulla in re potest, totum ejus deberi gratiæ, cujus munere sumus, quicquid sumus, ut in omnibus agnoscamus imbecillitatem nostram, et glorificemus Domini misericordiam. Conveniat inter nos, fidei plurimum esse tribuendum, modo fateamur et hoc, peculiare Spiritus Sancti esse donum, idque multo latius patere, quam vulgus hominum credit, nec omnibus adesse, qui dicunt: Credo Christum pro me passum esse. Concedamus fide justificari, hoc est, purificari corda credentium, modo fateamur, ad consequendam salutem necessaria charitatis opera. Neque enim vera fides potest esse otiosa, quum sit fons et seminarium omnium bonorum operum. Quin potius distinguamus justitiam repurgantem mentis nostræ domicilium, quam recte dixeris innocentiam, et justitiam ornantem et locupletantem etiam bonis operibus. Deus proprie debitor non est, nisi forsitan ex gratuito promisso: quanquam et hoc ipsum, ut præstemus promissi conditionem, illius est munificentiae. Nec tamen rejiciendum est mercedis aut meriti vocabulum, quod Deus, quæ in nobis aut per nos operatur, pro sua bonitate acceptat ac pensat. De verbis nulla sit digladiatio, modo de re conveniat. Nec interim ingerantur auribus imperitiæ multitudinis illa παραδόξα, Nihil refert, qualia sint opera nostra; tantum habeto fidem, et servaberis: Et, homo quicquid agit, nihil aliud quam peccat. Quæ ut in aliquo sensu vera sint, tamen ab imperitis alio rapiuntur, quam expedit. Quemadmodum et illæ voces: Christus pro nostris peccatis dependit. An ille pro nobis mortuus est, ut nos vivamus in peccatis? an potius, ut semel illius sanguine loti abstinemus ab omnibus inquinamentis? mortuus est et resurrexit, ut ipsum imitantes moriamur peccatis, et in vitæ novitatem resurgamus. Pro nobis crucem gestavit; sed idem clamat: Qui non tollit crucem suam quotidie, non est me dignus. Cæterum, qui Dominum suis sceleribus quotidie, quod in ipsis est, crucifigunt, iis mors illius adeo nihil profutura est, ut cessura sit in gravem supplicii accessionem.

Ex his pleraque iisdem prope verbis Lutheri exprimere possemus, licet Erasmus stylum ita temperaverit, ne in scopulos formularum sectæ, cujus partes palam deferere non audebat, manifesto nimis allideretur. — Stulta vero illa jactatio, qua aliquos usos esse scribit, dicentes: *Nihil refert qualia sint opera nostra, tantum habeto fidem et servaberis*, Lutheri non est, sed per calumniam confuitur, omissis quæ orthodoxum sensum satis explanant. Misere porro

porro se torquet vir doctissimus in palliandis et excusandis aliis, quæ Lutherus impugnaverat: Pii, ait, *cujusdam affectus est, credere preces ac bona opera viventium prodesse defunctis, præsertim, si hæc illi, dum viverent, facienda curarunt. Tantum admoneantur, qui funebres pompas ac Missas gloriæ causa instituunt, perdere mercedem suam, ac certius esse lucrum, si quod morientes legant, vivi ac sani in pios usus erogent. At quibus hoc nondum persuasum est, ne obstrepant aliorum simplicitati, sed ipsi tanto benignius sublevent pauperum inopiam, tantoque ferventius incumbant bonis operibus, quo minus credunt defunctos vivorum benefactis juvari.* Si animus auctori fuisset, qui esse debebat, ingenue profiteri potuisset, merum abusum esse, quem ille sub simplicitatis et pii affectus nomine obvelat. Quæ a Lutheranis exigit, alterum quidem satis præstabant, quod ignoscerent errantibus, neque vel hujus vel graviorum etiam errorum causa hostili erga eos animo essent, sua libertate satis contenti; alterum, ut tanto magis bonis operibus incumberent, haud improbabant aut recusabant; sed homines erant, et quam hic ab illis Erasmus poscit benignitatem, vicissim ab aliis merito exspectabant, nempe ut labentibus sibi quoque ignosceretur: interim lapsus suos auxissent, si morum imbecillitati etiam errorem dogmaticum addidissent. De invocatione Sanctorum ita loquitur: *Religiosi item affectus est credere sanctos et sanctas, quos Deus adhuc mortali corpore gravatos tantifecit, ut ad illorum preces Dæmones expulerit, mortuos ad vitam revocaverit, nunc quoque nonnihil apud eum posse. At quibus diversa sedet opinio, pura mente sinceraque fide invocent Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, ne obturbent odiose iis, qui citra superstitionem implorant divorum suffragia. Superstitio, quam fateor in invocatione divorum esse plurimam, coarguenda est prius, ac simplex affectus interdum tolerandus est, etiamsi sit conjunctus cum aliquo errore. Ut nostra vota non sentiant divi, sentit tamen Christus, qui et amat simplices animos: si minus per sanctos, certe pro sanctis dabit nobis, quæ petimus.* Religiosum affectum eo sensu credo dixisse, quem vir, ut ita dicam Latinissimus, non ignorabat; satis enim indicat, superstitionem esse invocationem, quam excusat. Quid enim aliud est, quam excusatio, cum dicit, sanctos nonnihil apud Deum posse, et affectum illum cum aliquo errore conjunctum esse, et interdum tolerari debere? Quanto rectius scapham scapham nominasset? Et quid impediabat Pontifices, ne id facerent, et fermento hoc Ecclesiam purgarent, nisi respectus gloriæ utilitatisque suæ? Et cur hodie, tanta luce non solum a Luthero et Erasmo, sed et ab optimis doctissimisque ex suis, affulgente, easdem superstitiones in gentes remotissimas, quas tanto cum periculo et labore ad-eunt, statim, aut pene prius, quam veram et capitalem Evangelii doctrinam invehunt? Quam parum vero pie Erasmus Christum sperat pro sanctis daturum, quæ per sanctos petuntur? Si enim per sanctos non nisi cum aliqua idololatriæ imitatione petitur, non magis speranda est a Christo propitia exauditio, quam a Deo, ut preces idolis factas sibi attribuat. Videamus jam quæ de imaginibus statuatur. *Qui sævierunt in divorum imagines, non prorsus abs re concitati sunt ad eum zelum, licet immodicum, mea quidem sententia. Nam horribile crimen est idololatria, hoc est, simulacrorum cultus: qui tametsi jam olim sublatus est e moribus hominum, tamen periculum est, ne technis Dæmonum eodem revolvantur incauti. Sed cum statuaria et pictura olim inter liberales artes habita sit tacita* poësis

poësis, plus interdum repræsentans affectibus hominum, quam homo, quamvis facundus, verbis possit exprimere; et Plato agnoscens poësin plurimum habere momenti ad rempublicam bene secusve instituendam, non omnes poëtas submoverit ex illa, quam fingit civitate, sed Homerum tantum, aut Homeri similem, qui Diis ac Deorum filiis attribuit adulteria, puerorum amores, furta, mendacia, impotentes iras, dissidia, aliaque vitia, quæ nemo bonus reipublicæ gubernator ferret in suis civibus, aut frugi paterfamilias in sua uxore, liberis, aut famulis: corrigendum erat, quod per imagines irrepserrat superstitionis, utilitas erat servanda. Utinam omnes omnium ædium parietes haberent vitam Jesu Christi decenter expressam! In templis autem, quemadmodum in Africano Concilio decretum fuit, ne quid recitaretur præter Scripturas Canonicas; ita conveniret nullam esse picturam, nisi cujus argumentum in Scripturis Canonicis contineretur. In peristyllis, porticibus, et ambulacris possent et alia pingi ex humanis historiis desumpta, modo facerent ad bonos mores; stultas vero aut obscenas aut seditiosas tabulas oportuit non solum e templis, verum etiam ab omnibus civitatibus sublatas esse. Et quemadmodum blasphemie genus est, sacras literas ad ineptos ac profanos detorquere jocos, ita gravi pœna digni sunt, qui cum pingunt Sacrarum Scripturarum argumenta, de suo capite miscent ridicula quædam ac sanctis indigna. Si libet ineptire, a Philostrato potius petant argumenta. Quamquam sunt et in Ethnicorum annalibus multa argumenta, quæ idiotarum oculis utiliter exponi possent. Quis vero ad hæc, quæ pleraque cum Lutheri sententia conveniunt, non aliam ab Erasmo exspectet, quam, quæ sequitur, epicrisin? Ergo quibus persuasum est, Divorum imaginibus, quoniam non sentiunt, nihil habendum honoris, fruantur suo sensu; ne tamen obstrepant iis, qui citra superstitionem, sic venerantur imagines, eorum amore, quos repræsentant, quemadmodum nova nupta sponsi absentis amore exosculatur anulum aut strophium ab illo relictum aut missum. Nonne a Protestantibus responderi potuisset: Fruimur merito sensu nostro, qui imaginibus non alium honorem exhibemus, quam ut eas, quæ ad modum ab Erasmo probatum conformatæ sunt, toleremus, aut, ut commodum est, locemus; et, licet improbemus abusum aliorum, non tamen ita illis obstrepimus, quemadmodum obstrepunt, qui gladios, ignes, exilia nobis minantur, et cum possunt, inferunt, qui simplicitatis illius, aut, ut dicere debuisset, superstitionis participes esse nolumus. Quæ denique de affectu Deo placituro conjectat, qui in cultu imaginum non a superstitione, sed ab abundantia quadam amoris proficiscatur, et quæ de amantium ineptiis inferit, talia sunt, propter quæ tanti viri non possum non misereri. Eiusdem frigiditatis sunt, quæ de Reliquiarum cultu subjungit. At mire falsus est, cum scribit: In his Paulus, opinor, concederet, ut in suo quisque sensu acquiescat. Cave credas ullum unquam Apostolorum concessurum fuisse, quæ sub simplicis religiosique affectus specie superstitionis manifestæ rea sunt. Neque rigor Judaicæ disciplinæ, ab Apostolis, quantum salva fide licebat, retentæ, quæ ab omnibus imaginibus abhorrebat, ullam ejus indulgentiæ occasionem tunc ferebat. Recentius est malum iconolatricum, quam ut natales ejus ignorentur. Longum foret, quæ de Confessione in medium contulit, adscribere. Summa est: Ab illis, quibus nondum, ut ait, persuasum est, confessionem sacramentalem horum temporum a Christo esse institutam, servari eam posse, ut salutarem et multis utilitatibus commendabilem, ac multorum seculorum usu comprobata. Sed addit restrictiones, ut non confiteantur homines, nisi lethalia, quæ enumerat,

crimina,

crimina, nempe enormia. *Abfit, inquit, repetendi confessionem superstitio, abfit anxietas numerandi commissæ et circumstantias, &c.* Et paulo post: *Illud omnium caput est, sic instituere vitam, ut non incidamus in ullum crimen lethale: id qui potest, liber est ab onere confitendi.* Hæc et alia non præcipit, sed suadet, et eos qui confessionem renuunt, in suo sensu ad definitionem Concilii usque, relinqui debere putat. De Missa ita statuit, corrigenda esse, quæ irrepperint superstitionum et sordium; retinenda, quæ pia sunt et veneranda; eaque enumerat, quæ Lutherus fere omnia retinuit, *psalmodiam, introitum, doxologiam, preces, recitationes Evangelii et Epistolæ, et symboli Apostolici, orationem Dominicam, Communionem, pacis imperitionem, benedictionem.* Concedit postea imminutionem et remotionem sordidæ turbæ sacerdotum conductitiorum, et ut omittantur *prose*, quas vocat, *indoctæ, Romæ ignotæ*, item preces *Missæ* subjungi solitæ pro pace aut contra pestilentiam, aut pro felici proventu frugum: neque enim tale quid Romanam Ecclesiam agnoscere. In sacello Pontificis non nisi unum esse altare, et unicum sacrum: in multis etiam Ecclesiis Romanam imitantibus non licere privatim sacrificare, duntaxat id temporis, cum summum peragitur sacrum. Omitti etiam posse citra pietatis jacturam, dicit, *organi et modulatæ musicæ usum.* Fatetur, ad superstitionem vergere tot *peculiarioria Missarum argumenta, de spinea corona, de tribus clavis, de præputio Christi, pro navigantibus, peregrinantibus, sterilibus, gravidis, parturientibus, febricitantibus.* His et aliis correctis, non exigendam esse Missam, ut rem pestilentem. Explicat quomodo sacrificium dici possit et *hostia*, quia per mortem Filii Patrem obtestamur pro vivis et mortuis, et quia Deum laudamus. Fatetur, *Communionem, ex instituto Christi, in Missa requiri, sed quo minus id fiat, non stare per sacerdotes, sed per populum.* Hæc etiam hodie, sed frustra, dicunt aliqui, manifestos abusus pulcre incrustantes; quis enim sacerdotem ad missificandum cogit, si non habeat, qui communionem celebrent? Nil nempe, quam invecta opinio de sacrificio propitiatorio, ex opere operato, et inde resultans Cleri sacrificatorii utilitas. Quærit et aliud effugium, quod communio celebrari videatur etiam in Missa solitaria; esse enim, ait, *communionem sacræ doctrinæ, piæ exhortationis, preces, laudis et gratiarum actionis.* Sed hoc nihil ad rem facit, communio enim hæc est perpetua et generalis in omni cœtu piorum absque omni Missa. Desideratur itaque institutio Christi, ratione sacrificii solitarii. Adorationem ita defendit, quia *Christus totus est in Eucharistia*: agnoscit tamen, eum cibi et potus, non adorationis causa, adesse, nec ut ostentetur, aut in publicis pompis circumferatur: hæc enim nequaquam veteris exempli, et plus satis indultum esse affectui populi. Nec præteriri debet quod scribit: *Nullus est tam stolidus, ut humanam Christi naturam adoret pro divina, aut ut panem et vinum adoret pro Christo.* Quoniam autem nemo certus est, an sacerdos vere consecraverit, præter ipsum unum, nullus ibi adorat Christum, nisi sub tacita conditione, et tamen id, quod in Christo proprie adoratur, nusquam non adest. Addit quædam, quibus evincat, ut in omni sacramento, ita etiam in hoc, cum veneratione et nudo capite adstandum esse. Id vero non solum, sed et genuflexionem Lutherani plurimi præstant. Cæterum Christum in spiritu et veritate, ut Deum et hominem, adorant, sicut par et præceptum est, non vero elementa sacramentalia, de quibus nihil tale præcepit, aut exemplum dedit.

Reprehendit postea *Sacramentariorum varias*, ut ipse appellat, *formas*, seu opinionones adversus præsentiam realem, et hanc, cum nihil magis certum in contrarium afferri possit, omnino tenendam esse contendit, ut traditionem Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, quæ statuit verum corpus et sanguinem Christi adesse, et quidem vivum. *Quod si credimus*, ait, *divinam naturam in sepulcro non fuisse separatam ab exanimi corpore Domini; quanto credibilius est, eam non esse separatam a vivo corpore in Sacramento?* Itaque, *si in hoc concordēs essemus, cætera quæ disquiruntur, quomodo sit ibi corpus et sanguis Domini, sub panis substantia, an sub speciebus panis et vini, et quid accadat sumto corpori, et si quæ sunt his similia, poterant in synodo definiri.* Notandum tamen, omnia, quæ ad synodum differt, ejus ipsi generis esse censerī, quæ salva fide, affirmari aut negari, servari aut omitti, possint. Inde de festorum multitudine queritur, et nullum retineri debere suadet, quam cujus argumentum existet in Sacris Literis. Sic festa Conceptionis et Nativitatis B. Virginis, imo et Præsentationis in templo eliminat. Delectum ciborum non nisi ad sanitatem corporis et animi ab Ecclesia inductum esse tradit: excludit itaque meriti opinionem et jejunandi necessitatem, et nullum ob jejunia ab alio vult judicari. Idem, ait, *sentio de cæteris Episcoporum constitutionibus: quæ si piæ sunt, si utiles, si æquæ, ob hoc ipsum servandæ sunt, quod tales sunt, et si displicet legis vocabulum, amplectamur eas, ut salubria consilia.* Tandem adversus Anabaptistas pugnat, qui baptismum infantium improbant, et communionem bonorum reducunt. Epilogum addit memorabilem, mixtis non sine artificio suasionibus et minis. *Quid nobis felicius, si positis dissidiis, concordēs versemur in domo Domini? agit hoc summo studio Carolus Cæsar: agit idem Romanorum, Hungariæ, Bohemiæ Rex Ferdinandus, Princeps singulari pietate præditus. Nec Christianissimus Gallorum Rex in hoc negotio suo nomini non est responsurus. Nec Anglorum Rex obliviscetur, se non ita pridem Defensoris Fidei Catholicæ speciosum meruisse titulum. Qui Clementis Pontificis ingenium propius norunt, pollicentur, illum ad æquissimas condiciones descendurum, modo sarciatur Ecclesiæ pax. Nec defutura est eruditorum Cardinalium æquitas. Res auspice Christo feliciter cessura est, si cæteri quoque Principes ac Civitates huc intendant animum. Jam nimium diu rixis indultum est: vel delassati quæramus concordiam. Si Domini lenitas nos provocat ad licentiam, quæ ad pœnitentiam debebat invitare, verendum est, ne furor fiat læsa sæpius patientia, et quod de Judæis scripsit Paulus: perveniat in nos ira Dei in finem. Ne Regum quidem mansuetudine abuti consultum est. Non ignorant illi vires suas, sed pro sua clementia, mollioribus, si fieri possit, remediis huic malo mederi malunt, quam cauteriis aut sectionibus. Fortasse nos credimus dormire Cæsarem: at is plane vigilat in hoc negotio: lentior est, sicut oportet Principem summa potentia præditum non esse præcipitem in rebus gerendis; sed tamen ille tandem perficiet, quicquid animo destinavit semel. Regis Ferdinandi bonitas et animus plane philosophicus, qualem in Principe requirit Plato, non meretur contemptum; sed abundantiorē reverentiam, ac religiosiorem obedientiam. Nunquam habuere felicem exitum ausus Cyclopici et inconsulta temeritas. — Ergo si moderatis consiliis, affectibusque sedatis incubuerimus ad sarciendam Ecclesiæ concordiam, fiet, quod vaticinatur Esaias: et sedebit populus meus in pulchritudine pacis, et in tabernaculis fiduciæ, et in*

requie opulenta: *jamque simul omnes uno ore gratulantes nobis invicem dicemus: Quam amabilia tabernacula tua, Domine virtutum!*

Hæc concordiae meditata Argentoratensibus Theologis aliquatenus placuisse, inde colligitur, quod libellum Erasmi in linguam Germanicam translatus, et typis editum per Germaniam sparserunt. Molestè id tulit Wolfgangus Musculus, antea Argentoratensis, tunc Augustanus Ecclesiastes, sed cum Zuingliani sentiens, apud quos tandem Bernæ ministerio functus decessit. Epistolam ejus ad Bucerum exhibet Scultetus. In ea, omnem cum Pontificiis concordiae spem abjiciendam esse contendit. Quamvis autem Erasmus in tractandis, quæ exposui, capitibus, de Pontificis et Ecclesiæ auctoritate diserte non egerit (sicut et alia quædam odiosa, v. g. de cœlibatu Cleri, et de Purgatorio prætervectus est) Ecclesiæ tamen unitatem ad salutem necessariam esse duxit. De illa ejus thesi, hæc ad Bucerum scribens, monet Musculus: *Video Erasmus totum in hoc esse, ut ostendat extra Ecclesiæ Christi unitatem salvari neminem: quæ unitas Ecclesiæ si ita accipienda, ut referatur ad externam Ecclesiam, quid, quæso, faciemus parti nostræ, in qua tot fideles jam annos aliquot ab hoc seculo migrarunt? An forte perierunt, quia cum externa illa Romana Ecclesia unanimes non fuerunt? Placeret hoc Eccio. Tibi vero non placere certo scio. Non negamus extra corpus Christi, seu Ecclesiam Christi, non esse salutem. Cum vero istud credamus, non respicimus ad externam aliquam Ecclesiam, certo loco collectam, sed ad eam, quæ in electis est, cujus caput Christus est. Quemadmodum enim fide membra Christi constituimur, ita et fidelium per Spiritum Dei coordinatione copulatur, et regitur Ecclesia illa Christi unita, sanctificata et mundata, extra quam non est salus. Non, quod illa salutem det, sed quod caput habeat Christum, qui salvator est corporis sui unus, ex quo vita et salus in membra diffluit, quo privatum esse capite, omnis salutis est expertem esse.*

Edidit autem paulo post Antonius Corvinus dissertationem, *Quatenus expediat editam recens Erasmi de sancienda Ecclesiæ concordia opinionem sequi, tantisper dum apparetur Synodus.* Ex libro Corvini, quem nondum vidi, nihil afferre possum, sed Præfationem Lutheri Manuscriptam nactus, non possum lectoribus præcipua ejus contenta invidere. Laudat Corvini librum ob elegantiam et modestiam. Fatetur non esse ingenii sui et moris in re tali tam placide et leniter agere, tanta præsertim in collisione, quæ inter se et Theologos Erasmi versetur; vincere tamen velle seipsum, et posita vehementia scribere. Credere quidem Erasmus forte et discipulos ejus bono animo consulere velle rebus, ne in nervum erumpant, sed rationem concordiae, quam proponant, sequi non licere, salva conscientia. "*Alia est enim (scribit) concordia fidei, alia charitatis. Secundum charitatem nihil est ex parte nostra unquam omissum, quod non sit plenissima voluntate oblatum, pro pace et concordia vel servanda, vel resarcienda. Omnia facere, pati, servare paratissimi semper fuimus, quæcunque salva fide præcipi, injungi et inferri possent ab adversariis. Id quidem et opere ipso et fructibus, perpetuo tenore ostendimus. Nunquam enim eorum sanguinem sitivimus, multo minus fudimus. Nihil eis nocuimus aut rapuimus. Quin pro eis contra seditiosos ac fanaticos spiritus strenue semper stetimus, fecimus, et laboravimus, atque (ut pii et boni, imo et multi inter ipsos fatentur) plus effecimus quam ipsi,*

pro

pro ipsorum statu conservando, unde et majore et acerbioris odio nos ipsos oneravimus. Nam spiritus isti seditiosi et furiosi multo clementius Papistas oderunt, quam Lutheranos: cum interim non cessent Papistæ nostrum sanguinem fundere et haurire, deinde ferro, igne, aqua et omni furoris genere nos persequi, nullam ob causam, nisi quod contra conscientiam non possumus humanas ipsorum traditiones Deo et verbo ejus æquare, vel potius super Deum et cultum ejus exaltare. Deus igitur hic judicabit, an ex parte ipsorum vel nostra stet, quo minus inter nos fervetur concordia. Nam gloria nostra hæc est, testimonium lætissimum securæ conscientiae, quod concordiam quantum ad charitatem attinet, summis studiis quæsimus, oravimus, efflagitavimus, etiam fuso valde multo nostrorum sanguine, et toleratis infinitis crudelitatibus et odiis adversariorum. Verum concordiam fidei seu doctrinæ frustra quærit Erasmus, eo consilio, ut mutuum cedamus et condonemus: non tantum, quod adversarii prorsus nihil cedunt, nec cedere volunt, ^a quia potius rigidius et obstinatius nunc omnia defendunt, quam unquam antea, etiam talia ausi nunc exigere, quæ ante Lutherum ipsimet damnaverant, et reprobaverant; verum etiam, quod et nos non possumus ea probare, quæ manifeste cum Scripturis Divinis pugnant, et quæ prorsus nullum (ut dicitur) medium admittunt. Nam doctrina fidei non luctatur cum carne et sanguine, sicut charitas, quæ cum hominibus et eorum vitiis exercetur, tolerandis, corrigendis, emendandis, qua mutari possunt, et ipsa spem habet perseverantem usque ad mortem convertendi peccatoris; sed luctatur cum spiritibus nequitiae, et desperatis, quorum malitia est obstinata in æternum, sine ulla spe convertendi aut mutandi animi: ideo inter fidem seu doctrinam Christi et Dæmonum voluntates nulla pax, nulla concordia, nulla amicitia tentari debet. Ipse est homicida et pater mendacii, et tam non potest non odisse fidei doctrinam, quam mendacem et nocendi voluntatem ^b non mutare. Quæ est enim conventio Christi et Belial? Quæ societas lucis et tenebrarum? At Papistæ, inquires, doctrinam Christi æque jactant, et Dæmonum errores nolunt docere videri. Jactant sane, sed ex fructibus arbor cognoscitur. Ac ne hic disputem prolixè, id satis constat, nihil eos curare, quod certo et solide doceant pro firmandis conscientiis. Una est eorum vociferatio: Ecclesia, Ecclesia, Ecclesia. Et Ecclesiam vocant homines etiam impios, qui supra et contra Scripturam sentire et statuere possint, idque auctoritate divina. Hanc eorum vocem et Erasmus confirmat, qui ubique Ecclesiam sequi sese promittit, et interim omnia dubia et incerta docet. Sed si Ecclesiam hoc vocare debemus, quod illi Ecclesiam esse vociferantur; deinde credere, quod illa Ecclesia eorum facit et dicit: quid opus est Divina Scriptura? cur reprehenduntur vitia? cur periclitamur confessione veritatis? quando brevissimo compendio et otiose dormientes possumus salvi fieri, tantum sic dicendo: Credo Papistas esse Ecclesiam, et credo veritatem esse, quicquid Papistæ statuunt. Sed quid facies piis et bonis animabus? Quæ Scripturæ auctoritate captæ, ut verbo veritatis divinæ, non possunt credere, quod manifeste contra Scripturam docetur? Istisne dicemus, Audiendus est Papa, ut pax constet et con-

^a quia: Perhaps quin.

^b non mutare: He would have said *mutare*.

cordia, aut incertæ sunt relinquendæ, suspensæ interim sententiæ, donec aliud Papa decreverit cum suis? At sint alii tam securi, et suæ salutis tam negligentes, qui volent. Certe animus Deum timens, et serio metuens mortem æternam, et cupiens æternam vitam, non potest incertis et dubiis doctrinis quietari. Unde et in meo *Servo Arbitrio* in Erasmi Theologia reprehendi istam Scepticorum sententiam. Necessè est enim in Ecclesia, certum dogma, certum verbum Dei haberi, cui certo et secure possimus credere, et in eadem certitudine fidei et vivere et mori. Quam certitudinem quia et Erasmus parum curat, et Papistæ non docent (nec enim possunt, cum eam non intelligant prorsus) sed oderunt et persequuntur; coire nulla concordia in fide et doctrina potest, quia Ecclesia hac certa fidei anchora carere non potest, et extra seu supra verbum Dei nulla fides subsistere potest. Ideo quicquid Papistæ vel Erasmus hic vel docent vel consulunt, frustra et inutiliter consulunt. Conscientiæ istis remediis et consiliis humanis juvari non possunt neque volunt, sed vocem Sponsi sui cupiunt audire, et vocem pastoris et Magistri sui unici. Ad vocem aliorum dicunt; hoc, quia de Scripturis auctoritatem non habet, eadem facilitate contemnitur, qua probatur. Non loquor jam de controversiis in Scripturis agitis, sed de his, quæ extra Scripturas et contra Scripturas ab adversariis defenduntur et exiguntur per vim et omne genus furoris. Talia non sunt hæretica (hæreses enim ex Scripturis fingunt spiritus impii) sed prorsus profana, et certissime Diabolica. Quare tutius Erasmus a Theologia abstineret, et pro suo ingenio in aliis rebus eloquentiam suam exerceret. Theologia requirit animum serio et simpliciter verbum Dei quærentem et amantem — Et satis magna miseria experti sumus sub Papatu, quam variis ventis doctrinæ agitati simus, dum extra Scripturas proprios humana voluntate articulos finximus, donec etiam cucullos Monachorum adoraverimus, qua idololatria omnium gentium portenta plane vicimus. Nam qui clamant, multos credi ab Ecclesia articulos, qui in Scripturis non habeantur, suis aguntur furiis, aliam sibi fingentes Ecclesiam, scilicet Satanæ synagogam, et nomine sanctæ Ecclesiæ, virginis et sponsæ Christi, impudentissimis mendaciis scortum et lenam Diaboli ornantes et venditantes. Sed de hac re, si Dominus otium et vires concesserit, cum de Ecclesia scripsero, latius disputabo. Interim durante regno Diaboli, non est quod pacem et concordiam speremus in doctrina. Una tantum via est, scilicet, patientia in charitate Christi, ut illos sinamus furere, et nos quieto spiritu eorum odia et malitiam sustineamus.” —

Hæc tam solida et pia sunt, ut etiam illorum conscientiam excitare possint, qui ferventissimo in Protestantium doctrinam odio accensi sunt. At nostratibus eo proficient, ut videant, post excultam licet per tot annos a Lutheri tempore Theologiam et Philosophiam, inventasque ab utraque parte novas et accuratiores disputandi methodos et artes, nihil tamen afferri facile posse ad simplicis veritatis assertionem, et defendendam Reformationis necessitatem magnopere pertinens, quod Lutherus non viderit et scripserit. Sufficere vel hæc una præfatiuncula ejus posset ad formandum de omnibus conciliationum et concordie moliminibus iudicium.

Nº. XLVI.

A Letter from Mr. Professor Burcard, with a copy of the Will of Erasmus, &c.

TESTAMENTUM Erasmi ex autographo, quantum potui accuratissime cum omnibus abbreviaturis descripsi, et idem sigillum, quod in autographo occurrit, *Terminus* affixi; præterea inscriptionem Notarii publici, uti in autographi averſa parte ab utroque latere invenitur, adjeci.

De sigillo Testamento affixo hæc sunt notanda:

Primum; non referre illud imaginem annuli Erasmi, licet hoc Erasmus expresse dicat, Forsitan voluit, cum hæc scriberet, annulum ceræ imprimere, et cum ille ad manus non eſſet, alterum (quod in prioribus meis per errorem Inventarii nostri Academici *plumbeum* vocavi, cum sit *argenteum*) argenteum scilicet sigillum apposuit.

Uti istud sigillum, sine omni dubio, imaginem Termini exhibet, sic quod ad formam illius externam et materiam attinet, sigillum ipsum est argenteum, cui ab ima parte Terminus est insculptus, a superiore parte infixum habet manubrium osseum, majore parte truncatum.

Imago in annulo expressa diversa est ab imagine sigilli argentei. Erasmus tamen utramque imaginem Terminus referre sibi persuasit. Vide ejus Epistolam ad Valdesium, tom. X. c. 1758.

Erasmus, quum ignoraret quid imago in gemma sibi vellet, ab Italo quodam rerum antiquarum curioso audivit eſſe Terminus.

Et Italus ille, et Erasmus (uti certe nos omnes) gemmam istam antiquam crediderunt. Fieri tamen potest ut Italus in conjectura sua de Termino falsus sit. Nondum evictum est eſſe Terminus. Video quidem faxum; sed operimentum capitis scrupulum injicit. Cl. Birrius Serapidem referre existimat. Ego nihil audeo definire.

Sigillum ergo argenteum cum expressiore forma Termini confici curavit Erasmus. —

Gemma annuli est lapis coloris rubentis, sardonius, ^c *Carniol* Germanice, ab Erasmo, ut videtur, in usum annuli signatori, auro revinctus.

Cæterum in vulgus notum est Erasmus hic Basileæ primo in ædibus Frobenianis, in monte divi Petri sitis, *Zum Sessel*, commoratum; postea Friburgo Brisgavorum reducem in ædes Hieronymi Frobenii, *Zum Lufft am Baumleim*, divertisse. Visitur hodie ibi, cum ejus imagine (non tamen Holbenii manu facta) cubiculum Erasmi; sed totum mutatum, et ad morem seculi constructum.

In Montfaucon, tom. I. p. 136. Nº. 19. there is a Head not unlike to that on the gemmof Erasmus, and it is there called a *Jupiter Terminalis*.

^c a. Cornelian.

The Will of Erasmus.

IN NOMINE SANCTAE TRINITATIS.

^d **D**ESIDERIUS Erasmus Roterodamus, Fretus diplomatibus Cæsaris, summi Pontificis, ac Magnifici Magistratus inclytæ civitatis Basileensis, hoc meo chirographo renovo supremam voluntatem meam, quam quocumque titulo firmam ac ratam haberi volo, irritum voco si quid alias testatus sum.

Principio certus me nullum habere legitimum hæredem, præstantissimum virum D. Bonifacium Amerbachium omnium facultatum mearum hæredem instituo; exequutores vero Hieronymum Frobenium et Nicolaum Episcopium.

Bibliothecam meam jampridem vendidi D. ^e Joanni a Lasco Polono juxta syngrapham super hoc contractu inter nos confectam. Non tradentur libri, nisi hæredi numeret ducentos florenos. Quod si ille pactum remiserit, aut me prior e vita excesserit, liberum esto hæredi de libris statuere quod velit.

D. Ludovico Bero lego horologium aureum. Beato Rhenano cochleare aureum cum fuscina aurea.

M. Petro Vetereo centum quinquaginta coronatos aureos. Tantundem Philippo Montano. Lamberto famulo, si mihi morienti adfuerit, ducentos florenos aureos, nisi ego vivus ei hanc summam numeravero. D. Joanni Brisgoo lagenam argenteam. D. Paulo Volzio florenos aureos centum. Sigismundo Gelenio ducatos centum et quinquaginta. Joanni Erasmo Frobenio duos annulos quorum alter non habet gemmam, alter gemmam subviridem Gallis dictam Turcois. Hieronymo Frobenio lego omnes vestes meas omnemque supellectilem laneam, lineam et ligneam, præterea poculum quod habet insignia Cardinalis Mogontini. Uxori ejus anulum qui habet imaginem mulieris in tergum respicientis. Nicolao Episcopo poculum cum operculo, quod in pede habet versiculos insculptos. Justinæ uxori ejus duos annulos, quorum alter habet Adamantem, alter Turcois minorem.

M. Conrado Goclenio poculum argenteum quod in summo habet imaginem Fortunæ. Si quis legatariorum interciderit, quod legatum erat in hæredis arbitrio esto.

Hæres, præter ea quæ ipsi per syngrapham designavi, sibi accipiet quicquid superfuerit poculorum aut annulorum, aut rerum similium, ad hæc numismata insignia et Lusitanos cruciatis, Regis Poloniæ ac Severini Boneri faciem exprimentia, aliaque his similia. Præterea ducatos omnes duplices et quadru-

^d Life of Erasmi. p. 577.

^e In Bibliotheca Emdana, nonnulli libri reperiuntur ex bibliotheca Erasmi, quam totam Joannes a Lasco, juxta pactum cum Erasmo initum, ducentis florenis sibi coemit, et nonnullos ex iis Jo. a Lasco dono dedit Alberto Hardenberg, in quibus propria manus scriptione Erasmus testatur: *Sum Erasmi, nec muto dominum.* Hæseri Biblioth. Class. VII. Fasc. ii. p. 287.

plices. Pecuniam apud Conradum Goclenium depositam, illi in Brabantia dispensandam relinquet, quemadmodum ei mandavi. Si quid apud Erasmus Schetum erit reliquum, ab eo repetet, eamque pecuniam ac reliquam omnem quæ superfuerit, suo arbitrio et ex consilio exequutorum distribuet in usus pauperum, ætate aut valetudine infirmorum. Item in puellas nupturas, in adolescentes bonæ spei, breviter quoscunque subsidio dignos judicarint.

Hanc extremam voluntatem meam, quo plenior sit fides, propria manu descripsi, ac peculiare annuli mei sigillum Terminum affixi Basileæ, in ædibus Hieronymi Frobenii duodecimo die Februarii, anno a natali Dominico Millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo sexto.

On the back of the Will.

A N N O a Christo nato millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo sexto, Indictione nona, die decima quarta Februarii, hora quasi tertia pomeridiana, in ædibus honesti et circumspecti Domini Hieronymi Frobenii Typographi et civis Basileensis, inque superiori aula ejusdem domus, constitutus coram me Notario publico et fide digno, testibus subscriptis, clarissimus et omnium eruditissimus vir Dⁿ. Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus, licet corpore non admodum firmo, sanus tamen mente, hanc chartam clausam in manu habens, in qua dicebat ultimam suam voluntatem sua manu conscriptam contineri, quam jure testamenti, vel codicillorum donationis causa mortis vel cujuscunque alterius voluntatis, omni meliori via, modo et forma, quo efficacius posset, valere volebat, hæredem nominans et instituens ornatissimum Dⁿ. Bonifacium Amerbachium Legum Doctorem, Executores vero egregios viros Dⁿ. Hieronymum Frobenium et Nicolaum Episcopium, Typographos et cives Basileenses, qui omnes præsentis, munera injuncta benevole acceptantes sese ea omnia in præsentis charta contenta bona fide observaturos et exequuturos sancte promittebant † quare nunc in prædictorum fidem, meam tanquam publici Notarii attestationem et subscriptionem requireret, veritati testimonium perhibiturus subscripsi. Acta sunt hæc Anno Domini, Indictorum, die, hora, loco et aliis præscriptis, Regnante invictissimo Carolo Quinto Romanorum Imperatore semper augusto, &c. Anno Imperii sedecimo. Præsentibus eximiis et eruditis viris D^{no}. Hieronymo Frobenio, Nicolao Episcopo, Sigismundo Gelenio et Lamberto Coomanno testibus ad præmissa specialiter vocatis et rogatis.

Adelbertus Salandronius, vulgo Salzmann, Sacris Apostolica et Imperiali auctoritatibus Notarius Juratus sic audivit et suapte manu

Br.

In an opposite column.

† **P** R Æ T E R E A tametsi Juris communis sit, ut posteriore testamento perfecto, priora tollantur, tamen si et in quantum opus est renovatione, si qua ante a se quomodocunque vel quandocunque conscripta sunt, vigore

vigore non solum juris communis, sed et diplomatum a Pontifice, Cæsare ac Magistratu Basileensi concessorum, per omnia et singula, ut hac scheda continentur vel renovata vel mutata volens, et si quæ aliter constituisset, conceptis verbis revocans, in hac scheda sua manu scripta et sigillo subsignata suam ultimam voluntatem contineri dicens, quam in vim ultimæ voluntatis qualiscunque, aut si sic subsistere non possit in vim donationis etiam inter vivos mediante insinuatione et traditione facta qualitercunque aut quandocunque, omni meliori modo, via fortiore ut supra valere et inviolabiliter observari vult. Testibus ut supra prædictis. S.

A. Salzman Notar.

Nº. XLVII.

A letter of Erasmus to Schwebelius, a Lutheran Divine.

TABELLIO meus properantior fuit ad reditum, quam volebam. Nam R. tuæ D. literas potissimum exspectabam. Fortassis hic hærebo diutius quam vellem. R. D. Episcopus Augustensis scribit se huc proprium missurum famulum; per eum exspectabo literas tuas. Si Cæsar minis belli terret adversarios, non possum non laudare prudentiam. Sin serio ^f expectat bellum, nollem esse sinistra avis. ^g Sic inhorrescit mihi animus, quoties rerum faciem animo contueor, quam arbitror futuram, si semel ad arma ventum fuerit, adeo malum hoc late sparsum est. Fateor summam esse Cæsaris potentiam, sed non omnes nationes hoc nomen agnoscunt ^h certis conditionibus, ut imperent verius quam pareant. Adde tot profectionibus exhaustas nunc ipsius ditiones, belli incendium jam excitatum in Frisia nobis vicina, cujus Princeps profiteri dicitur Evangelium Lutheri, ⁱ ejus etiam sunt multæ civitates inter Orientales et Danos. Hinc catena malorum porrigitur ad Helvetios. Jam si Cæsar pro sua pietate præ se ferat animum ex Pontificis arbitrio gesturum omnia, periculum est, ne non ita multos habiturus sit sibi faventes. Adde quod indies exspectatur Turcarum incursus, cujus potentiam vix oppresserimus, etiamsi concordēs auxilia nostra in unum contulerimus. Porro quid sit belligerare invito milite, declaravit Romæ excidium, et nuper res apud Viennam gestæ. Non dubito, quin optimi Principis animus propendeat ad pacem, clementiam et tranquillitatem, sed nescio quo fato, præter illius animum, nobis bellum e bello feritur. Quam diu, quam misere vexata Gallia? quam miseriùs afflicta Italia? ubi novum etiam bellum intruduit. Nunc eo res spectare videtur, ut ^k urbis maxima pars sanguine misceatur: atque, ut est anceps omnium bellorum alea, metuendum est, ne tumultus hic tendat ad subversionem totius Ecclesiæ; præsertim cum vulgus persuasum habeat, hoc negotium non geri nisi auctore Pontifice, maxima ex parte per Episcopos et Abbates. Atque adeo vereor ne Cæsar ipse non

^f expectat: Perhaps expectat.
agnoscunt, nisi certis.

^g Sic: Perhaps Sed.
ⁱ ejus: Read cujus.

^h agnoscunt certis: Perhaps
^k urbis: Read orbis.
fit

sit prorsus abfuturus a periculo, quod ^l omne avertant Superi. Novi et execror eorum protervitatem, qui sectis præsumunt ac favent: sed magis spectandum, quid postulet totius orbis tranquillitas, quam quid mereatur illorum improbitas. Nec usque adeo desperandum est de statu Ecclesiæ: fuit olim longe majoribus jactata ^m procellis sub Arcadio et Theodosio. Quis fuit orbis status? Eadem civitas habebat Arianos, Paganos, et Orthodoxos. In Africa furebant Donatistæ et Circumcelliones multis in locis. Adhuc ⁿ vigilabat Manichæorum insania, et Marcionis virus, præter incursiones Barbararum gentium; et tamen in tantis dissidiis, imperator, citra sanguinis effusionem, habenas rerum moderabatur, et paulatim hæresium monstra refecabat. Ipsum tempus interdum adfert remedium immedicabilibus malis. Si certis conditionibus sectæ finerentur, ut dissimulantur Bohemi, grave quidem fateor malum esse, sed bello, et tali bello lenius. Hoc rerum statu nusquam esse malim, quam in Italia, sed alio trahunt Fata. ^o Sed trahant, quo velint, modo non distrahant a consortio Columbæ. Audio quosdam agere apud Cæsarem, qui mihi non admodum faveant. Friburgi, 18 Augusti. Anno 30. Scripsi ex tempore, tabellio urgebat. Ignosce.

Centuria Epistolarum ad Joannem Schwebelium, Ecclesiarum Ducatus Bipontini Præsidentem. Pag. 144.

N^o. XLVIII.

A letter of Erasmus to Zuinglius.

SALUTEM. Optime Zuingli! grata mihi fuit tuæ epistolæ confabulatio. Rumor ad nos allatus est, etiam tertium illum Augustinensem exustum postridie Visitationis, nam pridie ejus diei exusti sunt ^q duo. Quorum mortem an deplorare debeam, nescio. Certe summa et inaudita constantia mortui sunt. Scio pro Christo mori gloriosum esse. Nunquam defuit piis afflictio: sed affliguntur et impii; et πολύτεχνος est ille, qui se subinde transfigurat in angelum lucis; et rarum est donum discretio spirituum.

Lutherus proponit quædam ænigmata in speciem absurda: omnia opera sanctorum esse peccata, quæ ^r indigna ignoscantur Dei misericordia; liberum arbitrium esse nomen inane; sola fide justificari; hominem prope nihil ^s ad rem facere. De his contendere, quomodo velit intelligi Lutherus, non video quem fructum afferat. Deinde video in plerisque illi addictis miram pervicaciam. Et in Lutheri scriptis quantum ^t male dicuntur, sæpe præter rem. Ista me cogunt subdubitare de

^l Omne: Read omen.

^m Or perhaps — procellis. Sub Arcadio --- quis fuit, &c.

ⁿ Perhaps: — Circumcelliones. Multis in locis adhuc vigeat Manichæorum insania, —

^o Sed: Perhaps this word should be struck out: Trabant quo velint.

^p This remarkable letter is plainly an hasty composition, written *currente calamo*.

^q Bruxellæ hoc accidit Calendis Julii, 1523. Vide Sleidanum, lib. iv. et Henr. Pantaleonis Historiam Martyrum, p. 38.

^r Perhaps indignis.

^s ad rem may be right; yet I have some doubt whether it should not be *ad fidem*, or *ad salutem*.

^t Perhaps quantum maledicentiæ!

spiritu illorum, quem, ob causam cui faveo, velim esse sincerum. Nullum monitorem ferunt: ^v jure moniti, se referunt in partem diversam, ac involvunt hominem quavis occasione.

Appellas me ^x contutorem. Obsecro, Tu quid velles me facere? Adhuc quæ scripsi, ^y labore scripsi; et sicubi sum blandior, non prodo veritatem Evangelicam, sed assero ^z quæ licet. De hoc ^a Pontifice ^b comparavi bonam quandam spem. Nunc vereor ne me fallat. Et tamen hunc admonui officii sui, blandius quidem, sed ita credebam expedire. Scripsi illi privatim ^c prolixam epistolam liberrime: nihil respondet. Vereor ne sit offensus. Eam si legisses, diceres me non esse blandum, quum se dat occasio. Et liberior essem, si viderem me profecturum. Dementia est, Tibi perniciem accersere, si nulli prodis.

Ego florentissimam ^d regionem reliqui, ne miscerer negotio Pharisaico. Nam alia lege non licuisset illic vivere. Et ea est valetudo mea, ut non possim quovis loco vivere. Pontificia tyrannis ^e his placet, quibus displicet Lutherus. Episcopos expatribus factos Principes profanos, et cum Monarchis colludere, quis non videt, quis non dolet? Hæc mihi non uno loco dicta sunt. Quæ nunc aguntur, video recta ad tumultum tendere: ejus finis qui sit futurus, nescio. Mundus est plenus pessimis. Hi demum ^f erumpunt excitata rerum tempestate. Satis admonui Episcopos, satis Principes, vel in libello, *De Principe*; homo nullius auctoritatis. Quid me velles facere præterea? Etiam si vitam contemnerem, non video quid esset insuper faciendum.

Tu in nonnullis dissentis a Luthero: dissentit et Œcolampadius. An ergo propter illius doctrinam objiciam me meosque libros periculis? Omnia recusavi, quæ mihi hoc nomine offerebantur, ut adversus illum scriberem. A Pontifice, a Cæsare, a Regibus, a Principibus, a doctissimis et carissimis amicis huc provocor. Et tamen certum est, me non scribere, aut ita scribere, ut mea scriptio non sit placitura Phariseis.

Non est opus ut testibus citatis tibi jus asseras admonendi mei. Eruditorum admonitio mihi semper fuit gratissima. Œcolampadius proposuerat quædam disputare, jamque schedas prodiderat. Jussus est in aliud tempus prorogare: nunc permissum est disputare, quum volet. Vir optimus est, sed impatiens monitoris, quamvis amici. Scripsit ad illum Lutherus, *sibi narratum, illum enarrare Jesaiam; me vehementer obstitisse*: quum nemo magis

^v jure — occasione. This is obscure.

^x contutorem. It should be *contatorem*, that is *cunctatorem*.

^y labore: Read *libere*. The honest man who hath published these letters, was very little of a critic, to let such things pass, without attempting to mend them.

^z quæ: Perhaps *qua*; though *quæ* is not much amiss.

Hadriano, vi.

^b He should have said *comparaveram*, or rather *conceperam*.

^c It is *Ep. 649*.

^d Forte, Brabantiam, ubi, post reditum ex Anglia, in aula Caroli, postea Imperatoris, aliquantulum temporis transigit.

^e his placet: Read *displicet*, or *nec his placet*; that is, *displicet etiam iis quibus Lutherus displicet*.

^f erumpunt is what I would not alter; but perhaps it should be *erumpent*.

faveat Œcolampadio. Addit, *mibi non multum tribuendum in his quæ sunt Spiritus.* Hoc quid sit, non intelligo. Adjicit, *⁸ me veluti Moſen eduxiſſe Iſraëlitas ex Ægypto, cæterum moriturum in campeſtribus.* Utinam ipſe ſit Joſua, qui perducat omnes in teram promiſſionis.

^h *Expoſtulation* Hutteni non eſt reddita, niſi poſtquam jam eſſet vulgata multis exemplaribus, et ambiret apographos. Ego illi non invideo tuorum civium favorem. Miror tamen quo nomine faveant. Tanquam Lutherano? Nemo magis officit cauſæ Evangelicæ. Ob bonas literas? Nemo æque nocet bonis literis. Hic ille libellus ſcriptus ſine cauſa in amicum, multam invidiam conciliabit nomini Germanico. Quid enim barbarius, quam tot fictis criminibus inceſſere amicum bene cupientem ipſi, et de ipſo bene meritum? Scio illum inſtructum alieno fuiſſe, ac hoc fuiſſe per quosdam agitatum, ut ab amicis meis extorqueretur pecunia. De cæteris illius factis non diſputo: ſatis nota ſunt. Sed amicitiam colunt ⁱ veram Piratæ. Reſpondimus illi. ^k *jure* non reſpondimus, ſed impudentem calumniam a nobis depulimus. Magis me movet cauſa Evangelica ac bonarum literarum, quam mea injuria. Nihil moror illorum amicitiam, qui tali delectantur ingenio.

Nulli non perſuaſum eſt hoc, quicquid iſthic habet furoris, te auctore nactum eſſe, utcumque tu tergiverſaris. Aliquid mali ille poteſt adferre veſtræ civitati, boni nihil. Porro quod ^l auxerit maledicum libellum, ipſe narravit Œcolampadius. Quanquam et illius video ingenium: ille non deſinet furere, non tam meo malo, quam bonarum literarum. ^m Quod ſi non deſinet fragili quærens illudere * * * illudet ſolido. Tu curabis hominem coërcendum, ſi putes hoc intereſſe et politioris literaturæ, et cauſæ Evangelicæ, et nominis Germanici, quandoquidem hodie vulgus Germanos vocat, quicumque Germanice loquuntur.

Œcolampadius heri diſputavit, diſputaturus denuo proximo dominico. Lutherus ſcripſit ad Œcolampadium, *mibi non multum eſſe tribuendum in his, quæ ſunt Spiritus.* Velim hoc ex te diſcere, doctiſſime Zuingli, quis ſit ille ſpiritus? Nam videor mihi fere omnia docuiſſe, quæ docet Lutherus, niſi quod non tam atrociter, quodque abſtinui a quibuſdam ænigmatibus et paradoxis, unde cupiam plurimum denique fructum ⁿ * * * ſed ego malo fruc-

^g This is a witty ſaying of Lu her's; and the reply of Eraſmus is not amiſs.

^h Libelli titulus eſt: *Ulrichi ab Hutten cum Eraſmo Roterodamo Preſbytero Theologo Expoſtulation.* Inprimis in hoc libro inquit, Cur Eraſmus, qui Rom. Pontificem paulo ante in ordinem redigendum cum ipſo et reliquis ſociis decreverit, nunc retro actus cum hoſtili parte ſocietatem inierit?

ⁱ *veram*: Perhaps etiam.

^k *jure*: This is obſcure. Perhaps *injuriis*; or rather *re non reſpondimus.* re, in reality, *recapſe.*

^l Eraſmus wrote *auxeris*, not *auxerit*.

^m It ſhould be thus:

*Quod ſi non deſinet,
fragili quærens illidere dentem,*

Offendet ſolido,

Though Eraſmus, citing from memory, might ſay, *Illidet ſolido.*

ⁿ Perhaps *fructum* provenire; ſed, &c.

tum magis præsentem. Valde gravat istos ° invidiæ, quod vos præbetis palam copiam omnibus contradicendi. Precor ut Dominus Jesus dirigat ac bene fortunet spiritum vestrum. Quod Hilarius noster dixit, per te potuisse premi libellum Hutteni, ex suo animo dixit, non ex meis mandatis. Bene vale. Basileæ P Pridie Kalendas Septembris. 1523.

Epistolæ Reformatorum, quas edidit Fueslinus. A. 1742. p. 9.

Nº. XLIX.

A letter of Erasmus to the Faculty of Paris.

SALUTEM. Magnifici Doctores et fratres honorandi. Equidem sperabam, si pugnans adversus Lutherum defecissem, isthinc mihi venturas suppetias, et si hinc ^a factionis, cum qua decerto, fuisset profligatus, apud vos mihi tranquillum portum tutumque refugium. Nunc isthinc veniunt libelli amarulentiores, quam unquam scripti sunt in Lutherum a quocquam vestrum. Ego, ne deficerem ab Ecclesiæ consortio, me ipsum apud Germanos ex gratissimo feci invidiosissimum: provocavi in me Lutherum, quàm venenatam bestiam, liber ejus quem ad vos mitto, declarabit. Totius factionis (quæ potentior est, quam quisquam credat, et indies invalescit) fremitus, minas, convitia, famosos ac furiosos libellos jamdiu perpetior. Aggressus sum provinciam viribus meis majorem, sed morem gero Pontifici, Cæsari, et Principibus. Audax facinus, præsertim in hac parte Germaniæ! Quid profecerim, testantur ipsi, qui clamitant, neminem magis obstitisse Evangelio, quam Erasmum.

Et quasi parum esset Lutheranorum vim sustinere, cum Zwinglianis, qui in Eucharistiæ negotio a Lutheranis dissident, bellum erat suscipiendum. Qua quidem in re, non instrenuam operam navavi in Conciliabulo, quod nuper habitum est in Baden, civitate ^r Helvetiorum. Id indicabunt liber et epistola quam mitto: ea Germanice versa fuit, recitata coram universo Concilio, et in hujus urbis item Senatu.

Et hæc pro viribus agentem, cum vestra eruditio me sublevare debuerit, a tergo adoriuntur plusquam hostiliter *Sutores* et *Bedæ*, ex quorum libris dici vix potest, quantum animorum accesserit Lutheranis et Zwinglianis. Ex meis libris nullus adhuc factus est seditiosus aut factiosus, et si quid erroris excidit, hominum more, animus certe sincerus est, et facile ^s corripitur quod offendit. Istos tumultus quorsum attinebat suscitare? Palam est, rem agi privatis odiis, verum in hac causa omnium periculosissima conveniebat, si quid esset privatæ simultatis, monere, donec orbi rediisset tranquillitas. Quid autem sibi vult Sutor? Novum Testamentum a me versum in exemplaria centies millia propagatum est per typographos. Ista debuit in tempo-

° Perhaps *invidia*.

P Hoc scriptionis tempus alia manu notatum est. Cæterum hanc epistolam ex parte publicavit Hottingerus in H. E. tom. VI. p. 28.

^a Perhaps *factione*.

^r Ab Helvetiis ad disputationem Badensem invitatus, noluit venire, sed epistolam excusatoriam misit, valetudinem obtendens. Dein in illos debacchatur, qui in doctrina de S. Cœna ab Ecclesia Catholica recedant. Est hæc inter ejus Epistolas, 818.

^s *corripitur*: Read *corrigi*.

re scribere. Porro cum Bedæ censuris respondiſſem ſic, ut in multis nihil eſſet ſcrupuli, quo ſpiritu ductus edidit ſuas cenſuras, in quibus ſunt tot evidentes calumniæ, tot manifeſta mendacia, etſi nemo respondeat verbum? Quam exſultant Lutherani, dum tales legunt libellos? In ^t Fabrum habebat ex re ^v juſtiorum debacchandi cauſam, et tamen in illum mitior eſt: ad me cum ventum eſt, ſit cenſor, et nihil crepat niſi blaſphemias et hæreſes. Neque me fugit, quid exaſperet animum hominis, quod Colloquium tribus verbis attigit, Collegium ipſius ludens, de patribus. Gravis vero cauſa, cur cœlum terræ miſceatur! Si ad iſtum modum nos mutuis morſibus lace-ramus, quid ſupereſt niſi ut mutuis vulneribus conſoſſi pereamus, juxta Pauli ſententiam^x.

Hæc ſi meam tantum famam læderent, tolerabilis eſſet jactura; nunc ^y confortatur cauſa Lutheri, et Theologi nominis odium exacerbatur. Apud iſtos Beda me magnifice contemnit, idque facit tuto, quod non ſum talis, qualem ipſe fingit, qui ſi eſſem, res ipſa indicaret quantam in orbe tempeſtatem excitare poſſet Eraſmus. ^z Quid ſi per vos iſthinc licebit tales libros edere, quales nobis mittit Sutor et Beda (de in me ſcriptis proprie loquor) et noſtra excludentur, certa nimirum penes iſtos victoria eſt. Atqui hoc non eſt coarguere, ſed violentia tyrannica opprimere. A me nihil eſt periculi, ſed vereor ne tales ^a experiamur illud Evangelii: Qui gladio percutit, gladio peribit. Somniat Beda proſtigatam Lutheranam factionem. Utinam eſſet! Tantum procœmia ſunt, nescio quem finem habitura, ſi talibus modis res peragatur. Si veſtra prudentia ^b pernoscet quo in ſtatu res ſunt per univerſam Germaniam, judicaretis majore favore dignum, quam exhibet Sutor et Beda. Lutherani jactitant neminem eſſe mortalium, qui poſſit refellere, quæ congeſſit argumenta Lutherus de libero arbitrio. Præſationem meam ^c extemporariam, in reliquo ſudabam, perfecturus ante Kalend. Aug. ni Sutor et Beda ſuis libris interpellaſſent. Ego poſthac quietem agam, ſi tales auxiliares copias mittit Lutetia, ^d quicum hoſtes habeo communes Eccleſiæ, negotium vobis felicioribus et Chriſto commendo, qui vos omnes conſervet incolumes, Bedæ et Sutori det mentem magis Chriſtianam in poſterum. ix Kalend. Julias, Anno 1526^e.

Epistolæ Reformatorum, &c. p. 39.

^t Stapulensem.

^v juſtiorum: Read juſtiores.

^x Quamquam jam ante hanc epistolam ab Eraſmo ſcriptam, ipſe Rex Parlamento mandaviſſet, ut edicto prohiberet, ne liber Bedæ contra Eraſmum divulgaretur, neque tamen minis Regiis, neque hac epistola humaniſſima moveri poterant Theologi Pariſienſes, quin paulo poſt acerbiffimas cenſuras in Eraſmi Paraphraſes vulgaverint, quæ reperiuntur Oper. Eraſmi tom. IX. p. 814.

^y confortatur: Eraſmus, writing to Eccleſiaſtics, makes uſe of Eccleſiaſtical Latin.

^z Quid: Read Quod.

^a Read experiantur.

^b Read pernoscet.

^c extemporariam: — Something is wanting, as, jam conſcripſeram, or words to the ſame effect.

^d quicum, or, qui cum, &c. This is obſcure.

^e Hanc Epistolam Zuinglii amici, quos Pariſiis habuit, ad eum miſerunt, ut apparet ex ſchedula adjecta, quam una cum hac epistola ad Hallerum miſerat: Vide, mi Berchtolde, quomodo perdoctos habemus hoſtes, et quibus artibus res ab illis geritur! Remitte, ſi habes amanuſem qui deſcribat, ſin minus, retine hoc exemplum, nam fratres qui Pariſiis ſunt, multo labore penetrarunt ad eam, atque ad nos miſerunt. Huld. Zwinglius tuus.

Utramque hanc epistolam jam inferuit Hottingerus. Hiſt. Eccl. tom. VI. p. 605.

Nº. L.

N^o. L.

An original letter of Erasmus to Bishop Fisher, in the *Museum Britannicum*, transcribed by me. It is very rotten and damaged: I have endeavoured to decypher it, and have inserted here and there some conjectures, in Italics, to supply some of the chasms.

R^{do}. in Christo patri ac D. D. Joanni Episcopo Roffensi

In Anglia.

This superscription on the out-side, is not the hand of Erasmus.

ABSOLUTISSIME Præsul, Epistola tua mihi magno solatio fuit, in tantis malis. Conficior enim non perinde studi — in laboribus, sine quibus nec viverem, ac morbis subinde me repetentibus, primum pestilente pituita, non sine febris, mox calculo, qui quoties repetit, repetit autem pene quarto quoque die, toties moriendum est. Proximo nixu, qui fuit omnium gravissimus, sic concussus est stomachus ut natur — non queat recipere. Manet languor — febricula, corpusculum alvi proluvio indies [*magis*] ac magis attenuatur. Videtur esse phthisis [*quæd*]am senilis. Auget nonnihil molestiam pertinax quorundam stolidorum in me conspiratio. Extre[*ma*] fabulæ pars nunc Romæ agitur. Prædicatores [*subornarunt*] Stunicam quendam Hispanum ad insa[*niam us*]que gloriosum et impudentem. Res pen[*det ab*] hujus ^f Pontificis animo. Is qualis olim fue[*rit*] — qualis futurus sit in magistratu — Illud unum scio, totus est scholasticus — [*non ad*]modum æquus bonis literis. Quam amico — quamque [*constantissimo*] et scio et memini. De ^h ar[*gen*]to Warhamio jam dies aliquot consultab[*amus*] quum tuæ literæ redderentur. Idque omnibus — agam ubi confedero. Nam valetudo cog — [*It*]erum Romam invitor multorum litteris. [*Cardinalis*] Sedunensis jam iterum præter viaticum [*pollicetur*] quingentos ducatos. Sed territant — Apenninus, quibus haud scio an tutum [*sit hoc*] corpusculum credere. Expector et in [*Gallia*]. Rex lætus ⁱ diploma misit. Sed — inter Monarchas coisse pacem — magnus tumultus est de Luther — [*com*]missa est iis, qui nunc non ob Lutherum — [*pe*]jus oderunt quam Lu — Et tamen quicquid facturum sum, brevi [*faciam*] oportet. Quicquid id erit, faciam ut sci[*as*.] — Commodius hyemassẽm quam hic, ob res ad[*ver*]sas. Sed cum viris — hujus regionis mihi --- convenit. Qui has reddit Lodovicus Vives, [*qualis*] sit, opinor te jam ex ipsius monumentis [*cognos*]cere. Quod reliquum est, cognosces ex ho[*minis*] colloquio.

Est de numero meorum amicorum — Robertus tuus Thubingæ profitetur — et Hebraicas litteras salario satis [*amplo*.] Reuchlinus nos præcessit ad superos. [*Eum ego*] rettuli in numerum divorum, in Collo[*quiis*]

^f Adriani, VI.

^s That seems to be the word.

^h argento, or, argumento.

ⁱ See Ep. 637.

— æstate

— æstate excusis. Bene valeat T. R. D. [quam] diu felicem faciat ac servet omnium ser[vator Christus] cui dignaberis aliquando hunc mise — — — precibus commendare. Basileæ, Cal — — — An. 1522.

Erasmus D. T. — — —

Nº. LI.

A Treatise of Erasmus against Lee.

In the *Museum Britannicum* there is a book in Quarto, which was Cranmer's, and which contains the following Tracts :

I.

APOLOGIA Erasmi — qua respondet duabus invectivis Ed. Leei — — — Antwerp. 1520.

II.

Erasmi responsio ad annotationes Leei, &c. Liber secundus. Antwerp. 1520.

III.

Ejusdem Liber tertius. Antwerp. 1520.

IV.

Apologia Edovardi Leei ad diruendas quorundam calumnias, &c. Prostant Parrhisiis in edibus Egidii Gourmont, &c.

V.

Annotationes Edovardi Leei in Annotationes Novi Testamenti Desid. Erasmi, &c. 1519.

VI.

Ed. Leeus Desid. Erasmo Salutem, &c. Lovanii, 1520.

VII.

Ægidii Delphi — Conclusiones in sententias Magistri.

Erasmus, in his Letter to Botzem, containing a catalogue of his works, informs us that he ^k suppressed the first of these Tracts, and omitted it when he published a second edition of his Replies to Lee. But the Reader will, I believe, be of my opinion, that it deserves a place in this Appendix.

^k See above, p. 430.

Nº. LI.

II.

Apologia Erasmi Roterodami, nihil habens, neque nasi, neque dentis, neque stomachi, neque unguium, qua respondet duabus invectivis Eduardi Lei, nihil addo qualibus, ipse iudicato, lector.

Erasmus Roterodamus æquo Lectori S. D.

OB SECRO te, Lector, quisquis es, qui Eduardi Lei conflictationem nuper obortam adversum me legisti, quando unquam Ethnicus in Ethnicum impotentius debacchatus est, quam ille Christianus in Christianum, sacerdos in sacerdotem, atque etiam amicus in amicum? Nam amicitiam ne nunc quidem in totum renunciat. Quis unquam legit quicquam inimicitius, aut seditiosius? Celsus ex professo conviciis impiis totam Christi tum vitam, tum doctrinam proscidit; adversus hunc libris aliquot depugnat Origenes. Sed quanto mitior ille in Celsum, quam in me Leus? Expectabam equidem librum haudquaquam edentulum, sed ille modis omnibus vicit expectationem meam. Non suffecit illius animo totus liber passim aculeatus, passim ad seditionem classicum intonans, nisi apologiam apologia cumlaret. Tametsi sua cuique fama chara est, tamen, ita me Deus amet, magis me cruciat, quod huiusmodi virulentis conflictationibus perit simul et fructus studiorum, et tranquillitas vitæ Christianæ. Atque hac sane in parte Leus per me feret palmam. Cedo harena, porrigo herbam, agnosco victorem, idem facturum etiam si juvenis essem, tantum abest ut senex cum juvene putem mihi præter decorum, plusquam muliebrem rixationem esse suscipiendam. Feruntur, aut fructum etiam habent nonnullum, humanæ conflictationes, si citra rabiem consistant. Quo simul atque excanduit pugna, quid aliud est, quam foeda concertatio, duobus ceu gladiatoribus in harena commissis? Nec aliud spectaculum, quam si vindemiator in viatorem, aut nauta in nautam, auriga in aurigam, scurra in scurram convitia regerat. Proinde ne sine fine rixa rixam pariat, testor, primum conviciis non respondebo: certe non regeram. Rem ut habet exponam, idque nudo sermone, et Attico more *ἀνευ παθῶν*, ne se queratur opprimi præfidiis eloquentiæ, quam mihi tribuit immodicam, quo simul et mihi fidem abroget, et ipse magis videatur veritate niti, cum nulla re me gravet magis quam orationis technis, ac vafricie, quasque verborum torrente quodam. Deinde carptim id faciam ac paucis, ne tua studia diutius morer his nostris næniis, tum argumentis brevibus agam cum illius annotationibus, quibus utinam et ille fuisset contentus. Ita et sibi plus bonæ famæ conciliasset apud graves et eruditos viros, et minus nocuisset optimis studiis, et meam opinionem levius offendisset. Nam ex argumentis, utcunque me tractasset, poterat aliquid fructus accidere

¹ Perhaps *qua*, scil. *rabie*.

^m See Horace, *Serm.* I. vii. 30.

bonis studiis. Atque huc ferme tendit summa totius operis Leici, ut secundæ editionis gloriam magna ex parte sibi vindicet. Quæ res si illi usque adeo cordi est, ut tanto tumultu putet vindicandam, per me quidem licebit, ut non solum veniat in societatem hujus laudis, si qua est, verum etiam abolito nomine meo totum opus sibi asserat. Pleraque sic gesta sunt, ut citare testes non possimus, nisi conscientiam utriusque. De sua ipse viderit. Ego meæ Christum iratum imprecor, si vel in illis duabus epistolis, vel in hac apologia verbum unum mentiar sciens, aut hic mentiri velim. Hoc, opinor, mihi donabit Deus, in priore Novi Testamenti editione nihil sibi deberi. Atque utinam deberem multis, modo opus exisset emendatius. Eam cum absolvisssem Basileæ, repeto Britanniam, quam mihi charam esse non nego, cuique me plurimum debere semper præ me tuli, cum multis aliis nominibus, tum hoc præcipue, quod non alibi possideam amicos, neque plures, neque sinceriores. Iis salutatis reddo me Brabantiae: sic enim visum est Principi Carolo, in cujus consilium tum eram recens ascitus, ut in Brabantia sedem figerem ubi vellem, sed maxime Lovanii. Hic nihil mihi prius curæ fuit, quam ut Novum Testamentum denuo recognoscerem, id quod palam facturum me pollicitus eram jam tum in priore editione. Id aggressus sum primum Antuerpiæ, apud hospitem et amicum meum Petrum Ægidium. Is hujus rei testis esse potest, cumque hoc duo famuli mei Joannes Phrysius, et Jacobus Nepos. Id ideo clam accurabam, quod vererer, ne, si rumor hic exisset, Frobenio sua volumina domi manerent: nam excuderat supra mille ducenta. Qua de re rescripsimus et Budæo, priusquam mihi Deus esset de facie notus. Hic absoluta parte operis aliquanta, Bruxellam demigro, ita volente clarissimo viro D. Joanne Sylvagio, tum Regis Catholici Cancellario summo. Hic idem ago, majore etiam nisu, menses complures, conscio et adjutore etiam Cutberto Tunstallo, tum Serenissimi Regis Anglorum apud Carolum nostrum et Maximilianum oratore; conscio clarissimo D. Hieronymo Buslidio, conscio Petro Barbirio. Nec his solis tum conscis; jam enim rumor, ut fit, ad plures serpsit Bruxellæ. Primus omnium, qui mihi admodum familiares erant, deprehendit laborem meum juvenis haudquaquam vulgariter doctus Joannes Ludovicus Vives, per quem res serpsit etiam latius, non sine meo dolore. Hinc Gandavum, mox Brugas profecti, totum Novum Testamentum, collatis utriusque linguæ voluminibus, excussimus. Cutbertus Tunstallus unum exemplar sat emendatum suppeditavit, et in conferendis Græcis codicibus, quum id ab uno præstari non poterat, fidelissimam atque amicissimam navavit operam, nec paucis de rebus admonuit. Inde ubi Princeps in Zelandiam se recepit, ego Lovanium commigro, non aliud agens, quam egeram. Heic Lei notitiam nactus sum. Uter alterum prior salutaverit, nec admodum refert, nec satis commemini. Etiam si ille valde putat ad rem pertinere, ut prior ipsius ædes adisse credar. Ac mihi sane tum non fuit injucunda hominis consuetudo, ut sum ad amicitiam amplectendam perfacilis, et multorum judicio, plus satis, etiam si non essem nescius, illum parum amice de me locutum, antequam nosset aut conspicatus esset. Grata erat morum facilitas, placuit ingenium, probavi studium. Ille tum Græcissare coeperat, nec alia de re aliquamdiu fuit inter nos sermo.

Hac in re me sibi faventem habuit, nam adiutorem dicere, religio est. Tandem usque ad cubiculi secreta processit familiaritas. Ostendo illi meos labores. Jam enim opus ferme totum absolveram, nisi quod in hoc argumenti genere nihil unquam satis est absolutum, sed subinde redit labor actus in orbem. Ipse sæpe vidit omnes undique plenas margines, chartas passim additas. Tot enim mensibus nihil aliud egeram, homo, quod plerique norunt, neque somniculosus, neque lentus. Tandem per occasionem indicat se quoque nonnulla loca annotasse. Gaudebam. Hortor ut communicet. Nam quod ille multis verbis inculcat, me improbis precibus perpulisse hominem, ut relictis studiis suis, mihi serviret, longe secus habet, mihi crede. Sponte sua susceperat negotium, et sibi susceperat. Communicat chartas aliquot, sed singulas, et plerasque dimidiatas, nec eas ordine, verum nunc in Matthæum, nunc in Paulum. Incertum vero quo consilio. Inter conferendum sensi submolestum esse, quod alicubi dissentirem ab illo. Itaque pactus sum cum homine, ita jus esset illi quæ vellet admonere libere, ut mihi vicissim liceret, in opere primum meo, deinde quod non uni cuipiam, sed orbi scriberetur, ab illo nonnunquam dissentire. Et hætenus res civiliter est acta. Tandem prolatae sunt schedæ, in quibus nonnihil erat aculeorum, ut mihi quidem videbatur, præter causam. Adjeci nonnullis locis duo aut tria verba, quæ forte veniebant in mentem. Nihil enim minus suspicabar futurum, quam ut ea, sic notata ut ipse qui scripsi vix queam legere, in suum dialogum esset relaturus. Postremo ubi videretur plus satis incandescere, adjeci hæc: Memento quod hominem mones, sed homo. Id quo animo tulerit nescio, certe post eum diem desiit mittere, desiit etiam salutare. Et jam vultus erat alius. Ego suspicabar linguam aliquam improbam intercessisse, quæ mala pestis sæpe dirimit bonas amicitias. Post dies aliquot, forte fortuna offendo hominem in templo Canonorum Martinensium. Rogo quamobrem factus sit sui dissimilis. Negat illic esse locum explicandi. Nam abolvebat, opinor, pensum precum vespertinarum. Abeo, et pergo facturum id cujus gratia veneram. Aliquanto post in feriis Paschalibus utrique prandemus apud Hadrianum Hebræum. Lei vultus erat parum alacer: Sed tamen illic locus non erat hisce de rebus commentandi. Ego nihil atrocioris mali suspicatus, repeto Basileam, editurus denuo Novum Testamentum, nihil omnino mecum adferens Leicarum annotationum, præter unam pagellam, in qua describi curaveram quæ ille annotarat de genealogia Christi secundum Lucam, quod res esset prolixior, et tum mihi non suppeteret otium relegendi quæ sunt apud Annium, Philonem, Ambrosium, ac Hieronymum. Nec tamen ea mihi fuit usui, atque utinam fuisset. Latuerat enim inter schedas, nec unquam reperta est, nisi cum, excussis omnibus, pararem reditum. Eam duobus amicis tum ostendi, Capitoni et Oecolampadio. Eram mutaturus chartam excusam, sed illi mecum negabant esse, cur quicquam mutaretur. Hæc non aliis argumentis docere possum, quam testimonio duorum famulorum, Joannis Hovii, et Jacobi Nepotis, quibus nihil chartarum erat occlusum. Porro Basileæ totum annotationum opus, rursus a capite, quod aiunt, usque ad calcem recognovi, magnisque auctariis locupletavi. Sciunt me nihil mentiri, qui tum me familiariter utebantur. Jam pars
operis

operis, quæ complectebatur annotationes, erat absoluta, altera nondum coep-
ta: non enim visum est Frobenio ante nundinas absolvere. Ita redeo Lo-
vanium periculose laborans. Ubi sum factus aliquanto recreator, audio ru-
morem esse sparsum atrocem, Eduardum Leum innumeros locos taxasse in
meis annotationibus. Demiror quid rei sit, et vix credo, non ignarus etiam
extra bellum esse multa inania. Hominem ad colloquium evoco. Expostu-
lanti fatetur ille sibi trecentos locos notatos, cum ego ducentos duntaxat ac-
cepissem ex rumore. Rogo quid accidisset, ut ex tali amico subito factus ef-
fet inimicus. Adducit causas tres. Primum quod nescio quis ex Anglia
scripsisset ad me, caverem a Theologo, quo dicto se designatum interpretaba-
tur. Deinde ex postulabat, quod se provocassem ad dialecticam, quod ulcus
nunc etiam refricat. Postremo quod contempsissem suas annotationes, minu-
tias ac nugas vocans. Ad primum tum respondeo, id quod res erat, nemi-
nem ad me dedisse literas unquam, quæ Lei meminissent, sive in bonam
partem, sive in malam. Ad secundum æque vere respondeo, me nunquam
provocasse eum ad dialecticam, sed in familiaribus colloquiis effutisse me,
quendam nostratium dixisse: Veniat ad nos Leus, docebimus illum dialecti-
cam. Nec is tamen id dixerat amarulente, sed ludens, nec a me narratum
est odiose. Ad tertium, rogo num contemnere videretur, qui pro singulis
schedeis gratias ageret, per ministrum, perinde quasi pro magno officio, ita
ut a me factum novit Leus ipse, nec inficiatur. Et sane non inficior officium
fuisse. Pro studio certe debeo. Annotationes, quas tum impertiit, haud
equidem numeravi; sed erant pleræque minutæ, ac de rebus minutis, ex
quibus admodum paucæ mihi fuerunt usui, et hætenus fuerunt, ut loca
quædam attentius relegerem, quarum una fuit de sponso et sponsa, altera de
principio in Joanne. Et tamen pro omnibus gratias egi, quasi valde profu-
issent omnes. Neque enim fieri potuit, quin multæ essent jam supervacaneæ,
nimirum opere maxima ex parte absoluto, nisi forte putat nullos mihi esse
oculos, neque quicquam actum tot autoribus relegendis, toties conferendis
exemplaribus. Nam Augustini, Ambrosii, Hilarii, Hieronymi, Chryso-
stomi, Theophylacti libros, si non excussi, certe percurri hujus negotii gratia.
Testatur hoc posterior editio, crebris horum nomenclaturis. Ad hæc nega-
bam me meminisse, quod eas appellassem nugas ac minutias; et si maxime
appellassem, non esse causam, cur ex amico fieret hostis, præsertim
citra ex postulationem. His ita dilutis, rogo quid decrevisset de locis
a se annotatis. Ac primum hortor, ut animo Christiano sua com-
municet, me, si quid esset gravioris momenti, correcturum, mea jactu-
ra. Nam sic altera pars operis erat excusa, ut totum opus intra sex menses non
esset proditurum; me ingenue testaturum, cui Lector hoc commoditatis
deberet. Hoc ubi negasset, ad proximum venio. Veniremus in rem (ut
aiunt) præsentem, et volumen annotationum posteriorum (nam volumen
unicum mecum advexeram) conferremus cum illius annotationibus. Cum
ne id quidem illi probaretur, provocho ut librum evulget communi periculo.
Cum ille negaret id fore ex dignitate mea, respondeo me malle eam subire
aleam, quam invidia rumoris diutius premi, qui sæpenumero ita re major
est, ut umbra corpore. Hic ille coepit ad arbitros provocare. Ait se de

Episcopo Roffensi meminisse, non refragor admodum. Mihi sane non liquet, certe de Atensi memini. Hic nonnihil hærebam, sic mecum cogitans: Si recuso judicem, offendam Atensem; sin accipio, videbor opus jam editum denuo in judicii discrimen revocare. Et quid opus est verbis? Sic erat amicus Atensis, ut illi non fiderem toto pectore, videlicet monitus alieno periculo. Respondeo non opus judice Atensi, cum ille jam semel de opere pronuntiasset. Etenim paucis ante diebus, quam me ad iter ⁿ accingerer Basiliense, D. Atensis ad cœnam vocat. Aderat M. N. Nicolaus o Edmondanus, ac Joannes Ludovicus Vives. A cœna nonnihil semoti colloquimur. Aio me proficisci Basileam, rogo moneat, si quid admonendum videretur. Nam id ante tres menses roganti mihi se facturum promiserat, et quidem fraterna, ut aiebat, sinceritate. Respondit sibi totum opus esse perlectum, videri doctum juxta ac pium. At malim, inquam, admoneri quam laudari. Repetit eadem. Cur igitur, inquam, quidam vociferati sunt in opus meum, siquidem est quale tu prædicas? Erant, inquit, fateor, multa delata ad me priusquam legerem: ubi legi, comperi rem secus habere. Quid sis editurus nescio; quod editum est mihi valde probatur. Cum respondissem hic omnia fore meliora, adjecit, Oro ut istis sanctis tuis laboribus studeas bene mereri de republica Christiana. Quod narro sic habere, non inficiatus est Atensis. Nam exoptulanti mihi, quod opus antea suo calculo comprobatum, nunc verso, quod aiunt, pollice improbare, negavit se mutasse sententiam. Atqui non mutas, inquam, cum probas annotationes Lei, meo operi adversantes? Probo, inquit, quasdam illius annotationes, nec ideo protinus improbo tuum opus. Velut tu, inquit, quædam annotasti in Thomam, nec ideo tamen non bonus auctor est Thomas. Sed ad ordinem narrationis redeo. Cum dixissem Leo, Quid opus est rursus Atensem judicem facere, cum ille semel pronunciarit, et pronunciarit tam constanter? respondit tanquam familiariter rem seriam dicturus: Si ita dixit Atensis, ergo mutavit sententiam. Esto, inquam, mutarit, mihi magis libet fidere priori, quam integer pronunciavit, quam huic, quam nunc laturus sit, per te menses aliquot occupatus. Cæterum cum Leus urgeret, et omnino judicem vellet, Age, inquam, ne hoc quidem recuso, modo velit negotium suscipere, tametsi iniquum est. Ut rem in pauca conferam, neu te tædio enecem, optime Lector, cum Atensis posceret tres menses, foreque prospicerem, ut interim opus novum penderet sub judice, tanquam reum, non sine gravi dispendio Frobenii, negavi tam diu posse rem differri. Nam opus brevi proditum, vellem, nollem. Itaque Atensis librum remisit. Deinde rursus ago multis modis, ut Leus mihi suum librum communicet. Ille nihil minus, quam hoc exorari potuit. Verum efflagitat, ut meum exemplar ipsi committerem. Et facturus eram, ni quidam, me nasutior, submonuisset, nihil aliud agere Leum, quam ut hinc suas annotationes redderet adversum me instructiores. Proinde negavi æquum esse, illi me credere librum meum, qui mihi non crederet suum. Itaque nihil actum est hac quidem in re. Atensis tamen constanter in hac fuit sententia, nec apud me tantum, sed apud alios etiam testatus est, æquum sibi videri, ut Leus mihi suas an-

ⁿ Perhaps accingerem.

^o Egmondanus.

notationes communicaret, quas in me scripisset, atque illum parum se dignum facere. Interea, velut aura, auctum incendium. Indies gliscit rumor dira minitantibus, qui Leo favere volebant videri; ut solent ad hujusmodi tumultus concurrere, qui pugnam hinc atque hinc accendant. Liber opera scribarum in exemplaria complura propagatur; nam sexies Lovanii fuisse descriptum, et ipse fatetur Leus. Primum apud Martinenses, mox apud Minoritas, postremo apud alium quendam sæpius descriptus est. Mittitur in Angliam, primum ad unum atque alterum, mox ad plures, sic ut nullus esset, nec hic nec apud Anglos, qui nesciret Leum in me scripisse trecentas annotationes. Ego interim technis omnibus venor librum, nullas non tendens insidias, videlicet quo paratior essem ad respondendum, si quando ille sua evulgasset. Sed frustra omnia, nam ille non paulo vigilantior erat in celando, quam ego in vestigando. Tentatus est scriba ille tertius promissa pecunia. Cœperat apud Atensem describi. Olfeceram, et jam duas pagellas interceperam, habiturus et cæteras, ni ex meo colloquio suboluisse Atensi, scribam non sat bona fide celasse rem. Id ubi sentit Leus, ab Atensi repetit codicem. Adnissus est, meo hortatu, ille quoque quem Leus proditorum vocat, ut librum suis epistolis a Leo eliceret. Datum est negotium in Anglia non paucis. Hic mei laqueos alios alii tendunt, neque quicquam profectum est. Tandem amici, qui mihi sunt apud Anglos cum Leo communes, illud agunt scriptis ad utrumque literis, ut inter nos instauremus veterem amicitiam, Leus librum suum premat, ego veterum injuriarum obliviscar. Viderant, opinor, librum ejusmodi, ut magnum aliquod incendium excitare posset, præsertim in ea conspiratione, quæ tum fervebat, hodieque fervet adversus bonas literas. Ego tametsi non crederem fore, ut Leus perpetuo premeret annotationes suas, neque non viderem me, presso velut in meam gratiam libro (id enim odiosissime passim jactabant Lei fautores) magis etiam gravatum iri, rumore ac suspicione, tamen amicorum voluntati me permitto. Coimus in colloquium Leus et ego; rursus ago, quantum possum, ut libri faciat copiam; me editurum, si vellet; non editurum, si nollet. Cum ille nullis rationibus flecti posset, rogo tandem, quodnam esset mihi futurum præmium factæ cum illo concordia, quando futurum esset ut rumore magis etiam premerer, et alioqui nihil ad me fructus esset redditurum: si hic esset fructus instauratae amicitiae, me præoptare simultatem. Tandem pollicetur se capita annotationum mihi communicaturum. Roganti cur non eadem opera communicaret et librum, respondit inesse quæ mihi moverent stomachum. At nunc non movent, inquam, cum ab aliis leguntur? Malim apud me mihi dicas convicium, quam apud alios. His ubi nihil ille commoveretur, rogo ad quem diem esset communicaturus ea capita. Obtulit. Iterum roganti, nihil respondit. Ego suspicans, ne hoc quidem facturum quod promississet; aut, si fecisset, quædam modo designaturum, quæ non multum ad rem pertinerent; non exegi, fateor, quod promiserat. Interim ubi nullus esset neque modus neque finis jactandi trecentas annotationes, cœpi odiosius etiam provocare ad editionem, primum verbis, mox per epistolam editam, sed quæ sic haberet nonnihil aculeorum, ut Leum exstimulare posset, atrum facere non posset. Exstat epistola, ut in proclivi

clivi sit doctis et integris de ea judicare, et tamen multo antequam hæc prodisset epistola, Leus jam tentarat librum suum committere typographis, provocatus, ut ait, nescio qua syngrapha affixa foribus ipsius, quæ nescio quid habebat in illum convicii. Quæ res mihi vehementer displicuit. Fortassis id qui fecit, fecit vel odio Lei, vel mei studio. At ego ut sciebam, ita sæpe testatus sum, hisce rationibus nihil aliud effici, quam ut gravarent causam bonarum literarum, et adversariorum causam redderent meliorem: denique alienarent ab se bonorum virorum animos, quibus oportebat nos modestia civilitateque commendari. Tentavit primum Antuerpiæ: gaudebam, sperans fore ut aliquæ paginæ recentes etiamnum venirent in manus meas: neque enim alio consilio cupiebam scire, cujus officinæ opera Leus uteretur. Egerat cum Hillenio: Is mihi per eruditum juxta atque integrum virum D. Nicolaum Buscoducensem significavit se nihil excusurum ejusmodi, nisi meo permisso. Respondi primum, me nec hortaturum illum ad edendum, nec impedimento futurum, etiamsi cuperem exire librum. Tantum admonui, advigilarent amici, ut illico mihi fieret paginarum excusarum copia. Atque ita respondi, ne Leus queri posset apud suos, me auctorem fuisse editionis; neque enim addubitabam, quin liber esset propediem in lucem exiturus. Addo mihi non ingratum fore, si res ad sesquimenssem differretur, nam tum totus eram in absolvenda paraphrasi Epistolarum ad Titum ac Timotheum; videlicet ut mihi esset otium respondendi. Respondent, etiam si id non monuissem, tamen ante natalem Christi nihil futurum fuisse. Ubi video rem non succedere, adhortor ut pergant, mihi gratissimum etiam futurum. Fatetur hæc esse vera typographus, vir neque stultus, neque malæ fidei; testantur meæ ad Buscoducensem literæ. Deinde agit cum Gallo typographo. Rursus gaudeo, quod mihi major etiam esset spes illum corrumpendi in hoc duntaxat, ut paginas excusas communicaret. Mitto qui explorent, comperio rem cœptam fuisse, sed rursus intermissam. Doleo, et accerso typographum, hortor ut instauret negotium. Ille nihil non promittit. Quid hic referam lemmata, quæ congerit Leus in posterioris Apologiæ calce, qua respondet meæ ad Thomam Lupsetum epistolæ, rem, ut ait, de novo ab ovo repetens, quæ nec ego potui sine risu legere, nec quisquam, opinor, erit tam patiens, aut otiosus, qui sustineat me vel referentem, vel refellentem. Famulus tuus visus est ingredi typographi ædes. Quæro quid egerit. Abjurat typographus, mox mutat pacti fidem. Aiunt allatam ad te primam chartulam: dolum meditatus est typographus, sed abs te pellectus. Aliaque permulta his adsimilia. Quid viderint alii nescio, chartam ipse non vidi; et tamen videre cupiebam. Quin et hoc negotii dederam amicis, ut, si possent, efficerent ut mihi mature voluminis excusi fieret copia; ut impediretur editio nunquam egi. Atque hic rursus Leus utitur arte sua: quod alia dictum est occasione, ad hanc causæ partem accommodat. In primo illo colloquio, quemadmodum narravi, cum ille duas priores condiciones non reciperet, provocavi ut ederet librum. Hac de re, cum ille altero quodam colloquio mecum expostularet, quod procaciter provocassem ad editionem, id sibi esse ægre, respondi id quod res erat, me non simpliciter provocasse ad editionem, sed dixisse, citius curaturum me meo sumtu, ut exiret opus, quam

quam commissurum ut eo rumore gravarer. Quid hoc ad præsens negotium? Nondum id temporis quicquam agi coeptum erat cum typographis. Sed audi, te quæso, Lector, technam hac etiam magis bellam. Possem, inquit, nominare, cui dixisti jam pœnitere te, quod editionem libri impedisses. Et hujus dicti auctorem vult videri graviolem, atque etiam mei studiosiorem, quam qui velit quicquam mentiri, præsertim adversum me. Quis hic non statim putet rem evictam esse? Non inficior me tale quiddam dixisse, me impedimento^p fui, quo minus Antuerpiæ excuderetur, qui non^q dissimulari me captare, ut manibus operarum chartæ mihi traderentur, opere nondum absoluto. Id si non subodoratus fuisset Leus, liber Antuerpiæ fuisset excusus. At magis in rem meam erat illic excudi, quam alibi procul, quod postea factum est. Ita ut dixi res habet, nunc perpendat prudens Lector, quam hic scite Leus, linum, quod aiunt, lino connexuerit. Talibus lemmatis me redarguit impudentis mendacii. Nec multo melioribus docet, quo minus pactio cum Hillenio coepta processerit. Ambiebat Hillenius opus, tantum (ut ipse ait) lucrum ex eo facturum, post horulam mutatus recusavit, non dubium, inquit, quin abs te ac tuis, aut pecunia corruptus, aut minis deteritus. Ac mox quasi rem adamantinis argumentis evicisset, me appellat, rogans ecquid pudeat tam impudentis mendacii, qui dixerim me dolere, quod res ad nihilum reciderit. Atque hæc cum legeret Hillenius ipse, magis etiam et demiratus et indignatus est, hæc tam impudenter in se confingi, ac meditatur actionem injuriarum. Pergit linum lino connectere. Reliqui Antuerpiam, Tu proximo consequeris curru; descendisti, inspexisti currum meum, testis Unoculus. Hæc cum legerem, non aliter eram affectus, quam si quis mihi narrasset somnium. His atque hujusmodi argumentis putat satis liquere, me technis obstitisse, quo minus peractum sit aliquid cum Hillenio. Nisi quod hæc esse vera, sedulo negat Hillenius. Porro cur ille mutarit sententiam, si tamen mutavit, ipse si libet, respondeat. Ego cum illo nihil egi, neque quisquam alius, me certe conscio. Verum operæ pretium est excutere duo cavilla, quæ lemmatis admiscet. Unoculum vocat meæ gloriæ præconem, significans, opinor, mihi non esse præcones alios; nam illum ut sordidum quempiam induxit. Ego sane nec mereor præcones gloriæ meæ, nec affecto, quippe qui sentiam me laudibus hujusmodi onerari verius quam honorari. Verum cum obscurum non sit, quales in re literaria proceres, quot, quantaque dignitate præcellentes viri, usque ad Cardinales, atque ipsum etiam Romanum Pontificem, ne quid dicam de primatibus ac regibus, me frequenter et scriptis suis ornarint, et voce, quorsum attingebat cavillari in Unoculum gloriæ meæ præconem? Si meos præcones contemnit Leus, quæso quos producet suos? Quod si clamitabit indignum me talibus præconiis, plane mecum sentit. Sed interim quorsum opus erat tam in tempestivo cavillo? Huic non admodum dissimile est quod addit, eo consilio rem per me dilatam in diem quadragesimum, ut post absolutam Paraphrasim, concinnarem epistolam ad Lupsetum, quo fucis ac mendaciis omnium animos occuparem. Sic enim senem et canum subinde alloquitur ju-

^p Perhaps *fuisse*;

^q Perhaps *dissimulavi*;

venis modestiæ pene immodicæ. Atqui de epistola, tum ne somniabam quidem, sed ea res multo post in mentem incidit, ex occasione literarum, quas amicus quidam scripserat ex Anglia de rumore formidabili undequaque sparso, non sine periculo meæ opinionis apud multos, qui crederent annotationes Lei, longe quam essent *devolèpæs*. Deinde sic meminit de concinnanda epistola, quasi mihi ad eam aut similem epistolam non satis sit diei dimidium. Queritur simili dolo sese exclusum ab omnibus officinis Germaniæ, si vellet suæ salutis consultum. Ridebunt hæc cum legent ii, qui Coloniae meas habent literas, quibus admoneo, vigilent, ut quod excusum esset ad me deportaretur, ne vero impedirent editionem. Jam Theodorici fidei diffidebat, qui mihi sit tam juratus. At quid appellat fidem? Bona fide sequi exemplar? In eo si quid esset admissum, poterat ipse castigator operis obistere. Sin bona fide geri putet, quod celatur, ut subito, velut ex insidiis, erumpat liber, quando hoc unquam a me factum est? Si sic fidebat suo libro, ut non metueret responsionem, cur tantopere volebat celatum? Sin diffidebat, quantulum hoc erat lucri, ad pauculos dies inanem triumphum agere? Atqui cum tam sollicitus fuerit Leus, ut in occultissimo quopiam nido poneret hoc ovum, quod plusquam biennio parturierat, ne quisquam sentiret pullum enatum, nisi posteaquam esset jam factus volucris, quis non intelligit illum hoc captasse, quod mihi impingit, ut me nondum ad respondendum parato, prior ipse lectorum animos occuparet? At vel hoc argumento satis colliget prudens Lector mihi non fuisse librum Lei, quod ipse toties repetit et inculcat, quasi quod per se falsum est, verum reddi possit sæpius iterando. Si mihi vel quindecim dies fuisset exemplar, antequam excuderetur, ne sex quidem dies ille lucrificisset. Sed præstat his omissis, ad institutam narrationem recurrere. Rebus igitur hoc loco stantibus, data opera per Anglos, rumor sparsus est Lovanii, et ne quid illis diffiderem, persuasum est et meis, ut ipsi decepti me deciperent, Lei librum formulis excudi Bonnæ, id est oppidum sex millibus passuum supra Coloniæ Agrippinam. Ego qui et ante nonnihil ea de re inaudieram, constanter nego mihi videri verisimile. Neque enim sat tutum esse illic rem aggredi, siquidem nec Antuerpiæ sat tutum erat futurum, si cognitum fuisset, librum usque adeo esse impotentem. Verum omnibus uno ore asseverantibus, ut rem compertam, emando illuc meo sumtu, scribens amicis, ne rem impediant, sed advigilent ut mihi mox ejus portionis, quæ jam esset excusa, fieret copia. Id esse verum literis ad amicos mea manu scriptis, atque illorum vicissim ad me doceri potest. Porro is rumor hoc consilio sparsus erat, ut me a suspitione Parisiensis editionis averterent. Tandem literis e Lutetia redditis, intelligo illic excudi volumen. Protinus et illuc lego quendam cum literis ad Nicolaum Beraldum, admonens ne quid ob id factum esset molesti cuiquam Anglorum; mihi cum uno Leo rem esse, cæterum gentem esse charissimam; ad hæc ne quis styllum acueret in Leum conviciis illum aggrediens, etiamsi non dubitarem quin liber illius scateret conviciis; tantum curarent, ut mihi cum primis voluminis fieret copia. Hæc nisi doceri possunt literis ad Beraldum scriptis, non recusabo haberi, quod me Leus vocat, nempe mendacissimus. Sed antequam de

Parisiensi editione rescissem, redditæ sunt mihi literæ a R. patre Episcopo Roffensi, quibus aperit vir optimus prudens quidem et amicum consilium, atque etiam salutiferum, si in tempore fuisset datum. Et quod ad me sane pertinebat, in tempore datum erat: nisi literæ illius diutius hæssissent in manibus negotiatorum. Id erat hujusmodi, Ne periret fructus mei laboris, quo de Christiana Ecclesia optime, ut aiebat ille, meritus essem, sibi videri consultum, ut Leus persuasus ab amicis, mihi faceret copiam sui libri: deinde res ita temperaretur per aliquos idoneos, ut et ejus annotationes exirent citra mei nominis injuriam, et ego vicissim ita temperarem responsionem, ut ne quid læderem famam Lei. Nam rumorem esse tam late sparsum, ipsa etiam re, ut fit, atrociores, ut expediret magis evulgari quam premi quæ scripserat Leus. Non poterat rectius dari consilium, nec a communi amico, utriusque nostrum amicus. Atque utinam idem in mentem venisset iis, qui me dissentiente librum premi maluerant. Sed paucis ante diebus quam hæc reddita est epistola, mea jam ad Thomam Lupsetum exierat in vulgus, et ante hanc editam Leus suum librum miserat Lutetiam. Itaque tametsi scirem propemodum otiosum fore, tamen visum est hac de re cum Leo miscere colloquium. Habes, optime Lector, negotii summam, in qua si verbum affinxi sciens, in meum ipsius caput imprecor, quicquid dignum est homine vanissimo. Non inficior me hominem esse, multis obnoxium vitiis, certe vanum me nullus adhuc neque comperit nec appellavit ante Leum, qui me non uno in loco mendacissimum vocat, non opinor quod ita sentiat, sed quo plus fidei suæ adstruat narrationi, si mihi fidem ademerit. Nam qui hætenus me norunt, citius incusant immodicæ cujusdam libertatis ac simplicitatis, quam mendacii. Neque vero regero crimen in Leum, potest fieri ut aut non meminerit, aut sibi ita persuaserit, etiamsi hoc ipse; ne quid dicam dolo, mihi vix persuadeo. Unum illud habe persuasissimum, æquissime Lector, quicquid ab hac mea narratione diffidet, a vero diffidet. Perspectum est hoc iis qui vel vivunt nobiscum, vel mutuis literis subinde confabulantur. Iis quidem nihil opus erat narratione, nec illis hæc scribimus, aliis scribimus, quibus neuter nostrum propius est cognitus, si quis tamen omnino lecturus est hæc nœnias, tam frigidas ac pueriliter rixosas. Nunc carptim attingemus quædam ex illius narratione, et quod verum est ingenue fatebimur, quod secus diluamus, aut certe negabimus. Principio, quod tam improbis precibus toties repetitis, quod toties admotis incantamentis, toties tensis pedicis ac laqueis, tandem illum adegerim, ut intermissis præclaris studiis suis, otioque dulcissimo, susciperet provinciam admonendi mei, mihi crede, Lector, rhetorice magis quam vere, verbis exaggeratum est, nisi forte preces improbas appellat, quod subinde gratias egi pro missis schedis, civiliter agnoscens etiam quaecunque officium: cum ille me mortalium omnium ingratisimum appellet, fortassis ob id quod in posteriore editione nullam illius fecerim mentionem, quod tamen nec ille petiit unquam, nec ego sum ausus facere, incertus velletne sui fieri mentionem in opere, quod videbatur expositum invidiæ multorum. Interim illud mihi perpende, Lector, quam hic inique mecum agat Leus, testatus alicubi se rejecisse delatam a me immortalitatem, nimirum sentiens se nolle fieri sui mentionem in meis scriptis, et tamen toties ingrati-

tudinis extremæ reum peragit, qui dissimulem per quem tantopere proferim. Religio mihi fuisset illius nomen inferere libris meis, etiamsi nec annuisset, nec recusasset; nunc quæ fuisset improbitas id facere, illo fieri ventante? Postremo (ut ingenue dicam) mihi non videbatur id quod ex illius schedis accesserat, satis habere momenti ad hoc, ut ejus nomen infererem. Hic scio rursus me clamabit ingratum, qui studio elevem illius in me beneficium. Agnosco convicium, nisi primæ illæ schedæ, quas apud se servat mea manu notatas, si velit ostendere, plane declarabunt primas illas annotationes tum paucas fuisse, tum jejunas. Quas utinam, sic ut tum erant edidisset. Quod si has mecum communicasset, in quibus pugnat mecum omni armorum genere, in quibus admonet tam severe, objurgat tam acriter, incessit tam inimice, vociferatur tam seditiose, dubitandum non est, quin et ad hæc fuerim nonnihil responsurus, cum ad alia, tum minutiora, tum mitiora responderim. Imo nihil addubito futurum, quin eruditi, quibus est nasus, sensuri sint, quicquid in hoc libro Lei nervosius est, ac solidioris eruditionis, si-bique constans, aut quicquid est styli cultioris, ac magis æquabilis, alienum esse. Inficietur hoc Leus, quantum velit; ego meam conjecturam suis aperiam locis, cui nolim esse quicquam ponderis, nisi doctorum hominum calculis approbetur. Sed ut ad rem revertar: Etiamsi Leus non vetuisset fui fieri mentionem, tamen non existimabam esse causam satis gravem cur id facerem. Præsertim cum et alii monuissent nonnulla longe majoris momenti, quorum tamen non sum ausus facere mentionem. Quod si mihi nomenclatura facienda fuerat olim, quorum admonitu nonnihil accessisset editioni, famuli mei fuerant cum honoris præfatione nominandi, quibus negotium dedi, ut in annotationibus ordinem inversum restituerent, aut nonnunquam Græca cum Latinis conferrent. Sed de hoc alias erit dicendi locus commodior. Jam non est necesse refellere, quod scribit me accitis palponibus meis protulisse schedam, ipsius annotationibus plenam, quo illum deridendum propinarem, cum ipse fateatur ex animi sui conjectura loqui sese. Neque enim illius chartas cuiquam unquam ostendi, nec insectatus sum apud amicos, imo perpau-cis hac de re memineram; candide prædicans hominis ingenium, cum Theologis etiam exoptulans, quod non agnoscerent quid honoris Leo deberetur. Horum si non meminit Leus, meminerunt Theologi, quibus illum non semel commendavi. Porro quod addit me præstigiis ac blanditiis meis, nescio quid pollicitationis adjecisse, non satis intelligo quid sibi velit, nisi quod suspicor id esse, quod alibi, ludos (ni fallor) faciens dicit, me sibi immortalitatem fuisse pollicitum. Et fieri potest, ut in domesticis colloquiis tale quippiam effutiverim, at non sum tam insolens, ut talia serio promittam. Neque enim scriptis meis tantum tribuo, neque tanti est apud me illa, qualis qualis apud posteros memoria, nec ea fortassis in longum duratura, ut immortalitatem esse putem. Ait se nunquam misisse schedam alteram, nisi priori respondissem. Imo paucis respondi, atque adeo ne respondi quidem, sed ex tempore nescio quid annotavi, quo placarem illum, ut mihi tum videbatur, effervescentem, quæ qua civilitate ille prodiderit in lucem, aliorum esto judicium. Satis enim videbat illa nulli scribi, nisi uni, præsertim cum ipse suas annotationes interim adornarit, meas plusquam extemporarias nænias, fortassis

fortassis etiam depravatas evulgarit. Quod si ego primas illas schedas furtim descriptas, curassem evulgandas, quæso quos tumultus mihi concivisset Leus? Nec est quod de octo queratur annotationibus, cum ego non admodum multis responderim, si modo hoc est respondere. Quod si mihi non impartit, nisi octo ultra numerum earum quibus respondi, proferat chartas mea manu notatas, et res ipsa declarabit illum longe abesse a centum et quinquaginta. Sed longius etiam abest a vero, quod subjicit, et in annotationibus suis identidem inculcat, mihi totius annotationum libri factam esse copiam per scribam quendam, quem alias proditorem appellat, Sacerdotem, integrum, ac quod ipse non ignorat, probatæ religionis, idque esse factum, antequam abirem Basileam, Novum Testamentum denuo editurus. Eum proditorem qui nosse velit, indicabo. Is quod affirmat Leus, constantissimo vultu pernegabit, aut certe impudentissime mentietur, quod alienum fuerit ab illius moribus. Imo nunquam rescivi librum ab illo fuisse descriptum, priusquam hoc ante paucos abhinc dies discerem ex colloquio Lei. Nam proditor ille mihi factus amicior, tandem fassus est, apud se fuisse librum Lei, descriptum fuisse dissimulavit, metuens, opinor, ne quid me offenderet. Is reverso Basilea, post menses aliquot unicam duntaxat annotationem mihi communicavit, quam unam sibi servarat, quod illic viderer iniquior Augustino, cui tum impense favebat ille, velut addictus illius instituto. Eam mihi esse, nec apud Atensem dissimulavi, nec apud Leum. Nam hanc ex oratione mea moderatus est, in editione sui voluminis. Porro quod proditor ille scripserit Leo, nescio. Certe negotium dederam, ut aliqua techna librum eliceret. Eam ad rem quid ille commentus sit, nec ipse mihi narravit, nec ego percontatus sum. Fortassis ille scripsit, quod Leus ait, me dixisse, mihi librum missum ex Anglia. Et tamen hoc Leus ita narrat, quasi sit actum antequam irem Basileam, cum proditor ille nihil huiusmodi tentarit, nisi me reverso una cum annotationibus meis absolutis. Nam id temporis, nec librum venabar Lei, nec imaginabar illi plures esse annotationes, quam mihi communicasset. His affine est illud, quod scribit se nominatim citare posse duos testes, alterum Theologiæ candidatum, alterum publicum Professore, qui sæpenumero testati sint, audientibus aliquot Anglis, se vidisse librum annotationum Lei apud me. Si verum narrat Leus, aut illi oculos plusquam Lyncei habeant oportet, qui hoc apud me viderint quod apud me tum non erat, aut ego vere sim quod me facit Leus, id est, mirus præstigiator, qui falsa rei absentis imagine oculis illorum illuserim. Fieri potest, ut Vives, aut Alarius, nam hos duos designat opinor, schedam aliquam Lei apud me viderint. Nam hos aliquoties non exclusi cubiculo, idque priusquam irem Basileam, editurus denuo Novum Testamentum. Librum Lei neuter vidit, nec ante abitum, nec post reditum. Imo nec alius quisquam mortalium. Multa præteream oportet, Lector, ne sim molestior, velut illud, quod negat rumorem per se sparsum, cum liber illius vagaretur per omnia fere Monasteria. Apud Minoritas quatuor duntaxat descripserant, sed nemo non vidit. Jussi erant communicare librum, non erant jussi tacere. Idem factum est apud Martinenses. Idem apud Cartusieneses: nec dubito, quin apud alios item, nisi quod magis libet comperta referre. Apud Atensem

dem describēbant, conscīs et famulis et victoribus. Apud Anglos ita primum fuit apud paucos, ut, libro inter paucos familiares versante, rumorem tamen apud omnes evulgarent. Imo D. R. Rossensis suis ad me literis non diffitetur librum apud multos haberi. Et post hæc pernegat a se sparsum rumorem. Præterea illud, quod a reditu librum fecte a me peti ratio- cinatur, hoc argumento, quod mihi jam liberum non esset emendare quicquam. Imo testatus sum esse liberum, et id meo dispendio facturum pollicitus sum, si quid esset gravioris momenti. Item, quod ait, nihil tum de- fuisse secundæ editioni, præter præfationem, et perorationem, cætera omnia excusa, secus habet. Nam annotationum volumini deerat præfatio et coro- nis: prioris voluminis exemplar mecum extuleram Basileam, nondum satis recognitum, et absolutum illuc misi Lovanio. Rursus illud, quod scribit, se mihi nunquam negasse librum, cum nullius nec auctoritate, nec gratia potuerit unquam percelli, ut libri faceret copiam. Imo cum mihi tantam tribuat eloquentiam, ut possim quidvis etiam hosti persuadere, cum mihi tribuat præstigias, incantamenta, blanditias, lenocinia, quid non? tamen omnibus his artibus non quivi unquam percellere hominem amicum, ut mihi vel unum diem impartiret utendum. Hic demiratur impudentiam meam, qui inficias eam, me quicquam vidisse suarum annotationum, cum apud se schedas habuit, meapte manu notatas. At facile constabit veritas, si discer- namus tempora. Reversus Basilea, nihil vidi, meritoque inficior me vidisse, mendax futurus si fatear. Antequam irem, nunquam negavi mihi commu- nicatas schedas aliquot, nec opus est ad eam rem evincendam meo chirogra- pho, cum ingenue præ me feram. Ad hæc ait annotationes in hoc duntax- at fuisse collectas, ut admonerer, non ut ederentur. Id, si ex animo dicit, cur petenti non communicavit? Addit me passim apud omnes in se tum dic- tis tum epistolis debacchatum. Equidem fateor me questum apud amicos, quod ita mecum ageret, et idem questus est amicus illius Atensis, cui Leus tantum tribuit, imo nihil non tribuit, hoc uno excepto, quod noluerit libri sui copiam facere. Sed id feci longe moderatius, quam pro re, quamque Leus ipse. Neque enim me clam est, quæ de me tum dixerit, tum scripse- rit; et si clam esset, ex hoc libello licebat conjicere. Possem certioribus ar- gumentis docere, quam inimice Leus adversum me scripserit, nisi fugerem quosdam invidia gravare. Neminem fere nactus sum, qui cum Leo miscu- issent sermonem, quin mihi narraret quædam ab eo dicta, quæ testarentur animum prorsus hostilem. Quidam etiam longos dialogismos recensuerunt, quos verisimile non sit quenquam ex sese comminisci posse. Præterea refe- rentium ingens consensus. At hæc omnia Leus unica ratione diluit, eaque facillima, dejerans nihil horum verum esse. Non sum is qui facile credam uni aut alteri, præsertim in rebus odiosis. At demiror, si tam multi simul uno ore consentiunt in mentiando. Postremo nihil de me dixerat Leus, nisi apud me essent epistolæ ipsius manu descriptæ, in quibus, non admodum amice de me loquitur. Porro quod addit me de gente Britannica male tum sentire, tum loqui, quis non videt seditiosius quam verius esse dictum? Cui tandem Anglo vel pilo factus sum iniquior ob Leum? Imo admonui per literas Gallos ac Germanos, ne quid ob hanc rem læderent gentem mihi charissi-

cha iſſimam. An hoc eſt odio Lei de Britannis omnibus male ſentire? Imo hæcenus in nullius libris crebrius leguntur Britannicæ gentis laudes, quam in meis. Non eget illa me præcone, fateor, nec ego jacto meum officium; certe meis literis factum eſt, ut apud eruditos viros ſit aliquanto gratioſior, quam antehac fuerit, atque poſthac futura eſt, etiam invito Leo. Quamquam enim ille ſedulo miſcet cauſam ſuam cum cauſa gentis, non commitemus tamen, ut ullis probis aut doctis viris hoc perſuadeat. Non mihi tempero, quin dicam aliquid arrogantius; Leus hoc me ſuperat, quod Anglus natus eſt. Quam bene ſit de ſua gente poſthac meriturus, incertum. Hæcenus non illi concedo, ut melius ſit de ſua gente meritis quam ego, meriturus etiam melius, ſi queam. Cæterum quod toties inculcat R. P. Epifcopo Roſſenſi permiſſum arbitrium, idque me volente, Leicarum annotationum, res ad hunc habet modum. Scripſerat ad me Roſſenſis, ſi qua librum annotationum nanſciſci poſſet, protinus ad me miſſurum. Itaque cum Lei frater Antverpiæ mecum ageret, ut ſinerem Epifcopo Roſſenſi mitti librum, probavi, ſperans fore, ut illico mihi fieret ejus copia. Verum id illico ſuſpicans Lei ſimplicitas, obſtitit ne id illi liceret. Cupiebat mihi gratificari vir amiſſimus, at noluit Leo fallere fidem vir integerrimus. Id ego tacere maluiſſem: ſed ita res urget. Nunc videamus cauſas, quibus ait ſe provocatum, ut adverſus animi ſui ſententiam opus ederet. Erat locus in calce apologiæ, qua Latomi dialogo reſpondeo, mordax quidem ille, ſed ita temperatus, ut in neminem poſſit recidere ſuſpicio. Hoc nemo fuit offenſus aliorum: ſolus Leus ſe petitum interpretabatur. Cum ego vel inter familiariſſimos negarem me de Leo ſenſiſſe, ſed generali ſchemate voluiſſe detertere omnes. Fratri mecum agenti, reſpondi me hac in parte deſiderare Lei prudentiam, qui hoc a me peteret, quod imprimis aucturum eſſet hominum ſuſpicionem. Nunc vix erant decem Lovanii, qui de Leo ſuſpicabantur, idque quantum ego deprehendere potui, Leo auctore. Si quid de ea re reſcripſiſſem, omnibus injeciſſem tacitam ſuſpicionem. * At meum conſilium tum frater videbatur amplecti. Fortaſſe non abs re fuerit locum hunc huc aſcribere: is ad hunc habet modum: “*Eſt* alter quidam ex meris dolis, technis, fucisque compoſitus, confutus, conflatus, ad mendacia, ad obtrectiones, ad glorias, ad ſycophantias natus, factus, ſculptuſque; qui nihil non machinatur, ut ſibi celebre nomen paret apud poſteros, et alios ſui memores faciat, male merendo de his, qui de omnibus ſtudent bene mereri, videlicet via ad parandam famam mire compendiaria, ſed omnium ſcleratiſſima. Non dico quis ſit, neque cujus ſit, neque ubi gentium agat, nec dicturus ſum, niſi ipſe ſeſe prodiderit.” *Quæſo* te, Lector, quid hic eſt, cur Leus unus omnium debuerit commoveri? Commoneri potius debuit, ſi quid in nos edere vellet, ita ſtylum moderaretur, ne quid horum in ſe dictum videri poſſet. Qui hæc tam in genere dicta torquet in ſe, nimirum idem poſſit et Similium et Proverbiorum meorum bonam partem in ſe detorquere. Hic Leus magnopere civilitatem in me deſiderat, qui hæcenus ſic temperavi ſtylum meum, ut cum tam multa ſcripſerim, ac toties ſim atrociffime provocatus, in neminem nominatim debacchatus ſim odioſus: cum ipſe primam eloquentiæ ſuæ fortunam a tali libello ſit auſpicatus, de quo ipſe nihil pronuncio, cum in me

* Rather *Et*.

ſi.

fit scriptus; graves et eruditi viri tacitis apud se judiciis pronunciabunt. Jam fingat aliquis, me locum eum in Leum torfisse, cur illum dicor orbi traducere, quem nulla nota designo? An totus orbis divinare novit, quid ego sentiam? Jam, quot ait typographos, vel pecunia mea corruptos, vel minis deterritos, ne librum ederent, ipsi typographi norunt esse secus, ac palam reclamant. Addit argumentum, quod nescio cui confessus sum me poenitere facti. Nihil hujusce rei fassus sum, nisi ipsi Leo, cui dixi me non editurum fuisse epistolam ad Lupsetum, si Rossensis epistola fuisset in tempore reddita. Nam id malebam, sic temperari rem, ut nec ego magnopere læderer a Leo, et mihi liceret citra illius contumeliam respondere. Jam quo justius videatur sic incaluisse, impingit mihi dialogum bilinguium et trilinguium, cum ego eadem facilitate possim ipsi vel illum, vel alium quemvis impingere. Rogo quid in eo libello meum est? Num phrasis? num inventio? num judicium? Undique prodeunt agminatim istiusmodi nugamenta, et mihi tam occupato libellus ineptus obtruditur? Quid alii suspicentur nescio, meæ ad amicos literæ testabuntur olim me multis nominibus hujusmodi libellos detestatum esse, et hodie detestari, qui, ut nihil aliud, onerant causam bonarum literarum, quibus unice faveo. Proinde non est meum ei libello patrocinari: patrocinetur qui commentus est. Ipse qui sit, nondum rescire potui; si scirem admonerem, ut a talibus ineptiis posthac temperaret. At hic sane lubens appellarim, qua fronte ausit mihi rem tam invidiosam impingere, cum ne levissimum quidem habeat argumentum, quo id doceat. Et hoc facit apud universum orbem (nam testatur orbi scribere se) quod si quis faciat apud judicem unum, nemo laturus sit. Quid Germani Leo scripserint, aut minati sint nescio. Quod ego monui, puto me amice fecisse, an prudenter fecerim nescio. Hic laudibus effert Germanum quempiam juvenem, adprime doctum, reliquosque Germanos omnes, quos omnium bonarum principes literarum appellat, videlicet ut illos sibi conciliet. At non sunt adeo stupidi Germani bonarum literarum principes, ut ament hominem, qui fabulam hanc ediderit orbi, qua non alia fuit unquam jucundior bonarum literarum hostibus. Non est usque adeo facile in animos eruditorum hominum irrepere. Ego tot editis voluminibus de studiis optimis studui bene mereri. Multi fatentur se nonnullam ex meis lucubrationibus utilitatem accepisse. Quanquam autem nunc exoriantur, qui me suo splendore obscurant, tamen hoc mihi se debere fatentur, quod multorum studia excitarim. Sunt innumeri, qui putent sibi nonnihil etiam honesti nominis ex meis scriptis accessisse. His rebus mihi conciliavi complurium eruditorum benevolentiam, non in una quapiam regione, sed per orbem fere Christianum. An Leus fore putat, ut hi omnes in tali libello laudati tribus verbis, illico desciscant a me, et in hujus castra transeant? Sed testatur se favere bonis literis: oratio quidem est amici, sed factum ipsum est plusquam hostile. Non deerant, qui cupiebant hoc aggredi, quod aggeffus est Leus. Verum alios pigebat laboris, alios deterrebat invidia, nonnulli fortasse diffidebant suis præsiidiis; quosdam suppudebat. Quam his existimamus esse gratum, talem extitisse sibi vexilliferum, qui non vereatur etiam alienæ temeritatis invidiam in se suscipere, modo penes ipsum sit

Read quod.

facti

facti gloria? Pari facilitate mihi impingit schedam nescio quam, de qua vix etiam rumore quicquam cognoveram. Mox onerabor multis criminibus, si quicquid hic aut ille ludit aut ineptit, mihi auctori velit obtrudere. Mox, ex hac occasione, se sycophantam pollicetur fore carpendis libris meis. Nam hæc illi visa est bella transitio, per quam a superioribus digressus, incipiat commemorare quid agat in suis annotationibus. Et tamen hic quoque veniam petit, sicubi fuerit hallucinatus, cum mihi veniam neget, etiam in his, quæ ipse sponte correxi in opere, non ad carpendum sed ad docendum parato. Pergit respondere locis aliquot meæ ad Lupsetum epistolæ, sed dissimulans eam sibi lectam. Ait se dubitare, verumne sit, quod summus Pontifex approbavit opus meum, quasi pauci viderint ipsum diploma, aut quasi ego is essem artifex, qui fingam diplomata. Neque Pontifex ita probat, nec ego ita probari volui, quasi nihil inesset erroris, sed ex cujus lectione nonnulla utilitas reditura sit ad Theologiæ studiosos. Quis autem scripsit unquam, quod omnium doctorum calculis undique probaretur? Leo sat esse debet, quod hi probant, quibus ille nihil non tribuit. Probavit Atensis, probavit Dorpius, probavit non oratione solum, verum etiam epistolis non ad me tantum scriptis R. D. Episcopus Roffensis. At Leo nihil habet ponderis approbatio, nisi toto opere verbatim et exacte discussio. Atqui nostrum est imaginari, Pontificem non prius probare, ni per se, vel per alios, satis excussio negotio. Quod si talis excussor accedat qualis est Leus, fortassis in Ambrosio, in Hieronymo, non pauca reperient, quæ magnis tragœdiis possint exagitari. Atque hic multa congerit Leus, quæ non diceret, si in utramque editionem legisset præfationes meas, quas pridem mihi fassus est, sibi non esse lectas, et hinc apparet illum nondum legisse. Nam appellat me atque urget hoc cornuto dilemmate: Posterior editio tua diffidet a priore locis aliquot in Græcis. Si factum est hoc arbitrato tuo, quæ Christianæ aures ferent hominis arbitrato mutari sacras literas? Sin diversum secutus es exemplar, consequetur, ut si decem sint exemplaria diversa, decem sint Evangelia. Ad hæc, prudens Lector, ut nemo respondeat quicquam, tamen vides quid responderi possit: imo quam non oporteat quicquam responderi. Ego toties testor me non edere hæc, ut receptam translationem possessione dejiciam, admoneo ne quisquam his fidat, nisi viderit orthodoxorum lectionem et interpretationem, nisi viderit antiquos emendatos codices consentire. Nec aliud propono, nisi quod reperitur in libris Græcorum, sive id rectum sit, sive secus. Executienda propono, non sequenda. Hac conditione, si vertissem Evangelium Nazareorum, si Joseph, aut Nicodemi, quid erat periculi Christianæ religioni? si tantum habet periculi varietas, cur nemo clamat in utrumque Testamentum, nuper ex Aldina profectum officina? Illic multa dissentiunt a nostris libris. Variant exemplaria Græca, fateor: sed variant et Latina. Si ideo nulla sit auctoritas Græcis codicibus, quia per omnia non consentiunt, ne Latinis quidem erit, quia in multis dissentiunt. Ideone protinus erunt decem Evangelia, si pauculis aliquot locis dissonant codices? Aliter legit Augustinus, aliter Ambrosius, aliter Cyprianus. Ipse Hieronymus non semper eadem legit. Quid hinc ortum est discriminis religioni Christianæ? Hieronymus correxit veterem lectionem Evangeliorum. Num is protinus pro
quatuor

quatuor Evangeliiis nobis reddidit octo? Vetus Testamentum vertit ad Hebraicam aut Chaldaicam veritatem, in plerisque locis dissentiens a recepta multis sæculis translatione. Num continuo pro uno Testamento Veteri, duo nobis reddidit? Psalmos iterum atque iterum nobis emendavit, num tot nobis peperit Psalteria, quoties emendavit? Et tamen ille sic invexit nova, ut vetera ceu vitiata, submoverit, ego præmoneo ne id fiat, nisi re comperta, tum auctoritate eorum, quorum hoc interest. Laudatur et a Leo Origenis modestia, quod in Evangeliiis veritatem lectionis adnotarit in margine, non mutarit receptam lectionem. Et tamen quod annotavit, annotavit non ex Hebræis, sed ex Græcis exemplaribus. Ego modestius ago, qui vulgatam editionem prorsus intactam relinquens, ad Græcorum lectionem, quam non aliter valere cupio, nisi si ad veterum codicum fidem, nisi si ad excellentium ac probatorum auctorum citationem, et interpretationem respondeat, quæ congruant ostendo, quæ dissonent indico. Varietatem addo, non in marginibus, sed in meis annotatiunculis, ubique deferens Ecclesiæ judicio, ubique Lectori prudenti suum iudicium liberum relinquens. Non clamo quod Hieronymus, Hæc est veritas, quod verterunt Septuaginta mendacium est. Imo contra moneo Lectorem, ne fidito mihi, discute quod afferimus, ne fide Græcis exemplaribus: in quibusdam illis non accedo, confer omnia, atque ita sequere quod maxime probas. Hac in re tam fui diligens, ut cum nuper adornaret Theodoricus meus Alostenis edere Novum Testamentum a me versum, juxta Græcorum exemplaria, vetare conatus sim ne fieret. Id cum non impetrarem, addidi Præfationem, haudquaquam in rem Typographi, sed tamen qua Lectori consuleretur, ne quid erraret imprudens. Et post hæc, non video quæ discrimina fidei Christianæ somniet Leus. Ego neque quemquam hortor, ut secus legat in scholis, aut in Ecclesia, nec ipse secus lego, quam legunt cæteri. Hæc quæ scribimus, citra periculum leguntur in cubiculis. Et tamen sunt in vulgatis exemplaribus quædam, quæ defendi non possunt. Sunt quæ ob Interpretis incommoditatem, nec a magnis Theologis sunt hætenus intellecta. Si quis mihi duos codices proferet, vel manu descriptos, vel in diversis officinis excusos, qui per omnia consentiunt, fatebor quicquid variat nullius esse ponderis debere. Edidit et nuper quidam utrumque Testamentum, in marginibus annotans varietatem lectionis, nimirum e nostris exemplaribus. Num ob id vacillavit Divinæ Scripturæ auctoritas? Sæpenumero aliud canit chorus Ecclesiasticus, aliud legit etiam in eodem templo. Numquid ponderis ideo decedit Scripturæ Divinæ? Porro quod posterior editio mea minus consentit cum priore, partim et illud fuit in causa: Præfecti erant castigandis, ut vocant, formis, duo, Joannes Œcolampadius Theologus, et Nicolaus Gerbelius juris utriusque Doctor, et habebant exemplar Capnionis, eleganter sane depictum, sed non protinus liber elegans, idem est et castigatus. Ad hunc multa mutarant ex exemplari meo, priusquam sentirem. Ubi sensi, jussi eos sequi codicem minus quidem nitidum, sed emendatiorem. Quod si tertia editione nanscisci queam exemplar superioribus etiam emendatius, an nefas sit dissentire a secunda editione? Rursum si quartum, si quintum, si sextum, si septimum, si octavum, si nonum, si decimum, ita ut posterius semper sit priore castigatius, num verebor

verebor impartire studiosis, præsertim incolumi lectione Ecclesiastica? Denique si dormitassent Operæ in priore editione, nolles me posteriore culpam illam sarcire? Leus vel in hoc suo libello gustum coepit, quid sit habere rem cum typographis, quo debeat æquior esse nobis, in tam prolixo, tamque difficili opere. Hæc cum tot locis differuerim, in epistolis, in præfationibus, in apologiis, erat hoc prudentiæ Lei, prius illa legere, quam hæc seditiose magis quam tempestive jactaret in nos. Verum admonet, complures esse cupidos novarum rerum, ac vitandam fuisse occasionem offendiculi. Imo si quid tumultus unquam est natum, id haudquaquam a nobis est ortum, sed potius ab istis, qui vociferari non desinunt apud populum, corrigi Pater noster, corrigi Magnificat, corrigi Evangelium sancti Joannis. Vetus Evangelium nullius esse ponderis, prodisse novum. Hæc spargunt apud aulicos magnates: hæc apud mulierculas, apud imperitam plebeculam: hæc per omnia Monasteria decantantur. Hi rabulæ si quievissent, dispeream si intra centum annos nostro labore quisquam fuisset offensus. At qui hæc vociferantur, adeo stupidi sunt, ut non intelligant quod reprehendunt, aut adeo pigri, ut non libeat inspicere quod damnant. His non potuit optatior exoriri patronus quam Leus. Pergit et indignatur, quod non fuerim contentus indice, quo prioris editionis errata commonstrarem Lectori, manente priore editione incolumi, quemadmodum fecit Augustinus. Atqui temporibus Augustini, quum describebantur libri, non excudebantur, vix potuit succurri erratis, nisi per indicem. Quod si fuisset illi typographorum subsidium, idem, opinor, fecisset, quod ego feci. Ad hæc Augustinus cum auctoritate scribebat, nimirum Episcopus, quo magis erat illi curandum, ne cui fieret auctor erroris. Et tamen cum multa retractarit Augustinus, non pauca tamen reliquit retractanda. Ita loquor, quasi sit erratum in multis, et a me tantum sit erratum. Postremo quasi nihil aliud ageretur, quam ut emendatius exiret quod exisset. Nunc erant et operarum, et castigatorem errata sarcienda, et totum opus variis modis locupletandum, ut non tam recognitum quam recusum videri posset. Quorsum autem opus erat titulo retractationis, cum et in priore voluminis editione pollicitus sim me posteriore mutaturum, si quid ibi cessatum esset. Ac rursus in posteriore non dissimulo me in multis a me dissentire, moderatum esse quædam, breviter omnia reddidisse meliora. Divus Hieronymus prioribus commentariis in Abdiam, quia non probabat, substituit novos. Qui hic objurgatur, quod non indice potius proposuerit, quicquid in superioribus damnalet? Permulta dissimulo, Lector optime, ne te simul ac me occidam tædio. Nam facile fero quod se Joanni Evangelistæ, Hieronymo, Augustino, Origeni confert; me Cerintho, Helvidio, Manichæis, ac Celso comparat. Et hæc scribit qui in me tantopere desiderat Christianam modestiam: nec ferre potest, quod Erostrati atque Ortuini meminero. Nec his contentus, iterum atque iterum simili schemate utitur. Appellat me calumniatorem Scripturæ Sacræ, qui ex Græcorum fontibus, qui ex vetustis, ac bonæ fidei codicibus, qui ex orthodoxorum interpretum citationibus et commentariis, efficere studeam, ut nostri codices et minus depravari possint, et rectius intelligantur, relinquens interim intactam Vulgatam, qualis qualis est, editionem, et ubique me subdens Ecclesiæ judicio.

Atque adeo, ne cui furtim irrepere viderer, opus ipsum Romano Pontifici Leoni decimo dedicavi, nec id feci, ni prius illo per literas facto certiore, quid facere destinassem. Et nescio quid magnum discrimen nunciat imminere rebus Christianorum, nisi hic subito exortus, rebus dubiis tulisset præsentaneam opem. Jam quod gloriæ sibi ducit Dorpium quoque et Eccium annotasse quædam in meis commentariis, vellem ut quemadmodum in admonendo placuit illos imitari, ita modestiam etiam illorum præstitisset. Nam uterque privatim admonuit, et citra virulentiam aut seditionem. Quod eo magis præstare debuit Leus, quo magis ab utroque separatur, cum dignitate gradus Theologici, tum eruditione. Negat sibi dissimulandum fuisse, cum res tenderet in Ecclesiæ perniciem. Fingamus Novum Testamentum in uno aut altero loco vitiatum ab hæreticis, quod secus esse demonstrabimus, quæso quod hinc periculum Ecclesiæ? Cum legatur Lactantius tot locis aberrans a rectitudine fidei catholicæ, cum Petrus Lombardus, non paucis in locis idem faciens. Præsertim cum clamem, hæc quædamus, cum judicio legenda. Adeo ut, quemadmodum modo dixi, cum nuper excudere vellent Novum Testamentum, omissis Græcis, et nostris annotationibus, obstiterim, cumque nihil proficerem, addita præfatiuncula præmonui Lectorem, ne falli posset. Quid si repertos Aarii libros edidissim in vulgus, num periculum esset Ecclesiæ? Profecto nihilo plus quam cum Hieronymus verteret libros *πρὸς ἀρχαίαν*, bona fide reddens Latinis auribus, quicquid^s ille quantumvis impium Græce scripsisset. Identidem objicit mihi retractationes Augustini. At, ut modo dixi, sunt hodie quoque in libris Augustini, quæ novam retractationem desiderent. Mutavi quæ mihi videbantur errata, mutaturus et alia si deprehendero. Adfuit, imo præfuit editioni priori Joannes Œcolampadius, vir cum primis integer, ac præter trium linguarum peritiam, nec in re Theologica Leo posthabendus, ne quid dicam odiosius. Rogatus est a me, moneret, præsertim si quid ad fidei sinceritatem attineret. Adfuit, subinde nos intervicens, Vuolphangus Capito. Utrique plurimum tribuit Leus, aut certe tribuere videri vult. Atque utinam Lodovico Bero fuisse otium nostra propius intuendi. Quid facerem? Leum non noveram. Et quis crederet in juvene, id temporis nulla adhuc eruditionis opinione celebri, tam eximiam esse doctrinam? Sed fuerit sane causa, ut admoneret, quid erat necesse rem tam seditiose, tam inimice tractare, haud scio, meone an ipsius majore dedecore? Veretur ipse, ne neuter satis optimam laudem sit ex hac conflictatione relaturus. Atqui hoc erat in illius potestate, cavere ne fieret. Atque id fecisset, si prudentium amicorum literis obsequi, quam vel suo animo morem gerere, vel quorundam instinctibus auscultare maluisset. At non tulit aculeos epistolæ meæ. Non sat erat epistolam epistola retaliare? Nihil usquam in toto opere reliquum est, quod non impotens quoddam odium præ se ferat; præfatiuncula, ^t quam mihi scilicet mittit opus efflagitatum, altera qua salutem inclitam Academiam Lovaniensem, mox elenchus, deinde annotationes, rursus apologia; quasi nihil esset satis illius in me odio. Sed interim sibi modestus videtur, quod arbitretur me dignum atrocioribus. Sic qui jugulat inimicum suum, putat illum majoribus dignum malis. Fatetur

^s Nempe, Origenes.^t Read qua.

mox hominem esse se, labi posse, satis agnoscere quam sit exili præditus eruditione. Proinde negat se quicquam affirmaturum, imo velle iudicium omne penes lectorem esse, imo promittit palinodiam sicubi lapsus fuerit. Hæc si scribit ex animo, cur ubique tam procaciter incessit mea, imo me quoque? An hoc est suo iudicio diffidentis, et rem alieno permittentis arbitrio? Porro quod scribit de solœcismis, deque portentis Grammaticorum, de pernicioſa eloquentia, quum ad hoc negotium non admodum pertinent, omittimus excutere. Videmus alia de quibus magis illius referebat admoneri. Sed quum perspicimus hanc ipsam quam habet dictionis facultatem fere ex libris meis hausſe, atque adeo ex ipſo quod infectatur opere, vere juxta Græcorum proverbium: *Ex ipſo bono lora defumentem*; non commitemus, ut illum magis etiam in nos armemus. Illud utinam præstitiſſet, quod se pollicetur sine dente, sine naſo, sine dicacitate cauſam hanc acturum, adeo ut vereatur, necubi nimium modestus fuiſſe videatur. Poſtremo minatur mihi nescio quid, niſi calamos omnium cohibeam. De me ipſo polliceor, et præſtabo, vel hoſtium iudicio, modestia ſuperior Leo, de cæteris hætenus præſtabo quantum erit mihi in manu. Amplius a me nec amiciffimus queat ſtipulari. In calce non vult haberi fidem odio, ſed vereor, ne hac lege ſæpenumero non habenda ſit ipſi fides, qui nuſquam non ſerviat ſtomacho ſuo. Atque interim negat ſibi odium fuiſſe in conſilio. Hætenus quæ ad primam apologiam reſpondenda videbantur. Huic ſubnectit indicem, ſingulis pene titulis aliquid impingentem contumeliæ. Si quid ad Græcorum exemplar ſecus verto quam in noſtra feratur editione, temere atque impie violo lectionem Eccleſiaſticam. Vocat in ſuſpicionem, quod parum ſolide ſentiam de ſacramento matrimonii, quod omnem coitum ſpurcum eſſe ducam, quod faveam Pelagianis, aliſque hæreticis. Concitat in me Theologos neotericos omnes, ac Fratrum, quos vocant Mendicantes, totos Ordines. Alia his conſimilia. Atque hæc, vir immodicam pene modestiam pollicitus, indicem vocat. Hæc quanto ſint atrocius dicta, quam pro re, mox docebimus, cum ad illius annotationes veniemus. Interim hoc te, quæſo, quiſquis es, Lector, ſuspende pauliſper ſententiam, et alteram aurem integram mihi ſerva. Nam præſtat, opinor, eodem curſu, ad coronides, quas annotationibus ſubjunxit quo creſceret volumen, paucis reſpondere. In exemplari quod nobis commodavit honorabile Collegium Corſendonenſe, inter varias picturas habebatur et hæc, Divina *Teia*, cum ambientibus Angelorum choris. Sub hac aureis literis habebantur diſtincta, quæ ſic tribuuntur Perſonis Divinis, ut eadem ſint omnium, ruruſus quæ numero multitudinis illis attribuantur. Deinde fidei ſymbolum, ſub quo pictus erat homo, nonnihil ſublatus e terra, jamque ceu fidei alis, paulatim tendens in cœlum. Hac pictura delectatus Frobenius, ut opinor, abſente atque inſcio me, quod illic viderat addidit ſuo volumini. Ejus facti invidiam Leus impingit mihi, quaſi ſi typographus in operis frontiſpicio præfigeret picturam aliquam obſcœnam, ego ſim ob id in juſ vocandus. Si ejus picturæ ulla uſquam a me facta eſt mentio, non reuſo quo minus imputetur mihi. Explanet illam alius quicumque velit. Quod ſi maxime illic habeantur, quæ diſſonant a ſymbolis Latinorum, non inele-

^v Read *bove*. *Ἐκ τῆς βόδς τῆς ἱμάντας λαμβάνειν*. See Erasmus, tom. ii. col. 100. LXXVII.

gans fuerit et hoc scire, quibus in rebus, aut quibus in verbis a nobis Græci diffenserint. Quod si quis eum codicem hujus picturæ gratia suspectum habeat, sciat me nulli exemplari minus fîsum quam illi, quanquam eo nullum erat elegantius. Venio nunc ad illius dialogum, et in transcurso paucula quædam attingam, ne nunquam finiatur hæc rixa. Hic rursus inculcat me omnes ipsius annotationes vidisse, priusquam abirem Basileam, quo quicquid recte mutatum est sibi vindicet. Quod etiam si millies iteret, millies dicturus est quod a vero diffidet. Nec adeo mirum est, si in hoc tantopere laborat, quod profecto ni obtinet, perierint illæ graves obtestationes, quas epiphonematum vice subnectit aliquoties suis annotationibus: *Obtestor te, Erasme, per charitatem Christianam; obtestor te per viscera Christi, recognosce opus tuum, retrahere errores tuos*; quibus hoc agit, ut Lector non satis gnarus hujus concordiae, putet me hortatu atque auctoritate Lei suscepisse prioris editionis castigationem, si scripsit hæc antequam aggressus essem opus, quomodo queritur quod Lovanii meis improbis flagitationibus fuerit adactus ut susciperet hoc negotium, cum negari non possit, me magna ex parte recognitionem absolvisse, priusquam Leum vidissem? Si post susceptum negotium hæc monet, quorsum attinebat monere ut facerem, quod jam facientem videbat? Postremo cur hæc nunquam licuit mihi legere nisi nunc demum, jam per orbem sparsa editione posteriore? Non haberent locum crebri dialogismi, quos ita mecum miscet, quasi communi consilio peregerimus hoc opus. Non posset a me tanquam suas plumas repetere, quæ ille vel post abitum meum, vel posteriore jam editione vulgata, suis addidit annotationibus: Non posset, inquam, quæ ille ex meis annotationibus locupletatis, ascripsit suis, ab homine ingratisimo reposcere. Hæc nisi suis locis ostendero prudenti Lectori, non gravabor totius operis laudem in solidum Leo cedere. Sed operæ pretium fuerit videre quibus lemmatis hoc doceat in suis annotationibus, revellens a me plumam suam, quam illi suffuratus fueram annotatione cccxliii. In calce Apocalypsis in exemplari, quod tum nobis erat unicum, nam is liber apud Græcos rarus est inventu, deerat unus atque alter versus. Eos nos addidimus, secuti Latinos codices: et erant ejusmodi, ut ex his quæ præcesserant possent reponi. Cum igitur Basileam mitterem recognitum exemplar, scripsi amicis, ut ex editione Aldina restituerent eum locum: nam mihi nondum emtum erat hoc opus. Id ita ut jussi factum est. Quæso, quid hic debetur Leo? An ipse quod deerat restituit? Atqui nullum habebat exemplar, nisi meum? Sed admonuit. Quasi vero non hoc testatus sim in prioribus annotationibus, quid illic egissem, et quid desiderarem. Quamquam hac de re Leus nullum unquam mihi fecit verbum. Nec arbitror id temporis rem ab eo deprehensam, nec ipse audet hoc asseverare, nisi persuadeat hanc schedam a proditore fuisse communicatam, quam personam nisi induxisset, non constitisset hæc fabula. Atque in re falsissima, vide quam magnifice loquitur? *Agnoscat ergo creditorem suum homo omnium ingratisissimus: et ne amplius calumniatur, se non vidisse annotationes meas.* Sed quod hic tam fortiter asseverat, paulo superius ceu dubium fecerat. Certe, inquit, aliud mihi persuaderi non poterit, nisi ille aliam justam rationem reddiderit, cur hic expunctum sit, quod prior editio habet. Si justam attulero causam,

sam, cur eum locum mutarim, fassurus videtur, me postremam annotationem non vidisse, et si eam non vidi, perit lemma, quo me colligit omnes vidisse reliquas. Atqui in promptu est causa justissima. In prior editione destituit nos exemplar, in posteriore succurrit exemplar Aldinum. Itaque hic præstiti, quod in prior me facturum sum pollicitus. Porro illi lemmati: *Proditor ille habuit omnes in manu, igitur communicavit omnes*: respondeat proditor ipse. An omnes habuerit nescio, mihi præter unicam, nullam unquam communicavit, idque jam evulgato opere. Proinde quod Leus totius hujus fabulæ basim esse vult, proditor ille fortissime pernegabit, fortassis et calumniæ reum acturus Leum, ni religionis pudor obfisteret. Habet causam, opinor, satis justam. At quis interim mihi sarciet, quod hujusmodi næniis fretus, toties me vocat ingratiſſimum, toties mendacem, toties aliis atque aliis nominibus? Non poterit, inquit, mihi aliud persuaderi. Facile illi persuaderetur, nisi nimium sibi persuasisset, ad hanc quam instituit fabulam conducere, ut ita res credatur habere, quemadmodum ille prædicat, sed hoc minore cum fide, quod nimium anxie, nimiumque subinde. At paulo post velut oblitus fui reddens causas, cur mihi librum negarit: *Nemo*, inquit, *sanus committit se fidei insidiatoris. Si is librum habuisset, potuisset me invito edere.* Qui minus mihi licuisset edere schedas majore illius malo? Utitur et alio lemmate: *Qui postremam vidit, vidit omnes.* Cum sine ordine traderet schedas, quid vetat, quo minus potuerim videre postremam, ne prima quidem visa? Alicubi ratiocinatur me citasse quædam ipsius monitu, quasi non citarim plus trecenta loca in posteriore editione, quæ in prior non citaram, idque nullo monitore. Sed hujus generis permulta demonstrabimus cum respondebimus ipsis annotationibus, Lectori defatigato non injucunda futura. Hoc ipso se suspectum facit Lectori, quod non contentus semel atque iterum dixisse, tam anxie repetit atque inculcat. Non est adeo sollicita veritas. Puto me sic esse notum eruditis viris, ut non admodum me venditem plumis alienis. Ipse frequenter meas plumas in aliorum scriptis deprehendo, nec tamen hac gratia cuiquam unquam antehac fui molestus, neque posthac futurus sum. Sed pergam reliqua percurrere. Impudentem me vocat, qui non verear dicere, Leum nullius auctoritate potuisse percelli, ut vel voce mihi proferret unum ex annotationibus locum, experturus an possim defendere. Quod dixi verissimum est, etiamsi priusquam irem Basileam non inficior schedas aliquot mihi communicatas, quod et ante jam diluimus. Quod opus illius scripsi mendaciis aspersum, fortasse dictum videbitur incivilius. Sed tamen id tum ex unica annotatione collegi, in qua tamen ille quædam moderatus est, quæ fortasse suo loco demonstrabuntur, ne frustra nobis hoc excidisse videatur. Etiamsi non est in animo quicquam in hac responsione odiosius in Leum regerere, cum me toties mendacem appellet, toties ingratum, toties impostorem, toties fucatum, aut aliud quidvis, jussit quod splendida bilis. Scribit ob hanc causam potissimum noluisse suum opus nondum satis tornatum manibus meis credere, ne mihi liberum esset, ubi libuisset evulgare. Atqui si verum est, quod toties asseverat, opus apud me fuisse, frustra suum exemplar apud se premebat. Ut impudens mendacium impingit, quod pro trecentis locis, sexcentos dixerim, quasi non passim idem dicamus pro decem, quoties magnum numerum intelligi volumus!

mus! Ait se juxta doctrinam Evangelicam, ubi frustra semel atque iterum admonuit privatim, nunc rem ad Ecclesiam deferre. Primum ut demus hoc esse: *Dic Ecclesiae*: quod hic talibus libris in me debacchatur; docebo suis locis, eas annotationes, in quibus atrocissime in me invehitur, et orbem in me concitat, nunquam mihi fuisse communicatas, neque scripto, neque colloquio, imo ne Atenſi quidem, ut arbitror. Nam vir ille minime mendax, cum alias sæpius in privato colloquio, tum in cœtu multorum, eo tempore quo pax est mihi facta cum Theologis, quam malæ linguæ nonnihil labefactarant, testatus est in annotationibus Lei, quas ipse quidem vidisset, nihil esse contumeliæ. Nec video an satis hæc sibi content; ait se gravissimis causis adductum ut ederet suas annotationes, ne religio Christiana periclitaretur, et tamen negat se editurum fuisse, nisi fuisset a me perpulsus. Sub hæc redit eo, ut probet me bis obstitisse, quo minus ederetur liber, altero typographo fascinato, nam hoc utitur verbo, cui hoc consilio Paraphrasim meam obtruserim, ne vacaret excudere librum ipsius. At his omnibus reclamationibus fortiter typographus ille, indigne ferens hæc in se conferri mendacia. Cur ille mutarit sententiam, causam * adfert ipse. Postremo quid mea Paraphrasis poterat efficere, nisi ut opus Lei differretur ad dies duodecim? Postremo, quid opus erat obtrusa Paraphrasi rem interturbare, cum mihi verbo idem facere licuisset? Jam, quod ait, me nec sumtui pepercisse, quo negotium impedirem, id totum suaviter rident typographi, sibi probe consciî me ne verbum quidem in eam rem insumsisse, nec unquam ægre tuli, quod Latomi dialogum excudissent, cujus moderationem utinam Deus esset imitatus, ut quo est eruditione inferior, modestia fuisset saltem æqualis. Porro ideo tum usus sum opera Hillenii, si mihi factorum meorum Leo reddenda est ratio, quod Theodoricus negaret sibi esse operas. Porro quod tam prolixè sentit de Capnione, deque Capitone, mihi sane vehementer probatur. Sed interim non veretur pessime sentire de Erasmo, de quo illi sentiunt optime, hac sane in parte haud multum illis tribuens, illius caput impetens veneno tinctis spiculis, pro cujus honore illi non dubitarent subire capitis discrimen, tum eam factionem adjuvans, quæ jam tot annis molitur exitium Capnioni. Retorquet in me, quod, velut Aristarchus quispiam, censoriam virgulam, etiam cum imperio exerceam in omnes, tanquam e cathedra pronuncians: veterum dogmata convellam, nec veteribus parcens, nec neotericis, ne Ecclesiastica quidem dogmata sinens intemerata, qui deliriis hæreticorum favere videar, qui jus quoddam mihi vindicem in Theologiam, qui præter me contemniam omnes. Hic est catalogus laudum, quas homo Christianæ modestiæ columen in me congerit. Eas non gravabor omnes agnoscere, si docere possit, me quemquam omnino mortalium unquam præ me contempsisse. In Theologia nemo minus sibi sumsit unquam quam ego, qui partem omnium infimam, hoc est, Grammaticam mihi delegerim, sublimiora illa relinquens felicioribus. Nec in his ipsis pronuncio, annotationes appello, non dogmata, et excutienda propono, non promo oracula. Si dissentire alicubi a veteribus, aut recentioribus, est illis non parcere, hoc mihi cum multis atque adeo cum Leo quoque commune est. Cum lubet, libere dissentit ab Hieronymo, libere ab Ambrosio, nec dubito quin multo fre-

* Read adferat.

quentius

quentius a Lyrano similibusque, si detur occasio. Quam patrociner hæreticis, suis locis aperietur. Non improbat opus meum, tantum desiderat in me plusculum diligentiae, plusculum modestiae, et forte nonnullis in locis, plusculum iudicii. Hæc si vera sunt, quid opus erat tam seditioso tumultu nostrum opus incessere? quando quod in me desiderat, nemo non desiderat in Hieronymo, et fortassis in Augustino. Exactam diligentiam in opere tam grandi, tam vario, tamque perplexo jure desideraverit Deus, si ipse in opere suo pusillo eam præstitit, in quo tamen plus biennium desudavit. Quod quam sit exiguum tum demum apparuerit, si præfationes, si apologias, mea sententia non ob aliud in longum porrectas, quam ne libellus nimium pusillus videretur, si detrahas dialogismos, in quibus mea recenset, postremo si detrahas ea quibus præter causam mecum delitigat. Ne quid interim de subditiis, et iisdem subinde repetitis. Nam his quoque rationibus crescunt volumina per se pusilla. Sed meum opus vult periculosissimum videri, de quo nihilo plus erat periculi, quam fuerit in utriusque Testamenti voluminibus, nuper ex Aldina officina profectis. Siquidem et illic conspicimus multa quæ a nostra dissentiant lectione. Imo, ni fallor, aliquanto minus, cum meum opus prodierit tot rationibus communitum adversus hujusmodi periculum, illud nudum exierit et inerme, nullam secum adferens antidotum. Neque tamen prorsus dormitavimus, ut existimat Deus, neque non libuisset oculis alienis uti, si cui fuisset otium attentius expendendi libros alienos. At vix invenias tam amicos qui velint, tam otiosos quibus vacet id facere. Citius reperias inimicos qui carpant opus editum, quam amicos qui castigant edendum. Certe rogavimus amicos aliquot doctos, ut admonerent, præsertim si quid ad Christianæ pietatis, aut fidei rem pertinere judicarent. Quod si quem novissem usque adeo iudicii felicitis, ut quicquid ille pronunciasset placitum fuerit universis, hunc imprimis adhibuissem in consilium. Nunc in tanta sententiarum et ingeniorum varietate, secutus sum quod amiculis illis, quos dixi, meoque animo tum videretur optimum. Pernegat Deus se quicquam unquam de me secus quam honorifice fuisse loquutum. Id si verum est, demiror tam multos tot comœdias tam probabiliter potuisse confingere, idque magno consensu, cum raro secum etiam consentient qui mentiuntur. Sed hujus rei satis conscius sum, ad quos Deus frequenter de me scripsit, et ita scripsit, ut exhorrescerent animum tam capitaliter inimicum. Et tamen ut aliquo tandem argumento convincerem illum non semper honorifice de me locutum, protuli epistolam ipsius manu scriptam, in qua se vocat Ecclesiasticæ lectionis defensorem, me calumniatorem. Jam quod loca quædam ex libris meis velut in se dicta torquet tragicis verbis exaggerans omnia, cogor rursus in illo desiderare prudentiam, non minus quam in eo desiderabam, cum locum ex apologia qua Latomo respondeo, nulla necessitate compulsus sibi vindicaret. Recitabo locum ex libello Colloquiorum familiarium; si cui forte Lei liber ad manum non sit:

“ *A.* Quid si unam aut alteram umbram adduxero? *C.* Licet, modo ne nigras umbras adduxeris. *A.* Quid si *N.* adduxero? *C.* Scotistam illum? *A.* Imo Scotum, si lubet. *C.* Age, admittetur, modo domi relinquat gryphos sophisticos, mataeologias, lycophantias, supercilium, virulentias, risum

sum Sardonium, glorias Thrafonicas, philautiam. *A.* Citius caudam reliquerit."

Quæso quid hic est, quod ad Leum pertineat, nisi volens agnoscat ipse? An ille solus est Scotista, aut tam insignis est Scotista, ut hac nota possit agnosci? Nec unquam infamis fuit Leus hoc nomine, quod gryphis admodum valeret, quibus ipse non videtur admodum tribuere. Cæterorum autem quid est, obsecro, quod non in plurimos ubique dici possit? Neque vero Leus gente Scotus est, etiam si illic non de gente, sed de auctore loquor, unde Scotistæ dicuntur. Cæterum quod additum est de cauda relinquenda, credere non poteram excusum, nisi libro prolato vidissem, nec adhuc dubito, quin ab alio quopiam sit additum. Nam ipse non adfui, cum excuderetur libellus. Et fortassis auctorem hujus cavilli reperiam. Tantum abest, ut tale quicquam in Leum proprie torserim. Imo cum Leus ipse mihi locum hunc objiceret de cauda, non potui satis admirari, unde hoc esset profectum. Postremo quid esse potest seditiosius, quam si quis usquam caudæ faciat mentionem, continuo videatur Britannos omnes impetisse. Quid Latinis sonet cauda, quoties de viris loquimur, novit etiam ipse Leus, qui mihi convicii loco ingerit, quod parum habeam caudæ, homo virgineo pudore præditus. Sed finge id esse, quod nequaquam est, me oblique voluisse designare Leum, quid opus erat hoc orbi prodere? Ut Lovanii pauci sic fuerint interpretaturi, tot hominum millia nihil aliud suspicata fuissent, quam in genere dictum fuisse in Theologum aliquem superciliosum, quales sunt nimium multi. Et ex hoc loco, quam atrocem ille suscitatur tragœdiam? Addit alterum ex eodem libello locum, quem putat non esse ferendum Christianis auribus. Is ad hunc habet modum:

"*Quid* emolumenti adferunt literæ inanes? Podici tergendis sunt utiles. Equidem novi quendam, cujus lingua malim ad hoc abuti. At ego novi quendam, cujus lingua nihilo tutius sit abstergeri, quam aconiti foliis. Iste igitur dignus est, qui aconitum edat ardelio:"

Primum oro te, Lector, quæ spurcicies sit, si literator docens Latine loqui sic præscribat exemplum: Hic liber nulli rei utilis est, nisi tergendis natibus. An tanta fœditas est, eam corporis partem nominare, cum id quod vulgo habetur obscœnius nominetur in Evangelio, vulva. Rogo, cum ludi literarii magistri pueris minantur virgas, num ullis videntur obscœne loqui, quod eam corporis partem nominant, quæ cædi solet? An pudet eos, qui de naturis animantium disputant, omnes humani corporis partes suis nominare vocabulis? At dices: Id illi faciunt docendi gratia. Et hic Latine loqui doceo. Num obscœnus videatur, qui Lexicum scribens explicet, quid Latinis declarent, quæ vulgo habentur dictu fœda vocabula? Sicut citra crimen tractat obscœnas corporis partes chirurgus aut medicus, ita qui eas alicujus utilitatis gratia nominat, debet vacare crimine. Lubens rogarim Leum, an nunquam in convivii suorum animi gratia audierit nominari caudæ virilis, aut posticæ partis vocabulum etiam inter probos. Et ubi est quod in annotatione xxxi. ex auctore Hieronymo citavit, nullam humani partem corporis, non honeste nominari? Non hic patrocinator Cynicis, qui nihil arbitrantur dictu fœdum, quod re fœdum non sit. Mihi placet orationis verecundia, quam

quam hactenus mihi curæ fuit observare, etiam in libellis ad jocum lusumque paratis. Hic certe non video quicquam obscœnitatis. Odiose magis quam obscœne dictum est in virulentam linguam, dignamque quæ ferro exsecta fordidissimis usibus dedicetur. Olim adolescens, ut recordor, navi vehebar, in qua simul vehebatur, ut fit, promiscua hominum multitudo. Aderat inter hos Theologus quidam magni nominis, et in sacris concionibus plebi graciosus, Ordinis Dominicalis. Erat autem obeso corpore. In hunc, veluti suaviter viventem complura scommata cœpit jacere nauta. Cumque multa ridicule commemorasset, quæ vulgus joculari solet, in hos qui præfecti sunt sacrarum virginum collegiis, respondit Theologus, unum adhuc quiddam sibi deesse ad commodam vitam, quod ille non commemorasset. Protinus rogante nauta quidnam idesset, Lingua, inquit, tua, qua nates abstergeam. Ingens risus obortus, neque cuiquam hoc visum est dictum obscœnius, cum in odium linguæ maledicæ diceretur. Unde non queo satis mirari, quos oculos habeat Leus, qui in his verbis tam detestandam videat obscœnitatem, quæ tamen ipsa nec dicuntur meo nomine, et dicuntur inter pocula. Porro cum res ipsa clamitet, quicquid hoc est dicti, tortum esse in Theologum quempiam linguæ procacis, cur hic adeo commovetur Leus, qui quam sit Theologus nescio; ego sane nec apud Anglos, nec apud Lovanienses audiivi unquam hoc nomine celebrari. Dat operam linguis, Theologos non audit, ipse non docet quicquam hujus Scholasticæ Theologiæ. Quod si licet divinare, cur non potius suspicatur esse tortum in alterum illum vere superciliosum senem, ad hæc professione religionis insignem, quem non puduit enarrantem mysteria sacrorum Psalmorum hæc in publico ac frequenti auditorio evomere præter omnem etiam occasionem: “*Faber et Erasmus conantur funditus evertere veteris Editionis auctoritatem. At nunc inter se pugnant. Pugnabunt olim inter sese in profundo tartari.*” *Puduit* hujus tam furiosæ vocis etiam illos, qui sunt ejusdem sodalitii, et qui maxime studebant aliquid prætexere manifestæ hominis insanix; responderunt, ignoscendum, quod hæc dixisset etiamnum uvidus a prandio largiore. Hoc cum recens accidisset, paulo antequam libellus Colloquiorum excuderetur, in hunc probabilius erat tortum obliquum scomma. Si tamen hoc scomma dici meretur, quod in neminem jacitur nominatim, neque quemquam carbone notat. Proinde demorror, quid illi stultissimam suspicionem injecerit, quasi ardelionis vocabulo Leum designarim. Vide quantam rerum humanarum pestis sit, lingua bonarum rerum interpret mala. Nam ipse mihi fassus est se non ex sua lectione, ut cui non vacet mea legere, nisi cum libet carpere, sed ex aliorum indicio deprehendisse. Atqui libellum eum nunquam agnovi, tametsi non inficior quædam esse quondam non quidem a me descripta, sed tamen aut excepta, aut excerpta. Cæterum quid habuerim gratiæ ei, qui tales nugas evulgavit, abunde testis est nostra in libellum præfatio. Et tamen Leus tot spurcitiæ, tot virulentias, tot scurrilitates, tot latrinarias sordes hic inculcat, ac si scripsissem obscœniora jocos Priapeis. Quin et nomen ardelionis invertit, quasi sic allusum sit ad ipsius nomen, elemento, inquit, primo a fine mutato, quod quid sibi velit, dispeream si nunc etiam, loco terque quaterque relecto, intelligam: tantum abest, ut tale quippiam opera dedita commentus sim. Nec his contentus, objicit mihi, quod in familiari quadam epistola ad

Budæum, questus sim de quodam mihi vehementer molesto; quod in epistola ad Roffensem Episcopum scripserim, quendam natum ad sycophantias, admirans eum frequenter accedere ad mensam Dominicam, conscium sibi tam graviter læsæ famæ proximi. Et tamen in neutra nomen exprimo, neque designo quenquam notis usque adeo insignibus, ut quisquam graviter læsus videri possit, nisi qui se prodiderit. Quid autem, an non licet gaudia curasque nostras in sinum amicorum per literas ceu confabulantes effundere? Hæc dicere poteram, etiamsi de illo questus essem. An sim, nihil est mihi necesse vel agnoscere, vel negare. Jam in mea ad Episcopum Roffensem epistola queritur sibi impingi sacrilegii crimen, quod indignus adeat mensam Dominicam. De me pronuncio, non de illo. Ac plerique sunt adeo præpostere religiosi, ut si cogente fame mane sumsisset jentaculum, aut noctu rem habuissent cum puella, deinde ad mensam Dominicam adirent, vererentur ne subito vivis terra dehisceret. Cæterum cum pertinacibus odiis nihil non moliantur in fratrem, cum virulentis linguæ spiculis famam ac vitam illius impetant, quod est illis quæ modo dixi non paulo gravius, tum veluti puri putique contrectant corpus Dominicum. Videlicet blanditur illis odium; sed hanc excusationem si recipimus, absolvemus et veneficos. Qui tam rabiose blaterarat in me, quemadmodum modo narratum est, id quod non raro fecit, et apud populum publice, et in colloquiis privatim, fere cotidie consecrat corpus Dominicum, nec unquam studeuit reconciliari mihi. Non tam me fugit, quam credit Leus, quam amice de me prædicarit. Porro quales epistolas ille scripserit amicis, si nesciam, non difficile sit ex his apologiis et annotationibus conjecturam facere. Jam quod me Monachum appellat, dissimularem nisi toties repeteret, toties inculcaret. Atqui quos hic Monachos appellat, apud Anglos etiam vulgo dicuntur Canonici, quos Pontificum leges non aliter volunt Monachorum nomine comprehendere, quam si quid sit favoris, quod dilatato nominis consortio ad hos quoque perveniat. Certe divus Augustinus nusquam suos convictores, unde hæc sodalitas ducit originem, Monachos appellat. Quod si rerum omnium communio Monachos facit, Monachos appellemus Apostolos, et qui nascentis Ecclesiæ primordiis cum Apostolis versabantur: siquidem his legimus omnia fuisse communia. Nam castitas et obedientia sunt illis cum cæteris sacerdotibus, quos hodie Seculares appellant, communes. Non hic adducam, quod verissime possum, me non alligari ea professione, quam mihi meopte iudicio non delegerim, sed ad quam adolescens tutorum violentia technis conjuncta sim adactus, reclamans ac repugnans, non quod dampnum honestissimum institutum, sed quod et tum sentiebam, et nunc rectius intelligo genus hoc vitæ, nec huic ingenio, nec huic corpusculo congruere. Alioqui non alius erat olim ordo in Ecclesia Christiana vel antiquior, vel honoratior. Cultus hic quo nunc utuntur isti, olim fuit Episcoporum. Si quis exquirat antiquitates, comperiet Ecclesias Cathedrales plerasque hujus generis Canonicos habuisse. Testatur hoc Ecclesia Lateranensis, recentis etiamnum structuræ sellis, non paucis adhuc superstitibus, qui viderint illic hoc seu Monachorum seu Canoniorum genus: et hujus Ecclesiæ titulum gerit summus ille Romanus Episcopus; nec alio cultu sese ostentat, cum ornari vult maxime ad habitum Pontificium. Non igitur me pudeat hujus Ordinis, nisi

nisi corporis imbecillitas me segregaret ab illorum Collegiis, nam iis qui suaviter vivunt inter istos a literis alienissimos nec futurus sim bellus compotor, nec gratus congerro. Rursus iis, qui regulæ suæ constitutionumque sunt tenaciores, gravis ac molestus sim futurus, primum magno alendus, deinde fortassis exemplo meo segniores redditurus infirmos, qui hoc volent sibi licere, quod me facere cogeret corpusculi necessitas. Ita fieret, ut nec illis satisfacerem, nec ipse meis studiis sufficerem. Itaque comprobante Episcopo cui subsumus, comprobantibus Ordinis primoribus, olim subduxi me a Collegiorum consortio, non ut licentius viverem, sed ut liberius vacarem bonis literis, nulli molestus, omnibus tamen utilis, quod quidem esset in me situm. Quod si quid omnino debet orbis Christianus meis lucubrationibus, si quis factus est meis scriptis vel melior vel eruditior, non debet improbare meum hoc consilium. Nec interim me latet, quid hic agat Leus: Impingere vult invidiam tecti cultus. At interim aut ignorat, aut non meminit hujus generis Canonicos, qui e Britannia Romam adeunt, statim ut ad iter accingunt sese, veste sacerdotali tegere lineam, quosdam ita versari Romæ etiam annos aliquot, nulla Pontificis auctoritate interveniente. Simili cultu domum redeunt, et inter suos obambulantes tam diu servant, donec redeant in Monasterium. Id nos et Romæ vidimus, et in Anglia. Quanquam autem haud nesciam, quantula religionis portio sit cultus, tamen quod illi faciunt absque Pontificis venia, id ego nunquam eram factururus, nisi me necessitas huc compulisset, non quod existimem magnopere referre quo cultu quis Christo serviat, sed quod non existimarem adversus stimulum esse calcitrandum, hoc est pugnandum cum opinione vulgi, altius infixâ, quam ut refelli possit. Hujus rei mihi satis est reddere rationem Episcopo ac primoribus meis, summoque Pontifici: nec enim debeo, nec possum omnibus. Et qui probi viri sunt, iis satis esse debet, quod utar eo cultu, qui satisfacit summo Pontifici, cæterisque quibus debeo vitæ meæ rationem reddere. Porro quo minus redierim ad pristinum cultum, illud præcipue fuit in causa, ne duplicaretur offendiculum imbecillium, quibus rectius consulisset Leus, si hujus rei non meminisset. Nam ut multi sunt qui rem norunt, ita plures sunt qui nesciunt. Nunc quid aliud agit Leus, quam, re latius sparsa, fortasse quorundam animos irritabit, ut id sponte facere cupiant, quod ego feci invitus, magnoque meo malo? neque enim me præterit, quam mihi fuerit inutile, et ad rem augendam, et ad opinionis dignitatem, res per se tam nullius momenti. Neque tamen ulli unquam auctor fui aut futurus sum, ut eo se volens conjiciat, quo me impulit necessitas. Nec alia causa fuit, cur desierim hunc titulum præfigere libris meis, nisi ut paucioribus essem offendiculo. Qua quidem in re, quanto civilior summus Pontifex, quam Leus, qui ne in diplomatis quidem reliquis, etiamsi contingat Episcopatus, vult hujus infelicitatis meæ fieri mentionem? Sed Leus nihil sibi putavit præmittendum, quod ad odium mei pertineret. Et tamen cum ob hanc causam mihi Leus obtrectarit apud multos, nunquam tamen vel verbo coram admonuit, ne tum quidem cum esset inter nos satis arcta familiaritas, haud satis memor instituti sui, qui tum solet vociferari apud Ecclesiam, posteaquam semel atque iterum admonuit frustra. Verum hac de re fortasse copiosius

alias calumniis hominum respondebitur. Nunc ad reliqua propero. De minis satis, opinor, respondi in epistola ad Thomam Lupsetum, qua in re si quid fingo, precor ut piaculum hoc in meum recidat caput. Et olim res sua sponte liquebit ex meis ad amicos epistolis. Deus negat impedimento se fore, quo minus umbra mea requiescat in pace, si mori contigerit; ego me polliceor impedimento futurum, quantum quidem erit in me, ne quid illi vivo secus accidat, quam ipse velit. Optat satis functo quietem, optat vivo mentem saniozem. Ego ne ubique sim ingratus illi, tantundem opto vicissim ipsi. Absit autem ut tale exemplum me auctore irrepāt, non dicam in Ecclesiam, sed in mundum. Quod si fiat, nihil deprecor, quo minus eveniat, quod Deus futurum vaticinatur, ut posteritas omnis nomen Erasmicum ceu lūem pestemque exsecratur. Cæterum si Germani possunt amare Leum, id illis per me licebit, siue milites sint, siue docti, quamquam nihil vetat eundem et doctum esse et militem. Verum hæc facilius impetrasset, si controversiam hanc tractasset civilius. Multi sunt non solum in Germaniā, verum etiam in Italia, in Gallia, in Anglia, fortassis et in Hispania, qui sibi videntur cœpisse nonnihil fructus ex meis lucubrationibus, qui qualescunque sunt meæ literæ, tamen in his gaudent nominari. Ab his nescio quibus animis legentur hæc laudes, quas Deus in me congerit, non citra contumeliam illorum. Negat se didicisse pugnare. Atqui pugnacissimum esse testatur hic libellus. Quid enim aliud loquitur quam saxa, quam enses, quam sagittas? Si cuiquam essem inimicus feni, tamque sim impius, ut homicidium non horream, modo tutum, non uterer aliis telis in illum, quam sic virulento libro. Non tam male sentio de Leo, ut suspicer hoc animo hæc ab illo scripta, tamen non pauci sunt neque me grandiores, et firmiore corporis valetudine, quos hæc tam violenta tamque seditiosa, possint ad mortem adigere. Me ne tantulum quidem commovent, ut sim ab honestis studiis cessaturus. Illud molestum est, bonam operam in his rixis male collocare. Addit se non deprecari mortem in causa tam pia: sperat, opinor, martyrii gloriam. Eam per me sane non assequetur. Ait non dubitatueros homines, quin si quid illi acciderit, id me auctore patratum esse. Atque ut mihi rem tam atrocem impingat, abunde satis esse putat, quod hoc dixerit. Tantum putat esse ponderis apud omnes ipsius asseverationi quamvis nudæ. Nihil est opus syngraphis, nihil argumentis, nihil testibus. Unum illud satis est *αὐτὸς ἔφα.* Spero nihil illi deterius eventurum ex me, quam quod ipse sibi conflavit suo libello, ut graves ac docti viri non optime de Leo sentiant, ut qui bonas ad-
amant literas Leum oderint, vexilliferum adversæ factionis. Si quid acciderit Leo, nemo non dubitabit quin auctore Erasmo acciderit: quasi hic libellus non satis idoneus sit, qui multos in Leum irritet, non apud Germanos tantum, verum etiam apud Anglos, qui sua referre putant, ut Erasmi fama sit illibata. Et rei per se atroci addidit etiam odii nonnihil. Exierat libellus; excusari poterat: vicit ira juvenem, instigatus exarsit immoderatus. At edito tali volumine ultro insultat quasi re bene gesta. Mittit mihi dono libellum cum præfatiuncula, ut ipsi videtur falsa, cum nihil scribi possit ineptius. Curat codicem in pluribus bibliothecis reponendum, præsertim Monasteriorum, tanquam rem sacram, ac cedro dignam. Mittit eum Regibus
Episcopis,

Episcopis, et Cardinalibus. Mittit etiam iis, quos mihi noverat intima necessitate conjunctos, velut exprobrans illis suum de Erasmo triumphum. Hæc cum ipse faciat, arbitratur neminem illi fore iratum, nisi me impulso. Utinam Leus cum hæc scriberet, cum hæc faceret, tam laborasset in coercenda bili sua, quam mihi laborandum est in sedando dolore alieno. Negat se quicquam timere sibi a doctis, nimirum aut suaviter sibi placens, et impendio fidens operi suo, aut pessime sentiens de doctis omnibus, quibus existimat opus tam inimice, tam seditiose scriptum, non enim addam indocum, probatum iri. Si calamum suum ad eruditorum judicium moderatus esset, multo aliter scripsisset. Sed hoc tropo voluit illis simul et blandiri, et minari: blandiri, quod bene sentiret de illorum æquitate; minari, caverent ne si mutirent adversus hunc libellum, protinus Lei calculo inter indoctos scriberentur. Illud obiter non satis intelligo quid sibi velit, quod ait, Quid militibus cum balneis? Cum non alia gens balneis æque gaudeat atque Germanorum, nisi forte nihil interesse putat inter militem et canem. Stomachatur alicubi, quod in duabus epistolis irreverentius ipsum tractem, cum, ut nihil aliud, sit sacerdos Christi. Atqui utinam ipse meminisset monitorum Joannis Coleti, qui ut erat vir pure Christianus, inter multa et hoc illum admonuit suis literis, haberet ætatis meæ rationem, tribueret aliquid tot vigiliis in publicam studiorum utilitatem exantlatis. Neque dubito, quin a cæteris amicis doctis et gravibus audierit aut eadem, aut his similia. At is suo animo maluit obsequi, quam amico consilio. Non elevabo Lei dignitatem, non dicam nisi quod ipse fatebitur esse verum. Juvenis est, hætenus nullo insigni officio cultoribus literarum commendatus, in re Theologica nec summum, ut opinor, habet gradum, nec ipse sibi quicquam ultra mediocritatem vindicat, nullo publico munere fungitur. At quanto cum supercilio mecum agit ubique, ut objurgat, ut insultat, ut censet, ut percellit, ut revocat, ut minitur, ut verberat, ut illudit salibus, ut naso suspendit, ut taxat cavillis? Credat hospes severum magistrum castigare discipulum puerum, credat veteranum aliquem ac primarium Theologum præire juveni, credat insignem Episcopum, aut Cardinalem eximium, plebeium homuncionem admonere. In calce operis vix sibi temperat, quin summum Pontificem, velut in specula sua dormitantem, conviciis expergefariat. Paulus non vult Episcopum in reprehendendo grege violentioris esse linguæ: id enim Hieronymus interpretatur esse *πληκλῆν*. Et tam ferociter Erasmus flagellat Leus, juvenis senem, ne cætera conferam. Ut velut e sublimi deridet ac despicit, ut liberis conviciis tanquam de plauastro ludens velut in vernam aut parasitum suum debacchatur! Denique precatur mihi, ut Deus bonæ mentis ac pacis spiritum mihi inspiret, ut ingenium meum vertam ad ædificationem Ecclesiæ Dei, potius quam in destructionem. Quod ni resipiscam, ait alibi se velle lugere fratrem insanientem. Quod optat hætenus mihi fuit in votis, an successerit nescio. Alioqui si mihi cordi fuisset augere rem, si parare dignitatem, patebat alia via longe tum brevior, tum faciliior. Multa transilium oportet, alioqui nullum esset habitura finem rixatio. Adeo nihil ille non torquet ad calumniam, nihil non exaggerat, non absque gravi tædio loquacitatis. Negat se velle mihi æquari, ni quædam accesserint mihi quæ defunt.

defunt. Hoc ut verum esse fateor, ita modestius alter quispiam de illo poterat idem prædicare. Ait se nunc primum fecisse periculum, quid possit calamo. Certe ex hoc gustu licebit conjicere, quam modestus, quam civilis sit futurus in cæteris. Tot mihi sunt edita volumina, quædam etiam juveni; neque diffiteor, lusimus alicubi liberius, fortassis ad hoc vitii natura proniores. At emoriar si in omnibus quæ scripsi, tantum est stomachi, tantum amarulentia, quantum in his duabus apologiis. Multa pernegat se mihi dixisse, quæ tam memini illum dixisse quam memini me heri præsum esse, neque sunt ejusmodi, ut magnopere retulerit illa confingere. Sum autem memoria præditus, si non prodigiosa, certe non malæ fidei. Nolim illi vanitatis notam inurere, quam toties impingit mihi præter causam. Illud malo ratiocinari, fabularum quas miscet in familiaribus colloquiis parum meminisse. Proinde consultum censeo, si quis velit cum illo rem feriam agere, tabulas ac testes legitimos adhibeat. Alioqui si cum vult impingere quippiam, sat habet dixisse, Non dubium quin hoc Erasmo auctore sit factum, rursus ubi non est commodum agnoscere, quod illi vicissim intenditur, satis esse putat dixisse, Id vero Deus negat; et si quod sibi permittit, idem permittent cæteri, nimirum vicit omnem causam. Addit apud Atensem uno atque altero mense fuisse librum annotationum, ut mihi si vellet faceret copiam, opinor id sentiens, Atensi fuisse in manu, si voluisset Deus. Imo Atensis aiebat hac lege sibi creditum librum, ne cuiquam faceret communem. Quod si Deus volebat mihi copiam fieri, poterat illud per se facere. Quanquam non hic tantum sibi non constat, subinde vacillat, et in aqua, quod aiunt, hæret. In præfatione scribit toto anno librum a me flagitatum, quem toties inculcat apud me fuisse. Alicubi pauca quædam desiderat in opere meo, rursus alibi jactat tot annotationes maximi momenti. Alicubi non improbat industriam meam, alias negat esse meum vel Græca castigare vel Latina. Quodam in loco non improbat, si quis conferat exemplaria Græca cum Latinis, modo id fiat sobrie; contra, alibi fidem in totum abrogat Græcis voluminibus. Quod si sobrie sunt conferenda exemplaria, quid magis sobrie possit fieri, quam ego feci, qui totam editionem vulgatam intactam relinquo? Nunc dejicit suas annotationes, et ineptiores vocat, quam ut quisquam eas sibi velit asserere. Alibi rursus tantum illis tribuit, ut periclitatura fuerit tota religio Christiana, nisi illæ prodiissent in lucem. Nunc multis argumentis persuadere nititur, se gravissimis causis adactum, ut evulgaret suas annotationes, etiam post alteram editionem Novi Testamenti, mox dejerat se nunquam editurum fuisse, nisi per me compulsus. Nunc me facit omnibustechnis insidiantem suo libro: idem alias asseverat apud me semper fuisse. Nonnunquam obsecrat me ut erratorum meorum canam palinodiam. Rursus alibi exprobrat mihi, quod non puduit me recantare quædam, quæ in priore scripseram editione. Interdum ait me toto orbe notum, apud summates ac doctos viros plurimum habere ponderis. Interdum facit adeo vilem et contemptum, ut nec apud Anglos, nec hic ullum habeam amicum, negans quemquam fore qui tali credat auctori. Innumera sunt hujus generis, quæ multum videantur abesse ab illa simplici veritatis oratione. Quam hæc sint molesta Lectori, vel ex meipso conjecturam facio. Sed quemadmodum

dum puerile fuisset ad omnia respondere, ita committere non debui, ut quicquid ille in me congescit, tacitus agnoscerem. Depuli calumniam alicubi, nusquam regeffi. Nunc tui arbitrii facio, candide Lector, utri malis habere fidem, et quotam operis mei portionem Leo deberi velis. Mihi fatis est ut res habet narraffe. Nec est animus iterum hujusmodi contentionibus aquam inaniter consumere. Si Leus me repetet conviciis, prædico me non respondurum: sin argumentis aget, ut par est inter eruditos agi, non deero mihi, pro mea virili. Non, opinor, quicquam hætenus a me dictum, quod cuiquam videri possit contumeliosum. Eat nunc Leus et me calidissimum bellatorem vocet, qui tam atrocibus conviciis impetitus tam moderate responderim, nisi forte convicium esse negabit, quod subinde mendacissimum, quod ingrattissimum, quod aliis atque aliis hoc genus nominibus me compellat, cum ipse duabus illis epistolis, quas existimat esse vehementer procaces, nihil illi impingam, præter gloriæ famem, cum idem impingat Hieronymus Augustino, jam Episcopo, quod ego juveni, et nihil aliud quam Eduardo Leo: nam sacerdotium hodie turba sacerdotum eviluit apud vulgus. Nec tamen illud interim studio fuit, ut placarem Leum. Mihi sat est, si Lector æquus et integer placatus est. Leo non prius conabor satisfacere, quam iram qua totus nunc fervet, quam odium quod nusquam non spirat, posuerit. Sub hæc accingor ad illius annotationes, in quibus tamen ita moderabor orationem, ut ingenue fatear, sicubi lapsus ero: nec ingratum agam, si quid recte Leus admonuit; neque sinam tamen illum auferre, quicquid ille vel pridem scripsit in suis annotationibus, quarum mihi non est facta copia, vel nuper addidit, sive ex sese, sive ex meis posterioribus, nec usquam regeram in illum convicia, aut seditiosos clamores, quos aliquoties quam præter rem excitet, res ipsa declarabit. Interim, obsecro te, Lector, quisquis es, ut sententiam tuam suspendas paulisper. Nam ut hæc licebat ex tempore effundere, ita dierum aliquot spatio fuerit opus alteri parti, propter collationem locorum. Et tamen huic negotio non dabuntur nisi decem aut undecim ad summum dies, cum ille plus biennio adornarit sua. Et tamen non paulo difficilius est depellere calumniam, quam impingere. Malim mihi pacem quam bellum. Quod si pugnandum est, malim aliud argumentum, et Jacobo Fabro suum antagonistam invideo. Verum quid faciam, si his fatis sum natus? Sit igitur hic primi voluminis finis.

Ad Lectorem.

QUISQUIS faves bonis literis, aut aliquid favoris deberi putas Erasmo, qui tantis sudoribus certe conatus est de bonis literis bene mereri, oro atque obtestor, ne quis in Eduardum Leum conviciis debacchetur, quod jam nunc video quosdam aggressos. Qualis sit illius in me liber, nemo non videt: sed mihi curæ est perpetuo tueri modestiæ laudem, quam mihi doctorum hominum suffragia tribuunt hætenus, vel invito Leo. Non videbor mihi superior, nisi hominem argumentis, deinde etiam moderatione vicero. Hanc laudem qui mihi non invident, temperent a maledictis in illum congerendis, sed multo magis in gentem. Mihi cum Leo certamen est, cum gente

gente summa necessitudo. De Leo si quis parum honorifice sensurus est, ipse suo libello debet imputare. Genti par est, ut omnes eruditi faveant, quæ tot habeat viros in omni literarum genere præcellentes, quæ principes habeat, sic toto pectore faventes melioribus studiis, ut si similes haberemus apud nos, non impune sic apud populum vociferarentur stolidi quidam. Bene vale.

Apud nobilem Brabantiae Antuerpiam, in ædibus Michaëlis Hillenii. Anno a Christo nato MDXX.

Non sine privilegio.

Nº. LII.

First Dedication of Jerom to Warham.

Des. Erasmus Roterodamus, Sacrae Theologiae Professor, Reverendissimo Patri ac Domino, D. Guilielmo Varamo, Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, totius Angliæ Primati S. D.

TA N T A semper fuit literarum apud Ethnicos quoque veneratio, Guilielme, præsulum decus, et virtutum ac literarum antistes, ut disciplinarum omnium origines, haud aliis quam Diis autoribus consecrandas ducerent; eaque cum primis cura summis ac florentissimis regibus digna videretur, si excellentium virorum libros, quo pluribus usui esse possent, in diversas linguas transferendos curarent: hinc videlicet et sibi, verissimam certissimamque laudem, et regno præcipuum ornamentum accessurum rati, si bibliothecam quam optimis simul et emendatissimis codicibus instructam posteritati traderent. Nec ullam graviolem jacturam accidere posse judicabant, quam si quid ex id genus opibus intercidisset. Proinde ne qui suis ingeniis suisque vigiliis tantopere de mortalibus universis meriti fuissent, horum memoria, temporum injuriâ nihil non oblitterantium intermoreretur, auctores ipsos statuis ac picturis expressos, passim in porticibus ac bibliothecis ponebant, qua certe licuit illos ab interitu vindicantes. Tum eorundem apophthegmata marmori ærique passim insculpta, mortalium oculis ingerebant, libros ingenti redemptos pretio, magnaque fide vel religione potius descriptos, cedrinis inclusos capsulis, tum cedri succo oblitos in templis reponebant: partim ut rei tam sacrae tamque divinæ custodia, non aliis quam ipsis numinibus concrederetur: partim ne quid situs aut caries illa monumenta vitaret, quæ sola principum gloriam a situ carieque queunt asserere; et impune intermorerentur, quæ præstant omnibus immortalitatem. Fuerunt qui nec hac contenti diligentia, codices ceu thesaurum incomparabilem in altissimis terræ latebris recondere; tanta cura, ut nec incendiis, nec bellorum procellis, quibus omnia sacra profanaque misceri solent, interirent, et posteris certe superessent. Nimirum perspexerunt hoc, non minus sapientia quam regno clari principes, barbaricum esse, cadavera defunctorum unguentis, aromatibus, ac nitro nonnumquam tam diligenter oblini, ne computrescant, cum ea ne referat quidem servari; quippe jam nec figuram oris, aut corporis imaginem referentia, quod faxeæ tamen faciunt imagines: nec parem curam adhiberi servandis animorum

animorum reliquiis. Proinde multo justius eam curam in excellentium virorum libros transferri, in quibus orbi supersunt etiam defuncti; et ita supersunt, ut et pluribus efficacius loquantur mortui quam vivi; confabulantur, docent, adhortantur, deterrent, consulunt, erigunt, consolantur, sic ut nulli nec fidelius, nec paratius. Denique tum nobis verissime vivunt, posteaquam sibi vivere desierunt. Equidem sic opinor, si quis cum M. Tullio (ut hunc exempli causa nominem) complures annos domesticam egisset consuetudinem, minus noverit Ciceronis, quam faciunt hi, qui versandis Ciceronis scriptis cum animo illius quotidie confabulantur. Porro si hic honos est habitus supersticiosus etiam voluminibus, veluti Numæ ac Sibyllæ; aut rerum ab hominibus gestarum memoriam complectentibus, velut apud Ægyptios; aut aliquam humanæ sapientiæ portionem tradentibus, veluti Platonis et Aristotelis; quanto justius est idem facere principes Christianos et Episcopos in servandis eorum monumentis, qui sacro afflati spiritu, non tam libros quam oracula nobis reliquerunt? Et tamen haud scio qui factum sit, ut non alia in re magis cessatum videatur a majoribus nostris. Sit sane levis Ethnicorum auctorum jactura, quæ tantum efficit, ut minus eruditi simus, aut minus eloquentes, non ut minus pii: cæterum ex tot eximiis verique sacrosanctis auctoribus, quos nobis vel erudita dedit Græcia, vel hujus æmula prodidit Italia, vel olim studiis florentissima produxit Gallia, vel ingeniosa peperit Africa, vel laboris patiens edidit Hispania, rara quadam eruditione suspiciendos, eloquentia claros, vitæ sanctimonia venerandos, quæso te, quam pauci supersunt, casu servati magis quam nostro beneficio; atque rursus ipsi, quam fœde mutili, quam contaminati, quam prodigiosis mendis undique scatentes, ut non magni referat sic superesse? Equidem ut non aspernor simplicem vulgi pietatem, ita non possum non mirari tam præposterum multitudinis judicium. Calceos Sanctorum et sudariola mucro sordentia exosculamur, et eorundem libros, sanctissimas et efficacissimas divorum reliquias, neglectos jacere patimur. Tuniculam aut indusculum Sanctorum aureis gemmatisque thecis reponimus; et libros ab illis elaboratos, in quibus id, quod illorum fuit optimum, nobis adhuc vivit spiratque, cimicibus, tineis, ac blattis impune rodendos relinquimus. Neque vero difficile sit hujusce rei causam conjecturis assequi. Posteaquam principum mores plane jam in barbaricam quandam tyrannidem degenerassent, tum Episcopi profanam ditionem magis cœpissent amplecti, quam ab Apostolis traditum docendi munus; mox universa docendi provincia in istos quosdam est relegata, qui charitatis et religionis cognomen hodie ceu peculiare sibi vindicant; jam negligi cœptæ bonæ literæ, fastidita Græcanici sermonis peritia, multoque magis Hebraici; spretum eloquentiæ studium; quin et ipsa lingua Latina sic conspurcata est subinde nova barbarie, ut jam nihil minus esset quam Latina; nec historiæ, nec geographiæ, nec antiquitatis ulla cura. Tantum ad sophisticas quasdam argutias contracta res literaria; et eruditionis summa penes summularios quosdam collectores ac excerptores esse cœpit; hoc nimirum impudentiores, quo minus habebant eruditionis. Proinde veteres illos scriptores facile vel antiquari passi sunt, vel, quod vero propius est, ipsi abolendos curarunt, ut quos jam frustra legerent, nimirum his rebus destituti,

sine quibus illi non queant intelligi. Et tamen ex illis utcunque decerpta quædam suis commentariis admiscuerunt; qua gratia magis etiam in rem istorum erat illos interire, ne quando vel plagii convincerentur, vel inscitia. Scilicet tanti erat antiquari Clementem, Irenæum, Polycarpum, Origenem, Arnobium, ut horum vice Occam, Durandum, Capreolum, Lyranum, Burgensem, et his etiam indoctiores legeret orbis. Sub horum igitur diutina tyrannide, tanta fuit bonarum literarum ac bonorum auctorum *παύσις*, ut e doctorum ordine pelleretur, qui vel paulum literaturæ melioris attigisset. His rebus factum est, ut tot orbis lumina, quorum titulos duntaxat, nec id sine lacrymis legimus, funditus interierint. Et si quos contigit suis superesse fati, hi sic modis omnibus depravati sunt, adeo truncati contemneratique, ut felices videri possint qui perierunt. Atque id profecto cum mihi vehementer indignum videtur in omnibus eruditis, tum longe indignissimum in Hieronymo, cujus tam multæ tamque eximiæ dotes promerebantur, ut vel solus et totus et incorruptus servaretur, nam cæterorum quidem alios aliæ commendant dotes, in hoc uno *συνάλεξις*, ut aiunt, conjunctum fuit, eximium fuit, quicquid in aliis per partes miramur. Et cum in singulis egregium esse, magnum sit ac rarum, hic sic excelluit in omnibus, ut longe præcurrat in singulis, si illum cum cæteris conferas: sin ipsum secum componas, in nullo præmineat. Tanta est rerum omnium summarum temperatura. Etenim si naturæ felicitatem expendas, quid illius ingenio vel ardentius ad dicendum, vel acrius ad judicandum, vel fecundius ad inveniendum? Denique quid dexterius aut festivius, si forte res delectationem desideret? Sin eloquentiæ laudem requiras, in hac certe Christianos * scriptores universos tanto post se reliquit intervallo, ut nec hi cum Hieronymo conferri queant, qui vitam omnem in uno bene dicendi studio contriverunt: ac prorsus tantum abest, ut quisquam sit nostræ religionis scriptor, quem cum hoc possis componere, ut, meo iudicio, Ciceronem etiam ipsum suffragiis omnium eloquentiæ Romanæ principem, nonnullis dicendi virtutibus superet, quod quidem in ipsius vita copiosius demonstrabimus. Mihi sane hoc ipsum solet usu venire in Hieronymo, quod olim in M. Tullio; cum quo si quem contulero, per se quantumvis disertum, repente velut obmutescere videtur: et cujus linguam, citra contentionem, vehementer admiror, ad hunc compositus et admotus, elinguis videtur et balbus. Sin doctrinam exigas, quæso te, quem habet vel eruditissima Græcia sic absolutum in omni doctrinæ genere, ut cum Hieronymo sit committendus? Quis unquam pari felicitate omnes totius eruditionis partes conjunxit et absolvit? Quis unquam in tot linguis antecelluit unus? Cui tanta historiarum, tanta geographiæ, tanta antiquitatis notitia contigit unquam? Quis unquam sacrarum aut profanarum omnium literarum et parem et absolutam scientiam est affecutus? Sin memoriam examines, quis autor, seu vetus seu novus, quem ille non in promptu habuerit? Quis angulus Divinæ Scripturæ, quid tam abditum, quid tam varium, quod ille non velut in numerato habuerit? Sin industriam, quis unquam tantum aut evoluit aut scripsit voluminum? Quis sic universam Di-

* Surely we must except Lactantius, and perhaps Sulpitius Severus.

vinam

vinam Scripturam edidicit, imbibit, concoxit, versavit, meditatus est? Quis æque sudavit in omni doctrinæ genere? Jam si morum sanctimoniam spectes, quis Christum spirat vividius? quis docuit ardentius? denique quis eum vita magis expressit? Poterat hic unus pro cunctis sufficere Latinis, vel ad vitæ pietatem, vel ad Theologicæ rei cognitionem, si modo integer et incolumis exstaret. At nunc haud scio, an quisquam omnium tractatus sit indignius. Bona pars vigiliarum illius intercidit. Quod superest, non depravatum erat, sed prorsus extinctum et oblitteratum; idque partim quidem illiteratorum vitio scribarum, qui solent ex emendatis inemendata describere, ex mendosis mendosiora reddere; prætermittere quod non legunt, corrumpere quod non intelligunt, velut Hebræa Græcaque vocabula, quæ frequenter intermiscet Hieronymus: sed multo sceleratius, a sacrilegis haud scio quibus studio detruncata permulta, addita nonnulla, mutata pleraque, depravata, sordidata, confusa pene omnia; ut vix ulla sit periodus, quam eruditus inoffense possit legere. Imo quod est pestilentissimum vitiandi genus, perinde quasi parum esset, tot insulsißimas nugas juxta infantes atque ineruditas, in hominis eloquentissimi pariter ac doctissimi nomen ac titulum contulisse, mediis illius commentariis passim admiscuerunt suas nænias, ne quis repurgare posset. Nam librum falso inscriptum permulta sunt quæ coarguant: cæterum fragmenta sparsim intermixta, velut frumento confusum lolium, quo tandem cribro repurget aliquis? Atque hæc omnia sic esse facta, docebimus mox in operum illius catalogo, tum secundi Tomi duabus præfationibus ac censuris. Commovit itaque me partim tam insignis Ecclesiæ Doctoris non ferenda contumelia, in cujus immortalia monumenta sic impune debacchati sint isti plusquam apri Calydonii; partim publica studiosorum utilitas, quos videbam a tam eximiis epulis hisce rebus submoveri, ut Epistolarum volumina, quæ quo plus habebant eruditionis et eloquentiæ, hoc foedius erant depravata, pro mea virili restituerem, haudquaquam ignarus, quam duram et arduam adirem provinciam. Jam primum enim ipsa tot voluminum inter se collatio, quantum habeat tædii, norunt hi, quibus usvenit in hoc pistrino versatos esse. Et sæpe cum his voluminibus erat res, quæ vel legere non mediocris esset negotii, quippe literarum figuris vel carie situque oblitteratis, vel tinearum ac blattarum injuria femirosis ac mutilis, vel Gotthorum ac Longobardorum more depictis, ut in formis etiam noscitantis mihi fuerit repuerascendum: ut ne commemorem interim, quod illud ipsum animadvertere, ac velut olfacere, si quid parum resipiat germanam ac veram lectionem, hominis sit mea sententia, nec ineruditi, nec stupidi, nec oscitantis. Atqui super hæc longe difficillimum est, aut ex varie depravatis quid ab autore positum fuerit, conjicere, aut ex qualibuscunque figurarum fragmentis ac vestigiis, primam divinare lectionem. Ac rursus ea res, cum ubique plurimum habeat difficultatis, tum vero potissimum in libris Hieronymianis. Idque pluribus de causis accidit. Primum quod ipsum dicendi genus haudquaquam triviale sit, sed sententiis variegatum, epiphonematis argutum, strophis obliquum ac vafrum, argumentis densum et instans, allusionibus festivum, nonnunquam variis rhetorum schematis veluti lasciviens, ubique doctum et artificem præ se ferens. Unde factum est, ut quo longius

hujus oratio abest a simplicium intelligentia, hoc pluribus mendis fuerit contaminata; dum hic scribit, non quod legit, sed quod intelligit; ille depravatum existimans quicquid non assequitur, utcunque visum fuerit, mutat scripturam, animi modo sui secutus somnium. Rursum alius forte deprehendens corruptam esse scripturam, dum ex levi conjectura nititur emendare, pro unico mendo, geminum inducit, et dum vulnuscule mederi studet, vulnus infligit immedicabile. Accedit ad hæc varia quædam et admirabilis omnium rerum mixtura, quam affectavit etiam Hieronymus, sed omnino felicissime, pia nimirum ambitione, et sancta quadam ostentatione jactitans opes suas; quo magis veterum nobis excutiat, et oscitabundos ad arcanæ scripturæ studium expergeficiat. Quid enim est usquam in ullo vel autorum vel literarum genere, quod ille passim non aspergat, inculcet, infulciat? Hebraica, Græca, Latina, Chaldaica, sacra, profana, vetera, nova; denique, quid non? Sic ille velut apicula per omnia circumvolitans, ex unoquoque quod esset eximium ad operis sui mellificium congeffit, ex variis flosculis hinc illinc decerptis, ferta concinnans: aut velut ex versicoloribus tessellis, musaicum opus contexens. Et in his, quod maxime retrusum est, id libentissime consuevit intertexere. Quid enim tam abditum in prophetarum involucris, in totius Instrumenti veteris mysteriis; quid in Evangelicis aut Apostolicis literis, quod ille non ceu notum adhibeat; nonnunquam sic alludens, ut nec animadvertatur, nisi ab eruditis et attentis? Quid in Hebræorum aut Chaldæorum monumentis, quid in rhetorum, cosmographorum, poëtarum, medicorum, philosophorum, denique, hæreticorum libris, unde non aliquid suo attexat volumini? Ea cum intelligi non queant, nisi undequaque doctis, etiam si forent emendatissima, quid fieri credis, cum ita vitiata, mutilata, confusaque sunt omnia, ut si ipse revivisceret Hieronymus, libros suos nec agnosceret, nec intelligeret? Super hæc omnia, fuit et illud incommodum, quod maxima pars autorum e quorum fontibus sua mutuatus est Hieronymus interiit; quorum præsidiiis utcunque sarciri poterat quod erat jam toties depravatum, aut etiam omisum. Siquidem in extremis rerum difficultatibus, ad hanc ceu sacram ancoram confugere solent eruditi. Nam me quidem, posteaquam neque gloriæ, neque quæstus gratia laboris hoc suscepimus, non perinde movebat, quod alium fortasse procul ab hujusmodi negotio capeffendo deterruisset. Quid istud, inquires? Nempe quod, ut non alius est labor, qui plus afferat tædii molestiæque, ita rursum nullus est unde minus ad suum redeat autorem vel gloriæ vel gratiæ, propterea quod omnis hujus laboris utilitas sic redit ad Lectorem, ut non modo non sentiat nostros sudores, quibus fruitur, sed ne suum quidem commodum, nisi quis forte nostra cum vulgatis codicibus contulerit. Ac dum ille in pratis amœnissimis otiosus errat, ludit, et currit inoffensus, haud æstimat quamdiu, quam odiose nobis luctandum fuerit cum spinis ac vepribus, dum illi campum hunc repurgamus. Nec expendit quamdiu vel unica vocula nonnunquam torserit emendatorem, nec venit in mentem quam multa nos offenderint, hoc molientes ne quid sit quod illum remoretur; quantis difficultatibus parata sit illa facilitas, quantis molestiis constiterit, quod ille nihil sentit molestiæ. Sed ne molestus sim, omnes hujus negotii molestias persequens, unum illud et vere dicam

dicam et audacter: minoris arbitror Hieronymo suos constituisse libros conditos, quam nobis restitutos; et paucioribus vigiliis apud illum natos fuisse, quam apud nos renatos. Jam ex hoc cætera sibi quisque conjiciat. Quid hic commemorem ingratissimam quorundam hominum imperitiam, qui nihil omnino novari volunt in bonis autoribus: qui cum ipsi nihil agant, aliorum præclaris conatibus semper obstrepunt: homines adeo pingui judicio, ut his mendosum sit, quicquid rectum est; contra nitidum et elegans, quod sordidissime conspurcatum; ad hæc adeo perverso, ut cum eruditis non patiantur esse jus magno studio depravata corrigendi, tamen iidem quibuscumque nebulonibus permittant impune, suo arbitratu, summorum virorum libros contaminare, fœdare, perdere. Proinde necessum est fieri, ut a plerisque nullam feras gratiam; ab his postremis malam etiam pro bono officio gratiam reportes. At quæstum quidem facile negligit generosus animus, gloriam et laudem facile contemnit Christianus. Porro gratiam pro meritis expetunt et optimi quique. Quis ferat pro beneficio rependi calumniam? Hæc omnia cum non ignorarem, tamen apud me tantum valuit Hieronymi vindicandi studium, tantum utilitas eorum, quibus cordi sunt arcanae literæ, tantum denique tuæ celsitudinis et judicium et voluntas, quem præ cæteris assiduum hujus negotii et impulsorem habebam et efflagitatorem, ut contemptis difficultatibus omnibus, Herculano quodam animo laboriosissimam quidem sed pulcherrimam adirem provinciam, unus propemodum cum tot mendarum portentis depugnaturus. Nec enim tantum laboris exantlandum arbitror, in paucis edomandis monstris Herculi, quam mihi in tollendis tot mendarum millibus. Neque vero paulo plus utilitatis hinc orbi profecturum existimo, quam ex illius omnium ore celebratis laboribus. Primum enim complurium, sed præcipue veterum collatione voluminum, nonnunquam ex apicum vestigiis addivinantes, mendas sustulimus, et germanam reposuimus scripturam. Græca quæ vel omissa fuerant, vel perperam addita, restitui-mus: quod idem fecimus et in Hebraicis, verum hac sane in parte, quod minus nostro Marte poteramus, aliorum suppetiis præstitimus, præcipue fratrum Amerbachiorum, Brunonis, Basilii et Bonifacii: quos optimus pater Joannes Amerbachius, velut instaurandis bonis autoribus genitos, trium linguarum peritia curavit instruendos. Atque hi sane paternum animum et expectationem vicerunt etiam, nihil antiquius ducentes Hieronymi gloria, et hac gratia nec impendio parcentes nec valetudini. Quorum equidem auxilio libenter sum usus, quod Hebræorum literas degustassem verius quam didicissem. Et tamen curavimus, ne quid deesset avido Lectori, etiam si quid deesset nobis; quodque nostris viribus erat diminutum, id ex aliorum suppetiis abunde sarcimus. Cur enim nos pudeat id facere in vindicando tanto autore, quod haud pudet facere summos monarchas in recipiendis, imo in ^v perpendis oppidulis? Adjecimus singulis libellis aut epistolis argumenta, veluti fores aperientes ingredi volentibus. Deinde quando non omnibus contigit tot linguarum ac literarum cognitio, si quid remorari poterat Lectorem mediocriter eruditum, id scholiis additis illustravimus, quæ geminam utilitatem adferant: alteram quod tam insignis autor, qui antehac nec ab erudi-

perdendis.

tissimis

tissimis legi poterat, posthac a semidoctis poterit intelligi: alteram quod jam non perinde proclive fuerit cuivis depravare, quod ab aliis est restitutum. Nec his contenti, quæcunque falso Hieronymi titulo circumferebantur, ea magna ex parte talia, ut non Hieronymum autorem, sed impudentissimum simul et insulsiſſimum rabulam opificem præ se ferrent, non recidimus, ne quid omnino desideraret avidus magis quam elegans Lector: hoc est, ut dicam crassius, ne non haberent similes labra lactucas; sed in suum relegavimus locum, nullo alioqui digna loco. Denique totum opus, de ea loquor portione, quam nobis proprie sumſimus, in quatuor digessimus volumina. Primo *παρεκκινητικά* ἢ *ἀποδιδυμικά* complexi: quod eorum quæ ad vitam instituendam pertinent, oporteat primam esse curam. Quartum in tres divisimus classes, in quarum primam retulimus quædam non inerudita quidem illa nec indigna lectu, sed tamen falso inscripta Hieronymo. In proximam aliena, sed quæ suis titulis autorem testentur. In tertiam, velut in sentinam, rejecimus ineptissimas ineptias impostoris, haud scio cujus: de quo merito dubites infantiorne sit, an indoctior, an impudentior. Is mihi certe, quisquis fuit, videtur dignissimus, quem publicis odiis prosequantur omnia secula, qui de omnium ætatum ingeniis tam male senserit, ut sperarit neminem futurum, qui possit infani rabulæ nænias ab eloquentissimi, doctissimi, sanctissimique viri libris dignoscere. Secundum volumen dedimus *ἐλεγκτικοῖς* et *ἀπολογητικοῖς*, nimirum his quæ ad refellendos hæreticorum errores, et malevolorum calumnias pertinent. Tertium tribuimus *ἐξηγηματικοῖς*, videlicet, quæ sacrorum voluminum habent enarrationem. Non dissimili studio nuper dedimus Novum Instrumentum, adjectis annotationibus nostris: cujus lucubrationis nuncupationem Leoni pontifici maximo, tuæque celsitudini communem facere visum est, quo novum opus duorum totius orbis summatum nomine, tum munitius tum commendatius exiret in manus omnium. At Hieronymum, velut ab inferis in lucem revocatum, tibi proprie dicatum esse volumus: vel quod citra exceptionem uni tibi mea debeam omnia, vel quod tu Hieronymi gloriæ soleas unice favere; nimirum prudenter intelligens, nihil esse secundum Evangelicas et Apostolicas literas dignius quod legatur a Christianis. Equidem crediderim ipsum Hieronymum sibi nonnihil hoc nomine gratulari, quod faustissimis tui nominis auspiciis mundo revixerit, tam inter Theologos summus, quam tu inter laudatos Episcopos nulli secundus. Etenim ut ille doctrinæ orbem numeris omnibus felicissime absolvit: ita tu virtutum omnium Episcopaliū circulum et harmoniam mire temperasti. Cætera quidem pulchre congruunt: unum illud vereor, ne nostra mediocritas non satisfecerit vel Hieronymi dignitati vel tuæ celsitudini. Nec enim usquam magis ingenioli mei tenuitatem sentio, quam ubi contendendo tuis eximiis virtutibus et amplissimis in me meritis utcunque respondere. Sed quid facerem tot ac tantis nominibus obstrictus tibi, ut ne capitis quidem auctione facta, sim ulli portioni solvendæ par futurus? Feci quod solent, qui quum prorsus solvendo non sint, data quantulacunque æris portione sese magis etiam astringunt; et rem, non animum sibi deesse testificantur, malæ fortunæ potius, quam malæ fidei debitores; et ob hoc ipsum iudicium favorem emereri soliti, quod miseri sint verius quam ingrati. Atque in hoc

sane genere rerum una est referendæ gratiæ ratio, si quis ingenue libenterque debeat; et agnoscere creditorem, ex parte retulisse est. Imo ut quod similis est conferam, eorum consilium sequutus, qui malunt versuram facere, quam in nervum ire, ab Hieronymo sumsi mutuum, quod tibi deberem. Quamquam cur id jam mutuum videatur, ac non potius meum? Nam multæ res soli vel occupatione vel præscriptione demigrant in jus alienum. Cæterum in hoc rerum genere Hieronymus ipse legem præscripsit, in ea Præfatione quam libris Regum præposuit, iterum atque iterum illud opus suum appellans, propterea quod quicquid corrigendo, legendo, crebroque versando nostrum fecimus, id jure nobis vindicamus. Hac lege cur non et ipse mihi jus vindicem in Hieronymianis libris quos tot jam seculis pro derelictis habitos velut in vacuum veniens, non æstimandis sudoribus veræ Theologiæ studiosis asserui? Aureum flumen habet, locupletissimam bibliothecam habet, quisquis unum habet Hieronymum. Atque hunc rursus non habet, quisquis habet, cujusmodi ferebatur antehac, unde quaque confusum et contaminatum. Non quod ausim confirmare, nihil usquam veterum mendarum, hoc est, nulla pristinæ ruinæ vestigia residere: quod haud scio an ipse præstare queat Hieronymus, nisi contingant exemplaria castigatiora, quam nobis adhuc habere licuit. Illud summo adnixa studio consequuti sumus, ut non multum supersit. Et ut nihil aliud, certe noster conatus nonnullos exstimulaturus est, ne posthac nullo delectu quicquid in libris offenderint, quantumvis corruptum a quocumque impostore, quocumque titulo subditum amplectantur, legant, approbent, ac velut oraculum citent. Atque utinam eruditi omnes totis viribus in hoc incumbant negotii, ut quicquid nobis ex tot naufragiis utcumque reliquum est bonorum autorum, id quoad fieri potest, pristinæ integritati restituatur. Nolim tamen hanc adire provinciam, nisi qui non minus fide, religione, judicio, curaque polleant, quam eruditione: quod nulla sit acerbior bonorum voluminum pestis, quam semidoctus aut oscitabundus aut præceps aut infelici judicio castigator. Utinamque principibus cunctis eadem mens esset quæ tibi, ut omissis insanissimis pariter ac miserrimis bellorum tumultibus, ad seculum suum pacis artibus illustrandum converterent animum; et ad hujusmodi saluberrimos labores, eruditorum studium præmiis accenderent. Videremus nimirum id brevi toto orbe fieri, quod hisce non ita multis annis in tua factum est Britannia, quæ jam olim viris opibusque potens, nuper etiam religione, justitia, vitæque cultu; denique literarum veterum omni genere sic exulta est, sic enituit, sic effloruit, idque tua potissimum opera, ut ab orbe semota insula cultissimis quoque regionibus ad honestissimarum rerum studium calcar addere possit. Bene vale in Christo Jesu, Præsulum ornatissime, quem ille instaurandæ pietati, ac provehendis bonis literis quam diutissime servet incolumem. Basileæ, anno salutis 1516. Calendis Aprilibus.

Nº. LIII.

Second Dedication of Jerom to Warham.

QUANQUAM in prima editione sic advigilatum erat, ut vix ulli spes esset, posterioribus curis, quas proverbio dicunt meliores, quicquam adjungi posse, Præsul incomparabilis; tamen ego magnopere cupiens hoc opus, quod nomini tuo ceu monumentum, utinam victurum, erexeram, omnibus quantum fieri posset numeris absolutum exactumque reddere, curavi ut denuo separatim excuderetur et chartis et formulis elegantioribus; quanquam Joannes Frobenius sic se gesserat antea in excudendo Hieronymo, ut non solum omnium suffragiis antecederet omnes, verum etiam vix ipse sibi locum relinqueret vincendi sui. Nos in Hieronymi scriptis pene nihil deprehendimus, quod esset corrigendum: in nostris scholiis nonnulla correximus, quædam sustulimus, adjecimus non pauca: restant tamen adhuc loca, sed ea perpauca, in quibus mea divinatio non omnino satisfacit animo meo: quæ si quis me felicior, vel ingenio, vel exemplariorum copia, restituerit, libenter et hominis industriam exosculabimur, et publicæ gratulabimur utilitati. In hoc labore duæ quædam res exortæ magnam nostræ laudis portionem decerpserunt: primum quod per omnes totius orbis regiones sic effluerunt linguæ cum bonis literis, ut in multis non perinde necessaria videatur opera nostra: deinde quod hoc seculo plurimorum ingeniis ad cruentas istas et gladiatorias *λογομαχίας* advocatis, neque studio, neque frequentia pari versantur homines in pratis saluberrimis ac viridariis amœnissimis veterum autorum. Cæterum laudis quidem jacturam facillime ferrem, nisi cum publico dispendio studiorum esset conjuncta. De rerum eventu viderit Christus. Nos certe bonam præstitimus voluntatem, quam et præstabimus usque ad extremum vitæ diem. Bene vale. Basileæ, Idibus Juliis, Anno MDXXXIV.

Nº. LIV.

Dedication of the second Tome of Jerom to Warham.

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri ac Domino, D. Guilielmo Vuaramo, Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, Sedis Apostolicæ Legato nato, totius Angliæ Primati, Des. Erasmus Roterodamus S. D.

QUÆ pertinebant ad institutionem vitæ Christianæ, quoniam hujus rei primam oportet esse curam, in primum contulimus Tomum: in argumentis hunc ordinem secuti, ut a perfectioribus orsi, paulatim per gradus veniremus ad inferiora: deinde ad lapsos: postremo ad exempla. Catalogum scriptorum velut appendicem adjecimus volumini per se satis exiguo, quod

quod non videremus alicubi locum congruentiorem. Atque in præsentia quidem prætermisiss his, quæ prima editione congefferamus in Tomum secundum, quoniam erant aliena omnia, quædam etiam prorsus indigna lectu; Tomus hic duo genera complectetur, sed inter se finitima: videlicet, ἐλεγμικά et ἀπολογετικά. In priore parte refelluntur hæretici; in posteriore calumniis respondetur: in utroque vehemens et acer Hieronymus, et nonnunquam sic incandescens, et conviciis quoque ac dictis debacchans, ut nonnullis parum memor Christianæ modestiæ videri possit. Verum id facile in bonam partem interpretabitur, quisquis perpenderit primum ardens et natura vehemens hominis ingenium, ac liberum verius quam contumeliosum; deinde morum integritatem, vitæque innocentiam, quæ fere ut neminem afficit injuria, ita injuriarum impatiens esse solet. Ad hæc atrocius esse crimen hæreseos, quam ut ullius quantumvis mansuetum ingenium ferre potuerit, ut ne quid addam de doctrinæ fiducia, qua sic omnes illius ætatis antecellebat, ut hunc contulisse cum ullo cæterorum, contumelia fuerit. Quid quod hæreseos convicium ejus etiam generis est, ut cum cæteris in rebus omnibus tolerantem esse virtus sit, hic dissimulare sit impietas. Jam seculum hoc omne, quo divus vixit Hieronymus, incredibile dictu quantopere tumultibus ac factionibus Hæreticorum flagrarit, adeo ut illis temporibus ingeniosa quoque res fuerit, esse Christianum. Tot erant hæresiarcharum nomina, cognomina, dogmata, ut in his etiam recensendis sudaverint homines eruditi. Verum Cataphryges, Borboritæ, Ophitæ, Basilidiani, Manichæi, et horum similes hæretici, quoniam portentosa quædam sequebantur somnia verius quam dogmata, et in tantum a divinis abhorrentia literis, ut ne cum sensu quidem communi concordarent, facile ceu suapte sponte consenuerunt. Cæterum Arianorum hæresis communita literis, ac Divinæ quoque Scripturæ validissimis, ut videbatur, nixa præsidiis, insuper Imperatorum ac Gentium adjuta studiis opibusque, periculosissimis rerum motibus labefactavit Orbem Christianum; in tantum, ut diu esset in dubio, utro se inflecteret Ecclesiæ sinceritas, et factio schismaque esset verius quam hæresis; quod adversarii numero prope pares essent, eloquentia doctrinaque superiores. Ea pestis tandem utcunque sopita, rursus in Origenistis renata est, mutato nomine, sed idem malum, nisi quod gravius: quemadmodum solet morbus recurrens eos, qui reciderunt, inclementius premere. Contra certatum est acriter Synodis ac decretis, atque etiam Symbolis sexcentis, haudquaquam aptissimis meo judicio præsidiis ad hæresim opprimendam, nisi res ab autoritate pendeat: alioqui, quo plus est dogmatum, hoc uberius est hæresium materia. Et nunquam fuit sincerior castiorque Christiana fides, quam cum uno illo, eoque brevissimo symbolo contentus esset orbis. At illa ætate in chartis erat fides potius quam in animo; ac pene tot erant symbola, quot professores. Admiscebant sese rebus hisce, ita ut sit, privata hominum studia, et sub fidei prætextu impiæ simultates exercebantur. Nec aliud malum propius in periculum adduxit Petri sedem hætenus semper intactam: quam si non subvertit, certe concussit ac labefactavit. Nam sub Pontifice Liberio Roma non omnino libera erat ab Arianorum errore: et sub Imperatore Constantio parum constanter se tenuit in petra, cui innititur Ecclesia Catholica.

Potissimum autem his malis agitabatur Oriens, et omnis Græcia, quæ quo magis favebat Origenis ingenio, hoc iniquius ferebat viri incomparabilis damnari dogmata, quemadmodum in vehementer adamato corpore nonnunquam placent et vitia. Hisce rebus sic agitatus est noster Hieronymus, ut nec sedes quieta daretur usquam, nec studiorum otio frui liceret. Jam Ruffini operâ in hæreseos etiam suspicionem et calumniam vocabatur, quod olim Origenis ingenio delectatus, quædam illius tradidisset Latinis auribus; nec id sine laude auctoris. Atque hoc magis patebat obtrectatorum morfib, quod polygraphus esset. Excellentia doctrinæ provocabat invidiam: multos offendebat rara vitæ severitas: plures in reprehendendis hominum vitiis libertas. Amara veritas est: et quisquis sibi male conscius est, se putat attactum. His rebus factum est, ut sanctissimo viro usque ad extremum vitæ diem pugnandum fuerit cum excetra invidiæ; quæ sic in illum et linguis et calamis debacchata est, ut fuerint qui sparserint epistolam velut ab Hieronymo scriptam, in qua deploraret, quod aliquando Origenis errorem secutus esset. Quod autem tam placidum ingenium mihi dabis, ut hujusmodi malis laceffitum non exardescat? Et tamen si quis propius inspiciat expendatque libros, in quibus tota libertate videtur in quosdam invehiri, velut in Vigilantium, in Ruffinum, in Jovinianum, is animadvertet multo plus subesse festivitatis quam virulentia, et in mediis illis conviciis deprehendet humanissimi ingenii manifestissima vestigia. In Comoediis Demea, cum contra naturam vult esse comis ac festivus, tamen blanditiæ quoque habent agrestem amarulentiam; contra cum Mitio præter suum ingenium quod habebat mite, objurgat Æschinum, tamen ipsa severitas multum habet lenitatis. Nihil autem Christiana charitate mellitius, quæ cum maxime sævit, obtinet tamen suam nativam dulcedinem, et vini necessariam acrimoniam olei lenitate temperat. Porro quemadmodum M. Tullius nusquam est admirabilior in dicendo, quam ubi dolor ceu calcar addit eloquentiæ viribus: ita divus Hieronymus, cum nusquam non sit eruditus, nusquam non eloquens, tamen haud alibi dicit melius, quam ubi maledicit hæreticis aut calumniatoribus; si tamen hoc est maledicere, quod verum est acriter defendere. Primus igitur Tomus nobis exhibuit Hieronymum eloquentem, hic exhibebit fulminantem ac tonantem. Ille declaravit insignem hominis sanctimoniam. Hic declarabit invictum animi robur adversus omnes malorum assultus. Sic natura comparatum est, ut eximia virtus non proferat splendorem suum nisi malis exercita: sic aurum purius redit ex igni: sic ilex attonsa duris bipennibus densiore ramorum proventu silvescit, et, quod ait Horatius, ab ipso ducit opes animumque ferro. Gubernatoris et artem et animum declarant tempestates. Nemo unquam inter magnos duces habitus est, nisi cujus virtutem res adversæ spectatam reddidere. Et si fas est aliquid e veterum fabulis admiscere rei seriæ, Juno dum Herculem omni generi periculorum objicit, nihil aliud quam virtutem illius illustrem reddidit, et ipsi divinos honores paravit. Sic et Dominus athletam suum Job Satanæ vexandum permittit, ut per illum nobis invictæ patientiæ pararet exemplum. Sic tentavit dilectum Abraham, ut mundus insignem hominis erga Deum fiduciam agnosceret. Nec Hieronymi magnitudinem agnosceremus, nisi hæreticorum et obtrectatorum

tractatorum calumniis inclaruisset. Porro quod tibi, Reverendissime Præful, licet in variis et arduis negotiis versanti, perpetuus vitæ cursus usque ad istam senectutem, quæ et ipsa florida contigit ac virens, in nullas hujusmodi tragoedias impegit, fortassis alius adscriberet vel integritati tuæ vel prudentiæ; ego malo favori divino adscribere, cui debes universas istas animi tui dotes. Et tamen non omnino defuerunt rerum difficultates, quæ summam animi constantiam, cum pari prudentia conjunctam declararent. Ut difficillimum, ita regiæ dignitati proximum est, apud Anglos agere Cancellarium. In eo munere gerendo tametsi te talem præstitisti, ut eam provinciam^z successuro quamlibet eximio difficillimam tradideris, tamen haud scio an magis eluxerit animi tui virtus in deponendo munere quam in administrando. Quis e tantæ dignitatis culmine non tristis descenderet? Quis non invideret successori? Tu vero quam citra supercilium amplissimo munere perfunctus es, tam sine omni significatione mœroris deposuisti, ut nemo non intelligeret te magistratum non tibi suscepisse, sed utilitati publicæ, quod data honesta occasione tam alacriter deponeres honorificam sarcinam. Ingens lucrum ducebas, tempus detractum negotiis, magna ex parte profanis, accedere sacris studiis, in quibus oportet Episcopum assiduum esse. Nec enim ab his sinebas tibi ullum perire tempus, etiam tum, cum tot negotiorum undis obruereris. Sed epistolæ finem imponam, si dixerò quid mihi in relegendis Hieronymi scriptis acciderit: nimirum illud quod vulgo solet in spectandis tabellis. Si qua mediocris est, primum contemplanti satis arridet: si sæpius propius ac diutius contemplare, paulatim perdit gratiam. Cæterum si qua est ab insigni artifice elaborata, quo sæpius spectes et attentius, hoc magis ac magis admiraris. Placuit Hieronymus adolescenti, placuit viro: sed nunquam magis placuit, quam nunc relectus. Deum immortalem! quam mihi totus displiceo, cum hujus viri spirantem in scriptis sanctimoniam intueor, cum ardens studium, cum tam admirabilem sacrorum voluminum tum peritiam tum memoriam? Denique cum tantam eloquentiæ vim, tantum ingenii vigorem in ætate tam grandi? Debent tuæ benignitati quotquot sunt sacrarum literarum amantes, quod Hieronymum habent et sublati mendis, et additis scholiis, non solum legibilem verum etiam intelligibilem: nunc plus debebunt, quod habent modis omnibus ornatiorum. Bene vale, Præful amplissime. Basileæ, Calendis Juliis, Anno 1524.

^z Wolfey.

Nº. LV.

Dedication of the third tome of Jerom to Warham.

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri ac D. D. Guilbelmo Waramo, Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, totius Angliæ Primati, et Legato nato, Erasmus Roterodamus S. D.

IN hoc volumen congeffimus libellos aut epistolas, quibus vir doctissimus diverforum hominum quæstionibus satisfecit: non alium ordinem sequuti, quam qui librorum est, unde quæstiones hujusmodi proferuntur. Paucula quædam quæ partim hujus generis non erant, partim ne speciem quidem habebant epistolarum, semovimus, aliis adjungenda tomis, quibus magis congruunt. Admiscuimus autem huic volumini præfationes, quæ in vulgatis codicibus in frontispicio sacrorum voluminum præfiguntur, quo posthac et emendatiores habeantur, et scholiis additis intelligibiliore, sed eas duntaxat, quæ vere Hieronymi sunt. Sunt enim inter has *ψευδεπίγραφοι* nonnullæ, quas adnotavimus quidem, verum non adjecimus, ne quid hic esset alienum. Cæterum posteaquam in operis progressu vidimus voluminis exiguitatem, adjecimus Hebraicas traditiones cum aliis nonnullis, quæ nihil habent epistolare. Volumen igitur hoc habet *τὰ ἐξηγηματικά*, hoc est, quæ ad enarrationem Scripturæ Divinæ faciunt: quod quidem eo consilio voluimus ultimum habere locum, quo magis congruat cum reliquis illius libris, quibus enarrat Divinæ Scripturæ volumina. Neque vero mihi male quadrat, opinor, ordinis ratio. Primus vitam ac mores instituit, quam curam omnium primam esse convenit. Proximus fidei habet defensionem, ultimus sacram eruditionem. Bene vivere, est omnium: pro fide pugnare jam non tyronis est, sed exercitati militis. Porro doctoris personam suscipere, ejus est, cui tum morum integritas, tum eruditio non vulgaris auctoritatem conciliarit. Atque id quidem temporis summa erat omnium Episcoporum auctoritas, cui sæpe cesserit et Cæsarea majestas, qua tum nihil in terris habebatur majus, quod multis argumentis ex veterum monumentis docere licet: ac fortassis esset eadem nunc quoque, ni paucorum fulgor cæterorum obscuraret splendorem; aut nisi plerique nunc ea negligerent, quibus olim Episcopis apud populum tanta conciliabatur auctoritas. Ea sunt vitæ integritas, doctrina sacra, ac de omnibus benemerendi studium indefatigabile. Ac Hieronymus Episcopus non erat, et tamen tantum dignitatis illi conciliarat insignis eruditio cum summa vitæ sanctimonia conjuncta, quantum vix Episcoporum ulli contigerat. Tanta enim erat apud omnes Hieronymiani nominis celebritas, ut ad unum ex omnibus totius orbis regionibus, velut ad certissimum oraculum, concurreretur, si quid in Divinis Literis aut obscurum esset, aut controversum. Ad hunc variis de rebus quæstiones deferebantur ex Italia, ex Hispania, ex Africa, e Græcia,
ex

ex omnibus Galliarum partibus, ex extrema denique Germaniæ Getica, quæ fero cœpit mansuescere, tamque parata fuit sacræ eruditionis vis et ubertas, ut et unus et senex tot argumentis suffecerit. Nec puduit eruditos Episcopos a Presbytero doceri, quorum præter alios erat Augustinus. Proinde commovit me, Præsul absolutissime, quum incomparabilis viri dignitas tum tua voluntas, quam gravissimo cum judicio semper conjunctam esse scio, ut primam editionem satis elaboratam recognosceremus : in quo negotio sic nos gessimus, ut attentus Lector facile deprehensurus sit, mihi laborem hunc nec sine causa, nec sine fructu, susceptum fuisse : qui si candidus etiam erit et gratus, agnoscat se tuæ celsitudini, cui jampridem debebat plurimum, nunc factum obstrictiorem, cujus benignitati pene totum debet acceptum ferre, si quam utilitatem publicis studiis attulimus. Quod si talis Mæcenas juveni contigisset, poterat Erasmus et inter felices numerari. Utinam autem quod conati sumus contingat, ut tui nominis memoria tam plausibilis sit apud posteros, quam tui sanctissimi mores promerentur omnium bonorum amorem. Scio tuam pietatem a nemine gratiam expectare benefactorum, præterquam a Deo : qui sic ad benefaciendum omnibus natus es, ut beneficium accepisse videaris, si quem beneficio juveris. Scio tuam modestiam nihil minus appetere, quam laudem apud homines : sed nullis majore merito persolvitur laus, quam his qui laudem ab hominibus non expetunt. Dominus Jesus religiosam senectutem tuam publicis studiis et Ecclesiis Britanniae diu servet incolumem. Basileæ, Nonis Juliis, Anno 1524.

Nº. LVI.

Dedication of the fourth tome of Jerom to Warham.

Des. Erasmus Roterodamus, Sacræ Theologiæ Professor, Reverendissimo Patri ac Domino, D. Guilielmo Varamo, Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, totius Angliæ Primati S. D.

QU I res humanas mari compararunt, Præsulum decus, mihi videntur penitus earum naturam habuisse perspectam : sed hanc evidentius expresserunt, qui fecerunt Euripo similes. Nam reliqua maria stagnant alicubi, nec ullos sentiunt motus, nisi quum agitantur vi ventorum : At Euripus, id est, mare inter Phocidem Bœotiae partem et Euboiam insulam, incredibili celeritate septies die ac nocte sese subducit, ac totidem vicibus recurrit : atque hoc etiam sæpius Euripus Taurominitanus ; unde a rapido impetu nomen est a Græcis inditum. Quantas enim et quam multas hic aliquot annis rerum mutationes vidimus in utriusque ordinis, sacri videlicet ac profani principibus, quanta tempestas concussit Christianam professionem, quanta perturbatio studiorum est consequuta ? Denique quanta malorum omnium exundatio videtur mundi supremum diem minitari ? Ego certe nullis annalibus eram crediturus ista, quæ video sentioque. Sed bellorum ac religionis

gionis causam ipsi Christo moderandam relinquamus. Quam feliciter intra paucos annos effloruerant bonæ literæ? Rursus quam parum abfuit, quin denuo victrix barbaries obruerit omnia recta studia? quibus nulli majori detrimento sunt, quam hi qui hæc impure colunt. Exoriri videas passim tenebriones quosdam, qui simulatque didicerunt decem verba Latina, Græca duo, ^a paradoxa sex, scribunt procaces libellos, miroque supercilio fastidiunt tot seculorum unanimi sententia consecratos autores: haud dum scio majorene ingratitude an impietate. Putet istis velut indoctum, ubicumque non offendunt illa sex paradoxa, in quæ nunc quidam insaniunt. Scilicet talium virorum monumenta rejicienda sunt, ut horum loco rabularum nescio quorum rixosas legamus nænias. Quo libentius hoc laboris suscepimus ut Hieronymus noster, qui pridem nitidissimus prodierat in lucem, nunc prodiret nitidior. In hoc volumine nihil meum est præter censuras. Nec statim fastidiendum quod Hieronymi non est: nam habet ordo primus permulta, adeo non indigna lectu, ut vel Hieronymi titulo servata gaudeam. In tertio nihil fere comperi dignum, in quo pius et eruditus Lector tempus conterat. Si cui non probatur nostrum judicium, non habet tamen quod nobis indignetur. Non solum enim habet omnia quæ prodita fuerant superioribus aliorum editionibus, verum etiam multa illis adjecta sunt: et habet eadem tum nitidius excusa, tum emendatius, quam umquam antea fuerint. Per me licebit, ut suo quisque judicio fruatur. Admoniti sunt, qui valent judicio: fraudati non sunt, quibus displicet quicquam omitti. Precor ut Dominus Jesus senectutem tuam, ut est pietate singulari prædita, ita floridam ac longævam esse velit Ecclesiæ suæ. Basileæ, vi Id. Octob. Anno 1534.

Nº. LVII.

Preface to Jerom, by Erasmus.

Ad Lectorem Præfatio.

QUANTQUAM ab ipsa pueritia, non tam judicio, quam arcano quodam naturæ sensu, divi Hieronymi scripta sum admiratus; eaque admiratio mihi semper cum accessione ætatis, et, si qua est, eruditionis accrevit: tamen cum illius epistolas tum castigandi, tum scholiis illustrandi provinciam susciperem, variam illam et ex omni linguarum, disciplinarum ac literarum recondita suppellectili constructam opulentiam nondum penitus introspexeram. Quid enim est in ullo librorum genere, seu parvum, seu magnum, seu sacrum, seu profanum, quod ille non habuerit in numerato? Itaque fateor me non uno modo peccasse, qui ad tam arduum negotium, nec parem eruditionem, nec justam curam attulerim.

^a He hath the Reformers in view; some of whom put up their Theses against Popery, for public disputation, under the name of *Paradoxes*, as Franciscus Lambertus. And Erasmus often called some of Luther's sentiments, *Paradoxes*. See *Sculteti Annales*.

Quum

Quum enim primum venissem Basileam, de Novo Testamento vertendo ne cogitarem quidem: scholia modo nonnulla paucis verbis annotarem, atque his decreveram esse contentus: in Hieronymum fere nihil attuleram præter animi propositum. Hic mea facilitate, aut verius temeritate, abusus felicitis memoriæ Joannes Frobenius, utrumque opus compluribus prælis aggressus est; quum hoc corpusculum vix quartæ laborum parti par esset. Atque id temporis parabam illa, non hominibus eruditis, sed quibusdam piis quidem illis, verum illiteratis, apud quos compereram Hieronymum sic undequaque depravatum, ut ne legi quidem posset: cujus incogitantia me non semel pudit et piguit. Supererat igitur ut ad proverbium confugeremus, quo posteriores curæ dicuntur esse meliores: et quod priore negligentia commissum erat, posteriore diligentia sarciremus: id quod a nobis jam semel atque iterum factum est. Porro quum acciperem apud Parisiorum Lutetiam rursus excudi epistolarum volumina, ut ex tempore licuit, quædam loca pridem a me notata recognovi, misique in publicam studiosorum utilitatem: non inquieturus, donec æquo candidoque Lectori probarim fidem et industriam meam. Ingratis enim et iniquis, qui vel dissimulantes tam multa bene dicta, tantum arrodunt si quid incautius excidit: vel quod est improbius, ne legunt quidem nostra, sed tamen occlusis oculis et obturatis auribus ingenti vociferatione damnant quod nesciunt, nihil aliud optabo quam mentem dari meliorem divinitus: Θεοὶ δὲ τὰ πάντα δύνανται. Interim non tam regium est, quam Christianum, quum bene facias, audire male. Quum hæc adornaretur editio, incomparabilis heros Guilielmus Waramus, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, ac totius Angliæ Primas, terras reliquit, et in cœleste contubernium emigravit, vir ex omni virtutum et ornamentorum genere concinnatus: sive spectes in tanto rerum fastigio comitatem etiam infimis obviam, sive in tantis negotiorum undis perpetuam animi tranquillitatem (id quod divinæ cujusdam mentis esse videtur) sive sincerum erga pietatem ac religionem affectum, quam semper summo studio, nullo supercilio tum docuit, tum præstitit. Nemo vidit illum nihil agentem. Quis autem non facile condonasset tali viro, si quando animum negotiis externis delassatum, jocus aut lusibus relaxasset? At illi porro pro venatu, pro aucupio, pro alea, pro chartis, pro morionibus, proque cæteris avocamentis vulgaribus, erat aut frugifera lectio, aut cum erudito viro colloquium. Jam vero benignitatem quum in omnes, tum præcipue in studiosos, quid referam? De me nihil dicam, qui non ita multum ab illo accepi, idque obtrusum verius quam datum: nisi quod in acceptis numero quicquid ille obtulit: obtulit autem frequenter vera fronte, fortunarum omnium communionem. Sed in alios quam non fuerit illius parca liberalitas, vel illa vox arguit quam paulo ante mortem emisit. Nuntiantibus enim famulis, in thesauro vix esse triginta aureos signatæ pecuniæ: gratulabundus dixit, Bene habet: sic mori semper fuit in votis: sat est viatici mox hinc emigraturo. O mentem summo Episcopo dignam! Ex tanta fortuna minimum impendit sibi: mensa erat et pro more regionis, et pro dignitate tanti Præfulis splendida, sed in mediis deliciis ipse vulgaribus libentius utebatur, atque hoc ipsum parcissime. Cœna tam erat frugalis, ut prope nulla fuerit: vinum perquam raro gustabat verius

rius quam bibebat, contentus tenuissima cervisia, quam illi vulgo *Biriam* appellant. Eadem in cultu frugalitas, nunquam holosericis utebatur, nisi rem divinam peragens : adeo ut quum sub Caroli Cæsaris et Regis Angliæ conventum, qui fuit ante annos, ni fallor, undecim Caletii, edicto Cardinalis Eboracensis, non Episcopi tantum, sed et inferioris gradus homines cogerentur magnis impendiis ornare sese Byssinis ac Damascenis, solus omnium ille contempto Cardinalis edicto, pilum in cultu suo non mutarit. Quid esse possit illo pectore incorruptius ? Nunc felix illa anima, sicut Ecclesiæ præclarum lumen fuit, ita cœlesti Hierosolymæ sidus illustre addit. Frequenter apud suos hanc vocem ^b solet emittere, Utinam mihi contingat, priusquam hinc emigrem, semel videre complectique meum Erasmus, nunquam sinerem illum a me divelli. Votum erat mutuum, sed neutri contigit quod optavit. Utinam illud concedat Christi misericordia, ut nos invicem brevi complectamur illic ubi nulla est futura distractio, neque quisquam erit, qui vel illum mihi, vel me illi invidet. Bene vale, quisquis es qui hæc legis. Friburgi Brisgoiæ, Anno M D XXXIII.

Nº. LVIII.

Preface of Erasmus to the fourth Tome of Jerom.

Des. Erasmus Divinarum literarum studiosis omnibus S. D.

SUPERIORE Tomo *παλαιολογία*, quæque ad vitæ pertinent institutionem, quo licuit ordine digessimus, simul velut eodem fasce complexi *εὐχαριστικά*, *ἀπομνηστικά*, *ὑπομνήματα*, *ἡ ἰσορροπία*, hoc est, quæ ad laudem, consolationem, objurgationem pertinent, et rei gestæ narrationem habent, intermixtis et familiaribus aliquot epistolis : quibus omnibus ideo dedimus idem volumen, quod hæc ita commiscuit ipse Hieronymus, ut non queant divelli commode : et idem pariter agit in omnibus, in hoc laudatiunculis illectans, quo præcepta ceu pharmaca, per se subamara, melle prælita libentius hauriantur ; sic consolans, ut instituat ; sic objurgans, ut reddat meliorem ; sic narrans, ut pietatis imaginem velut expressam in tabula, subjiciat oculis ; denique sic confabulans, nonnunquam et jocans cum amicis, ut interim adhortetur ad pietatem. In hoc volumen, quod prima editione, propter argumentorum affinitatem, secundum erat, conjecimus aliena. Atque ea quidem in tres distinximus classes. In prima collocavimus *ψευδεπίγραφα*, hoc est, falso quidem inscripta D. Hieronymo ; sed tamen erudita, nec indigna lectu. In secunda posuimus ea, quæ non dubiis titulis, a quibus auctoribus profecta sint, testantur. In tertia congeessimus ea, quæ non solum falsa, verum etiam impudentissima inscriptione Hieronymum aucto-

^b *solet* : I have often observed in Erasmus this way of using the present tense, where the præter-imperfect would be more proper.

rem mentiuntur, virum omnium longe tum eruditissimum, tum eloquentissimum: cum adeo sint et inerudita et infantia, ut nec umbram ullam Hieronymiani pectoris referant. Id quod suo loco plane demonstrabimus. Neque vero censoriam hancce virgulam, καὶ ταύτην λεοντήν ipsi nobis arroganter sumimus, ut pro libidine animi nostri, de rebus hisce pronunciaremus: sed solo juvandi studio commoti, quod re diligenter expensa, multis simul et probabilibus argumentis nobis deprehendisse videbamus, indicavimus. Quod si quis erit, qui hoc quoque negotium existimet ad Ecclesiæ cognitionem pertinere, quod titulos vel ab indoctis, vel a negotiatoribus, vel ab impostoribus additos sustulerim; homo, ne quid dicam insolentius, in hoc certe genere nec indiligens, nec inexercitatus, clarissima voce testor, clamo, profiteorque me nec hic, nec usquam alibi, vel culmum, quod aiunt, latum ab Ecclesiæ placitis velle digredi, nec mihi in animo esse, vel unum apicem convellere, in his quæ sint illius auctoritate serio comprobata. Tantum ne quicquid quocunque modo in vulgi usum irrepperit, id protinus ab Ecclesiæ profectum oraculo putemus. Nos hoc quicquid est laboris, neque gloriæ neque quæstus gratia sumimus, sed in hoc duntaxat, quo nostra industria veteris illius Theologiæ candidatis consuleremus: quam ego sane solam esse judicarem Theologiam, nisi vereretur tot agmina diversa sentientium. Certe non dubitem hanc pronunciare longe magis conducibilem vel ad Christianam eruditionem, vel ad vitæ pietatem, ea quæ nunc passim tractatur in scholis, sic Aristotelis differta decretis, sic sophisticis nugis, ne dicam somniis, contaminata; sic inanum quæstiuncularum involuta labyrinthis, ut si ipse reviviscat Hieronymus, aut etiam Paulus, inter istos nihil Theologiæ scire videretur. Quæ tamen ipsa si quibus impense placet, per nos sane quantumlibet eam deamet, exosculetur, amplectatur, fruatur licebit. Sit suum cuique pulchrum, nec obsto quo minus Balbinum delectet polypus Agnæ. Nos juxta Pauli sententiam, degustatis omnibus, quod optimum censemus, sequi malumus: aut certe, quod nostro ingenio magis accommodum. Nec ab his sacris auctoribus, in quibus tam abstrusam divinarum literarum scientiam comperimus, tam admirabilem eloquentiam, tantam Christiani spiritus fragrantiam, avelli possumus, nisi contingant meliora. Neque enim me magnopere movet turba dissentientium; cum hoc Ethnicis quoque sit et animadversum, et literis proditum, nunquam tam bene fuisse actum cum rebus humanis, ut optima plurimis placuerint. Atque utinam faxit Deus optimus maximus, ut quo quidque melius fuerit, hoc pluribus arrideat. Quod si numero suffragiorum magis quam pondere commoveremur, nec ipse placeret Christus, quo sine controversia nihil est melius; quem, heu facinus indignum! plures mortalium rident, quam sequuntur. Atque ipse adeo suos pusillum appellat gregem. Tum in hac ipsa paucitate Christum profitentium, quam rari sunt, qui quod ceremoniis ac titulo præ se ferunt, vere moribus exprimant? Socrates apud Platonem, quicquid admodum placeat multitudini, vel ob id ipsum suspectum habendum esse docet, quod placuit. Et Plin. Cæcilius etiam in scholis hanc legem præscripsit, ut sciamus eum pessime dixisse, cui maxime sit applausum. Tantum abest, ut ullius rei pretium turba probantium oporteat æstimare. Quanquam nihil addubito, quin

meo sint accessuri iudicio, quotquot in evolvendis autoribus hujusmodi fuerint diligenter versati, modo accesserint his instructi literis, sine quibus nec intelligi possunt. Cæterum in optimo Theologiæ genere primas tenet D. Hieronymus (de Latinis loquor) et ita primas tenet, ut omnes post se longo relinquat intervallo: et adeo neminem habemus, quem ullo pacto cum hoc conferre possimus, ut inter tam innumerabiles Theologos vix quenquam habeat et ipsa docta Græcia, qui nostrum æquet Hieronymum, si modo non unam aliquam laudem, sed universas ejus dotes simul expendas. Tantam uno in homine reperias secularium, ut vocant, literarum cognitionem, tantam omnis antiquitatis peritiam, tot linguarum absolutam scientiam, tam admirandam locorum et historiarum omnium notitiam, tam non vulgarem mysticorum voluminum eruditionem, tantum inimitabilis eloquentiæ, tam exactum ubique iudicium, tam sacrum afflati pectoris ardorem, rerum adeo diversarum tam digestam ac præsentem memoriam, tam felicem juxta ac divitem mixturam; denique tanto lepore conditam severitatem, ut quemadmodum per se facundi, si cum Cicerone conferantur, protinus videntur obmutescere, ita cæteri Doctores, quos citra collationem suspicimus, cum Hieronymo compositi, vix sapere, vix loqui, vix vivere videantur. Atque id quidem haud in illorum contemptum, sed in Hieronymi gloriam dictum videri velim, qui suarum excellentia virtutum, aliorum laudem non minuit, sed admotus obscurat. Reliquos ut limpidos rivos admireris, hic ceu dives quoddam et aureum flumen, universas opes secum volvit ac defert. Verum quoniam intelligebam complures ab hujus vere divi Doctoris abhorrere lectione, non perinde ob id quod minus probarent (quis enim hunc non probet, nisi qui sit unus omnium insulsiſſimus, nec minus tamen insulsius quam impius?) quam quod crebris obscuritatibus, ceu salebris occurrentibus, offenderentur: et minus placeat oportet, quod non intelligas: proinde pio, sicut opinor, studio, laborem hunc haud sane mediocre profecto suscepimus: non hoc agentes, ut de dogmatis digladiantes, argutiam ostentaremus ingenii, sed ut pio Lectori, docilique magis quam docto, submotis obstaculis, vernantissimos Hieronymiarum lucubrationum campos aperiremus, in quibus summa cum animi voluptate liberius jam et inoffensius spatiaſſetur: id quod primum diligentissima castigatione, deinde argumentis et scholiis in loco additis conati sumus efficere. Nec hoc contenti, cum videremus tam sacrum virum non solum depravatissimum, verum etiam alienorum intermixtione librorum ita contaminatum, ut propemodum plus eſſet alieni; quicquid nothum ac supposititium deprehendimus, non amovimus quidem, ne quid omnino desideraret avidus Lector: sed tamen semovimus, et in suum redegimus locum. Idque fecimus non præcipiti temerarioque iudicio, qui plerisque mos est, sed omnia conjecturarum vestigia, quanta maxima potuimus sagacitate subodorati; sic ut plane confidam, citra contationem omnes qui mediocriter bonas didicere literas, aut qui vel degustarunt, modo candido et integro sint ingenio, nostræ subscripturos sententiæ. Quod si quis super hisce rebus velit odiosius digladiari, me certe concertatorem non est habiturus. Ego quid sentiam, simpliciter indicavi, libenter *παλινωδῶσαν*, et in diversam iturus sententiam, si quis docuerit rectiora. Porro si quis cum

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id non possit, tamen odiosius obstrepat, ac studio rapi quam iudicio duci mavult (ut nihil est pertinacius inscitia, praesertim si scientiae persuasio accesserit) ne cum hoc quidem unquam tria verba commutaverim. Cui solus placet Hieronymus, huic dedimus, ne imprudens incideret in aliena: cui quidvis placet, citraque delectum omnia devorat, huic nihil omisimus, imo non nihil adjecimus. Titulos tantum detraximus, quos qui volet, vel initialibus, ut vocant, literis in suo sibi reponat codice. Rescindant nostram censuram, quibus visum fuerit, et suo fruantur iudicio: profiteantur absolutam eruditionem, et oraculum videri postulent, quicquid dixerint. Nos humiles homunculi, nec ignari mediocritatis nostrae, juvandi studio, quod possumus praestamus: et quaecumque talentulum, quod nobis Dominus credidit, pro nostra virili in communem conferimus utilitatem: quo videlicet usuram exigenti, qui sortem commisit, si nihil aliud, certe conatum et sedulitatem vice foenoris exhibere valeamus. Apud eruditos quidem et candidos haec quae diximus abunde satis erant. Caeterum quo cumulatius etiam satisfaciamus omnibus doctis pariter et indoctis, modestis et immodestis, haud gravabor altius repetito sermone, consilii mei reddere rationem: primum ostensurus, quibus ex causis acciderint huiusmodi *ψευδεπιγραφαι*; deinde quibus notis quibusque conjecturis, tituli falsitatem deprehendere liceat. Principio non sum exacturus, ut quisquam mihi credat, id in Hieronymianis accidisse monumentis, nisi compererit nullum unquam, nec apud Graecos, nec apud Latinos fuisse magni nominis auctorem, in quo non idem usu venerit. Apud Graecos nihil antiquius Homero, cujus poësim tamen repurgavit Aristarchus, insignes versus ceu *γνησίους*, id est, germanos, ac palam Homero parente dignos, *ἀσεπτακούς* illustrans, contra nothos et supposititios *ὀβελίσκους* jugulans. De Hymnis et Batrachomyomachia Docti addubitant. Nam Hymnos, qui Orphei titulo feruntur, Aristoteles illius esse negat. Apologos Aesopi nomine celebres, Quintilianus Hesiodo mavult asserere. Notantur ab Eruditis aliquot Aristophanis et Euripidis fabulae, veluti subdititiae. Sunt poemata, quae in nonnullis exemplaribus Theocrito, in aliis Moscho reperies inscripta. Sunt aliquot inter Platonicos dialogos, quos nemo non sentit supposititios esse, nisi qui nihil omnino sentit animo. Idem parcius quidem accidit in Aristotele: verum ut nihil interim dicam de ambiguis, propemodum convenit, librum *πρὸς τῶν θαυμασιῶν ἀκρομάτων* alterius esse. Tum negari non potest, in problematis quaedam ab aliis admixta fuisse, cum aliis argumentis tum illo potissimum, quod eadem toties occurrunt. Mihi nec Rhetorica, quam scriptam habemus ad Alexandrum, videtur illius esse. Inter Plutarchi commentarios ipsi deprehendimus aliquot, quos non vereamur quantumvis sancte dejerare ab ipso numquam fuisse conscriptos. Idem in Luciani Dialogis factum et ipsa res indicat, et testantur eruditi. At iidem e diverso Phalaridis nomine celebratas epistolas huic vindicant. Veniam ad Latinos. Inter tam multas comoedias, quae Plautini nominis habebant inscriptionem, unam tantum et viginti, veluti germanas, et originis indubitatae, recepit M. Varro, vir undecunque doctissimus, quas ob eam rem Varronianas fuisse vocatas testis est Aulus Gellius. Praecepta Rhetorices ad Herennium, tot jam seculis Ciceronis titulo leguntur, et a magnis citantur auctoribus; quod tamen opus alterius cuiuspiam esse, non solum arguit stylus, sed aliis item ar-

gumentis non ambiguis deprehenditur. Tum mediis hujus actionibus quædam orationes admixtæ sunt, stylo reclamante, Ciceronem auctorem inscriptione mentientes: quibus haud ita pridem unam adjecit Philippus Beroaldus, homo sane non indoctus, sed studii majoris quam judicii, quæ usque adeo non exhibet inimitabilem illam Ciceronis eloquentiam, ut ne Latini quidem hominis esse videatur. Jam quam multa Virgilii nomen occuparunt, quæ certissimis argumentis deprehensum est ab aliis esse profecta? Ne commemorem interim ^c Philomenam, Nuncium Sagacem, Vetulam, aliosque hujus fari-næ libellos, qui se pridem Ovidii titulo venditabant. Cæsaris Commentarios quidam adscribunt Suetonio. De Viris Illustribus existimant Plinio falso inscribi. Declamationes Quintiliani titulo publicatas, docti negant illius esse, cujus creduntur. Proverbia quædam Senecæ titulo leguntur, in quibus complures reperies sententias Publii mimographi nomine citatas apud idoneos auctores: ut de cæteris interim fileam, de quibus ambigi possit. Circumferuntur Epistolæ Pauli ad Senecam, et Senecæ ad Paulum, in quibus nihil omnino reperias, neque Paulo neque Seneca dignum. Opus de Disciplina Scholarium Severini Boëtii nomine circumfertur, quod bubulci citius dixeris, quam illius eximii philosophi. Paucos aliquot, sed maxime celebres duntaxat exempli gratia recensuimus: cum alioqui nullus sit omnino scriptor, cui non aliquid falso fuerit inscriptum. Pergamus igitur ad nostrates, hoc est, sacros auctores. Hebræi quædam volumina non recipiunt, nec in his quæ receperunt de auctore consensus est. Apud hos prima auctoritas erat Legi et Prophetis. At hic protinus quam multa ferebantur olim apocrypha Esaiæ et Hieremiæ titulo. Proxima dabatur hagiographis, inter quæ nonnulli supputabant libros Judicum et Ruth. Tertius ordo erat apocryphorum, e quibus Sapientiam Solomonis, Ecclesiasticum, Judith et Tobiam, Esdræ et Macchabæorum libros omnes, ac Daniele totum palam in templis legimus: librum ejusdem ordinis, cui titulus est Pastor, nemo legit. Daniel apud Hebræos ejusdem ordinis habetur, cujus et liber Psalmorum: et tamen ex his, quæ hujus habent titulum, ipse D. Hieronymus non veretur quædam obelis jugulare, veluti Belum, Draconem, ac Susannam, Hymnumque trium puerorum. Ejusdem ordinis est Esdras, cujus et Psalterium. Quum autem Psalmorum summa sit auctoritas, tum apud Hebræos tum apud Christianos, tamen D. Hieronymus non veretur, ex primis duobus Esdræ libris unicum facere, et duos reliquos inter apocrypha censere, Lectore monito ne somniis hujusmodi delectetur. Quid Evangeliorum auctoritate sacratius? Aut quid Apostolorum nominibus augustius? Et tamen horum titulis quot Evangelia sparsa fuerant in orbem? Inter quæ rejectum est et Evangelium Nazaræorum, quod a plerisque credebatur archetypon Matthæi. In Evangelio Joannis historia de adultera, judicio priscorum, ex Hebræorum Evangelio putatur assuta. Vivo etiamnum Hieronymo, Romani non recipiebant Epistolam ad Hebræos: nec Joannis Apocalypsim Græci, cum aliis de causis, tum quod in ea nomen Joannis præter illius morem tam identidem inculcetur: denique quod negarent illic esse quicquam dignum Apostolica gravitate, sed frigidam potius imitationem sermo resipere: postremo, quod ibi quædam deprehenderentur de numero annorum,

^c Read *Philomelam*. See Fabric. Bibl. Lat. I. 326. 4to.

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quæ dogma Cerinthi olere viderentur. Qui modestissime, censent esse Joannis Presbyteri, cujus sunt epistolæ duæ posteriores. Nam Epistolam, quæ Pauli nomine fertur ad Laodicenses, quis non sentiat imitativam esse, verbis aliquot hinc et illinc ex aliis ejusdem epistolis confarctatis? Jacobi epistolam veteres ab alio quopiam illius nomine editam affirmabant, licet paulatim progressu temporis obtinuerit auctoritatem. Alteram D. Petri Epistolam a Petro profectam negabant plerique, quibus alicubi D. Hieronymus assentitur: quamquam alias varians, styli diversitatem hinc esse putat, quod alio fuerit usus interprete. Non hic referam tot libellos et epistolas, quæ quondam Apostolorum titulis ferebantur, nunc Ecclesiæ censura damnatas. Leguntur et hodie passim Joannis Apostoli nomine, passimque citantur Epistolæ tres: cum Hieronymus palam testetur, primam duntaxat illius esse. Quamquam nihil vetat approbari librum, cujus auctor sit incertus. Quod genus sunt liber Job, et Sapiencia Solomonis, quem asserunt Philoni: item Epistola ad Hebræos. Cæterum quo animo nunc Ecclesia habet in usu publico, quæ veteres magno consensu numerabant inter apocrypha, nondum satis constat. Nos sane quicquid Ecclesiastica comprobarit auctoritas, simpliciter, ut Christiano dignum est, amplectimur. De cæteris agamus, quæ ad Canonem non pertinent, sed humana censentur auctoritate. De Clementis Romani, de Origenis operibus ingens olim inter eruditos fuit concertatio. Quin magis ne, singulos enumerans, Lectori sim molestus, evolvat qui volet, Hieronymi catalogum de scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, volvat alios qui consimile tractant argumentum: et reperiet hoc genus falsas librorum inscriptiones apud Christianos fuisse tum crebriores tum impudentiores, quam fuerint apud Ethnicos. Quo minus mirandum est, si videmus Hieronymianas, Ambrosianas, et Augustini lucubrationes tot supposititiis libris esse permixtas. Verum id quod dico fiet multo credibilius, si causas et occasiones explicuero, quibus hæc inscriptionum impostura videatur accidisse. Atque in summa, duplici potissimum occasione videtur evenisse, partim per errorem et imprudentiam, partim arte dataque opera: sed utrumque diversis modis. Nam aliquoties usuvenit, ut idem aut certe confine plurium vocabulum, erroris ansam præbeat: velut olim complures fabulas falso fuisse inscriptas Plauto, narrat Aulus Gellius, cum essent a Plautio Plautianæ, non a Plauto Plautinæ. Consimili errore duas epistolas posteriores Apostolo Joanni tributas tradunt, quod alius ejusdem esset nominis Joannes Presbyter, a quo scriptas affirmant. Et Hierarchiarum libros Dionysio tribuimus Areopagitæ; et eundem putamus esse, quem juxta Lutetiam Parisiorum urbem, martyrio coronatum accepimus, e tribus, ni fallor, Dionysiis unum facientes. Etenim quum Hieronymus in Catalogo duos, ni fallor, recenset Dionysios, alterum Corinthiorum, alterum Alexandrinorum Episcopum, nihil attingit eorum librorum, qui nunc Dionysii Areopagitæ titulo versantur in manibus. Plures commemorat Eusebius, et inter hos Areopagiten; de cujus libris nullam facit mentionem, quum aliorum, qui scripta reliquerunt, lucubrationes diligenter annumeret. Ea res in historiis quoque magnos sæpenumero gignit errores. Quod genus, si quis Aristophanis Grammatici librum in Aristophanem poetam conferat, et quicquid de Scipionibus ab historiographis sit proditum, id

ab Africano gestum existimet. Rursum fit interdum, ut librarius aut studiosus aliquis, ob argumenti similitudinem, diversorum auctorum opuscula, eodem copulet volumine: deinde parum attentus Lector, aut non reperiens adscriptos titulos, aut oblitos offendens, ejus esse putat omnia, cujus nomen in frontispicio voluminis conspexerit. Aliquoties si forte desit inscriptio, Lector conjectura fallitur, et nomen adscribit, non cujus est, sed cujus esse suspicatur: vel quod de re consimili, vel quod ad eosdem, vel quod simili stylo scripserit alius. His occasionibus dubium non est quin permulta Hieronymo tributa fuerint, quæ sunt aliena. Scripsit argumenta in Divinæ Scripturæ libros D. Hieronymus: deinde parum eruditus, aut etiam tumultuarius Lector, quodcumque illic offenderit argumentum absque titulo, sive illud sit Isidori, sive Gilberti, sive alterius cujuscumque, Hieronymianum facit. Et librum cujus initium est: *Cogitis me, O Paula et Eustochium*, ob id ab Hieronymo scriptum esse putant, quod earum nomen præferat, ad quas sæpe numero scripsit Hieronymus. In nonnullis exemplaribus reperies Anselmo data, quæ rursum in aliis Augustini titulum præ se ferant, quod character non omnino discrepet utriusque. Sunt qui fugientes invidiam, libros edant *ἀνωνύμους, ἢ ἀδεσπότους, ἢ ἀνεπιγράφους*, hoc est, substracto titulo. Deinde levi quapiam conjectura ductus aliquis, hujus aut illius titulum adscribit, quisquis forte occurrerit. Fit nonnunquam, ut in declamatoriis argumentis, quæ Græci *μελέτας* appellant, titulum non serio adscriptum, hoc est, non auctoris, sed ejus cujus personam conatur effingere is qui sese exercet, verum ac serium esse putent: nam hoc videmus olim in scholis solenne fuisse genus exercitationis. Quo de genere sunt Epistolæ Phalaridis, Epistolæ Bruti ad diversos, Epistolæ Pauli ad Senecam, et ad hunc illius. Sic Portius Latro tractavit argumentum Ciceronis in Catilinam, nimirum personam agens Ciceronis; et quoties incidit, sese Tullium appellans, non Portium. Hinc error eorum, qui rem fictam seriam esse credunt. Ad hæc non raro fieri videmus, et hodie, ut bibliopolæ de industria, scriptorum illustrium gratiosis nominibus ad suum quæstum abutantur. Alii quo vel nugas suas, vel pestifera dogmata Lectori commendent, gratiosa prætexunt nomina: sive quò magis aliena fruantur stultitia, sive quo dogmatum virus sub magni nominis umbra celerius latiusque serpat in vulgus. Hinc videlicet inscriptiones illæ impudentissimæ, Epistola Jesu ad Abgarum, Evangelium Petri, Evangelium Nicodemi, aliæque id genus innumeræ, quarum plerasque nominatim Ecclesiastica damnavit auctoritas in Decretis Pontificiis. Ipse plurimis et manifestis argumentis deprehendi quendam fuisse, cui præcipuum studium fuerit, ut coccycis in morem suas nænias alienis operibus infereret, potissimum Ambrosii, Augustini et Hieronymi. Nam stylus palam arguit eundem fuisse. Huic prodigiosa quædam fuit libido, vel insania potius, omnes Hieronymianas lucubrationes modis omnibus conspurcandi: adeo ut non contentus fuerit, epistolas suas et libros hujus libris adjungere, veluti si quis putres pannos insigni assuat purpuræ: verum mediis psalmorum et prophetarum interpretationibus nænias suas admiscuit, quasi si generosum vinum lotio vities aut aceto, ne quis mederi queat. De quo quidem impostore compertiora dicemus, cum ad tertium hujus voluminis ordinem ventum erit, in quem indoctas

doctas et ineptas illius nugas coniecimus. Habes quot modis depraventur inscriptiones; et vides rem adeo neque raram esse neque novam, ut in nullo fere scriptore non contigerit, frequentius autem in præclaris et gratiosis. Reliquum est ut ostendamus, quibus modis hic fucus deprehendi coarguique possit, præsertim in D. Hieronymi scriptis, cujus in præsentia negotium agimus. Etenim cui satis est quocumque pacto prænotatum auctoris nomen, is pro quatuor quatuordecim, opinor, leget Evangelia. Quid autem facilius est, quam nomen quodcumque libuerit libro præfigere? Certe non obstitit antiquis illis patribus quantumvis magnificus titulus, quo minus tot apocryphas ineptias rejicerent: nimirum rem magis spectantes quam inscriptionem. Alioqui si clausis, quod dici solet, oculis accipiemus, quicquid probati viri titulum præ se feret, cui non proclive sit orbi imponere; præsertim hisce temporibus, quibus quicquid scriptum fuerit, protinus bis mille propagatum exemplaribus per omnes terras dissipatur? Non tibi satis est titulus, quem habent pyxides medicorum; sed olfacis, tractas, degustas: nec protinus opobalsamum esse credis, si balsami titulum habeant myrothecia; sed modis omnibus exploras, ne forte deceptus inscriptione, venenum accipias pro remedio, lutum pro unguento. Nomisma probas, non contentus inscriptione; pannum experiris, haud credens symbolo; aurum affricas coticulæ, diffusus colori. Habemus notas, quibus nativam gemmam a factitia discernamus; nec satis est si quis modo smaragdum appellet aut lyncurium: et in solis libris recipiendis, quodcumque nomen temere adscriptum satis erit? At dixerit aliquis: Quid tantopere refert, cujus titulum habeat liber, modo bonus? Id fortassis in Plautinis fabulis non ita magnum referat. Cæterum in sacris viris et Ecclesiæ columnis, unde Pontifices ac Theologi velut ab oraculis sua de bello, de sacramentis, deque gravissimis rebus sumunt decreta, plurimum, opinor, referet. Alioqui futurum est, ut impostoris alicujus dictum, imo somnium, Pauli aut Hieronymi nomine productum, cogat me vel tacere, vel sequi quod rectum non est. Id quod quotidie videmus in theologicis disputationibus factitari, magno cum risu bonas callentium literas. Ac longè quidem proclivius est deprehendere non esse illius cui inscribitur, quam pronunciare cujus sit opus. Quamquam hoc quoque nonnunquam a sagacibus et emunctæ naris ingeniis deprehendi potest. At quibus tandem notis hoc licebit assequi? Permulta quidem sunt alia, quæ conjecturam præbeant si non convenit tempus, si non consentiunt dogmata. Verum hæc, et id genus alia, facile imitatur, qui studeat imposturam facere. Certissimus index, et vere Lydius, ut aiunt, lapis est character orationis et habitus. Ut sua cuique facies, ut sua cuique vox, ut suus cuique mos et genius, ita suus cuique stylus. Nec perinde relucet in speculo corporis imago, quam in oratione mentis habitus apparet. Hanc normam secutus est Varro in pensitandis Plauti fabulis, non indices Helii, nec Claudii, nec Aurelii, nec Accii, nec Manilii, hoc est, librariorum titulos, quemadmodum ait Gellius. Hanc secutus est Aristarchus, hanc ipse D. Hieronymus, etiam inter disertos. Nam inter infantem et eloquentem manifestius discrimen est, quam inter hominem et simiam, inter silicem et gemmam. In Apologetico adversus Ruffinum, Novatiano librum asserens, quem ille Tertulliani dicebat: Et
auctoris

auctoris, inquit, eloquium styli proprietates demonstrat. Rursum eodem argumento Pamphilo suum vindicat opus; Unde, inquiens, sciam quod Pamphili sit? Videlicet stylus et saliva docere me potuerunt. Et D. Augustini librum, cum quidam negarent illius esse, ex epicherematis ait agnovisse se. Secundam Petri Epistolam styli duntaxat indicio putat alterius esse. Tum eam quæ fertur ad Hebræos verecunde significat Clementis videri posse, quod stylus multam haberet affinitatem cum illius epistola, quam sub nomine Romanæ Ecclesiæ scripsit ad Corinthios. Ac ne longior æquo fiam, in catalogo scriptorum illustrium, sæpenumero libros aliis adimens, aliis asserit; nihil secutus præter sermonis gustum, stylique, quemadmodum ille loquitur, salivam. Sed hæc rideri solent a pinguibus istis; et arguti, si Musis placet, videri volunt, cum respondent, ejusdem auctoris non semper eundem esse stylum: et hæc nobis potissimum obganniunt illi, qui prorsum nec quid sit stylus norunt, nec ullos bonos evolvunt auctores. Quasi vero nesciamus vel pro ætate, vel pro argumenti natura, vel studio, vel profectu, vel pro animi habitu nonnihil variari dictionem. Nec enim eadem est oratio Ciceronis in Philippicis, quas senex scripsit, et in Verrinis actionibus, quas juvenis: et alio dicendi genere patrocinatur Miloni, quam quo differuit de Officiis. Nec ipse nunc eodem orationis genere hæc disputo, quo olim Philippum principem laudavimus: quod sciam aliter encomium scribi, aliter scholia. Et Tullius eloquentius tractat Oratorem suum, quam præceperat de Inventione Rhetorica. Nonnunquam data opera stylum variamus, sive quod libet experiri diversa, et nunc hunc nunc illum studemus exprimere, sive quod hoc tribuimus his ad quos scribimus. Jam accrescente per assiduam meditationem orationis facultate, nonnihil novetur oportet. Postremo quemadmodum alius est sermo commoti, alius sedati aut alacris: ita diversus est stylus, aliter affecti: et hæc expendat oportet, qui de phrasi velit ferre sententiam. Alius est vultus irati quam propitii; alius tristis quam alacris; et tamen ea res non obstat quo minus agnoscas hominis tibi noti faciem. Quem juvenem noveras, senem agnoscis, cum omnia mutet ætas. Fratrum aut sororum inter se similitudo non impedit quo minus Paridem dignoscas ab Hectore, Cassandram a Polyxena, Atque adeo haud scio an unquam inter ullos geminos tam indiscreta fuerit formæ similitudo, quin a familiaribus certe quiverint internosci. Quinetiam vehementer attentis ovum ab ovo, ficum a ficu licet discernere, vel refragantibus proverbiiis. Tantum abest ut stylus a stylo discerni non queat; cum non alia in re major sit varietas, stylus modo sit ullus, et accedat artifex qui pronunciet. Nec enim Tartareti dictionem facile scernas ab oratione Bricot non hercle magis quam ab Occam Scoti, aut ab Hugonis Carrarii, Liræ, aut scopas a scopis, aut rudera a rudere. At Augustinum ab Hieronymo nihil negotii sit dignoscere: ni prorsus ignores quid sit oratio. Nunquam ita se dejicit Hieronymus, quin D. Thoma sit cultior, etiam cum ille rhetoricatur maxime. Sed, ut modo dixi, artifex de artifice certissime pronunciat. Sculptor sculptoris, pictor pictoris manum protinus agnoscit. Musices peritus cantionis auctorem ex harmoniis intelligit. Protogenes Apellem non ante visum e linea ducta incontanter deprehendit, sed artifex artificem; cum bubulcus interim aliquis nec Fulvi aut Rutubæ manum

ab Apellis aut Zeuxidis manu sit discreturus. Quamquam ingenue fateor accidere posse, ut in nonnullis tanta sit dictionis similitudo, ut modestius si ambigere quam pronunciare. Verum cum stylum dico, non solum summam illam orationis quasi cutem aut bracteam intelligo verborum et figurarum in verbis sitarum, ut ubicumque quinque Hieronymiana verba deprehendero, protinus Hieronymum scripsisse confirmem: aut qui subinde clausulam orationis ad hunc modum finiat, *esse videatur*, eum statim Ciceronem pronunciem; apud quem aliquoties reperero *interim* pro *interdum*, *statim* Quintilianum putem; apud quem legero *tanquam* pro *velut*, aut *insulcire* pro *inculcare*, mox Senecam esse credam; ubi videro *sane quam* et *oppido quam* pro *valde* positum, extemplo Gellium arbitrer scripsisse; ubi *nupturire*, *verbigerari*, aut aliud simile verbum occurrerit, jam Apuleium existimem loqui; aut qui ὁμοιολεύτεις et ὁμοιοπλάτοις frequentius utatur, hunc continuo credam Augustinum esse; quive crebris periodis in longum producat sententiam, hunc ilico putem esse Gregorium. Plurimas res pariter complectitur styli vocabulum, sermonis habitum, et dictionis quasi filum, figuras, consilium, iudicium, argumentationis genus, inventionem, tractationem, affectus, et ἡδὴ quæ Græci vocant: atque in singulis horum mille discrimina, nempe non pauciora quam sunt ingeniorum, quorum profecto totidem differentiæ sunt, quot sunt ipsi homines. Alius jucundior est, alius exactior: alius simplicior, alius picturatio: alius lenior, alius acrior: hic severior est, ille festivior: hic fusior, ille densior: hic eruditior, ille sanctior: hic copiosior, ille nervosior: denique, ne rem infinitam persequar, totius animi simulacrum semel exhibet oratio. Neque secus quam in corporum propagatione, parentum habitus liberis repræsentatur; ita quoties ingenium exertis viribus gignit aliquid, omnes mentis notas illic licet agnoscere, maxime si quis non imperitus animum adverterit. Quamquam in nullis iudicium certius quam in his quos ingenii vis, doctrinæ magnitudo, eloquentia singularis, aliæque dotes eximiæ reddunt inimitabiles. Nam ut de mediocribus sit aliqua dubitatio, certe Apellis ἀναδυομένην vel procul statim agnoscet artifex. Si quis affectet ut pro Cicerone legatur, nihil agat; quod felicissimam illius facilitatem et jucundissimam subtilitatem nemo possit assequi. Is in Epistolis ait, sese sua dicta talibus insignisse notis, ut non difficile foret ab aliorum dictis internoscere. Nam huic aliena quædam in hoc genere tribuebantur. At in Hieronymo nostro tam multæ sunt dotes, tam eximiæ, ut unaquælibet harum ad discrimen abunde sufficiat. Earum aliquot sic habet cum aliis communes, ut multis præcurrat parasangis, adeoque vincat, ut huic admoti, quod habent non habere videantur. Accedunt quædam peculiaria, quæ nemo Christianorum nec habuit, nec affectavit. Ingenii divina quædam vis, mira fecunditas, ardor incomparabilis, eloquentia, sanctimonia, divinarum literarum cognitio, studiorum fervor, aliaque id genus sic eminent in hoc, ut inter omnes ipsa dignosci possit excellentia. Cæterum peculiaria sunt, felix illa rerum omnium mixtura, qua quicquid est in ullo vel auctorum, vel disciplinarum genere, vel apud Græcos, vel apud Hebræos, vel apud Latinos, si ve priscum sit, si ve neotericum, miro quodam artificio sic insulcit, intexit, concinnat, ut mireris e tam diversis unum quiddam posse conflare.

Nemo densius, nemo felicius mysticæ scripturæ testimonia inculcat, quam velut in numerato habebat, et quantum equidem conjicio, locis certis, quos in hoc paraverat, digestam : per quos effecerat, ut quicquid usquam esset abstrusum in bonis auctoribus, id protinus ad manum esset. Ex occultis Veteris Instrumenti mysteriis, ex reconditis prophetarum ænigmatis libenter aliquid depromit, velut ostentans opes suas, quo magis inflammet Lectorem ad sanctarum studia Scripturarum. Tum videre est in eo perpetuam quandam festivitatem, quam eruditi mirantur in M. Tullio. Nam in rebus etiam maxime seriis, tamen dictu mirum est, quantum habeat salis, quantum jucunditatis. Deprehendas in eodem ingenium versatile, ac pene dixerim vafrum. Dilemmatis et epiphonematis impendio delectatus est. Singularis quædam in insectandis ac depingendis hominum vitiis libertas : qua sic utitur adversus hæreticos et calumniatores, ut aliquoties (dicam enim ingenuè) modestiam in eo cogar desiderare. Ad hæc nullum scripsit opus, quod non ipse locis aliquot citet : id agens, opinor, ne vel interciderent lucubrationes ipsius, vel alienis nominibus occuparentur ; cum nihil horum quæ rejicimus usquam adducat, aut vel leviter meminerit. Ut ne dicam interim, quod quædam horum quæ nos separavimus, in pervetustis exemplaribus aut omnino non habebantur, aut aliorum præferebant nomina. Et in nonnullis impostor ille quisquis fuit, sic nomen inculcat suum, ut hoc ipsum faciat suspicionem captatæ imposturæ. Sunt et aliæ notæ, quas, ne sim prolixior, omitto. In summa est peculiaris quidam pectoris et ingenii gustus, quem sentire licet magis quam explicare. Quibus omnibus diligenter observatis, quæ vere divinum virum referebant, ea illius nomini reddidimus, alienis falsum titulum detraximus : non tam ingenio nostro freti, quam quod nobis mediocre contigerit, non ignoramus ; nec eruditione, quam nobis non vindicamus ; sed partim familiaritate, quam frequenti lectione veluti confabulatione cum Hieronymo contraximus (nam et olim adolescentes hujus scriptis unice sumus delectati, et nunc hoc magis capimur, quo plus accessit eruditionis :) partim diligentia studioque, quo pervestigatis omnibus mihi videor quod verum est, non dubiis argumentisprehendisse. Jam quantum meo judiciotribuendum sit, aliorum facio judicium. Nec enim agnosco laudem, quam mihi tribuunt hac in re quidam eruditissimi quidem illi, sed amici. Cæterum in censendo dictionis genere, quandoquidem in ea palæstra tot jam annos sum exercitatus, si quid mihi fumo, videor id non omnino arroganter facere, præsertim ad utrumque paratus, ut vel mutem sententiam, si quis adducat compertiora ; vel concedam, si quis digladiari malit quam discere. Nam his qui cavillabuntur, quædam a nobis adempta Hieronymo, quæ tamen hujus titulo citantur in Decretis, et in Ecclesiis publice leguntur, abunde satisfaciemus, cum ad extremam hujus tomi partem veniemus, in quam ea relegavimus, quæ velut ab impudentissimo impostore subdita prorsum indigna duximus, ut in his studiosi bonas horas collocarent. In præsentia tantum illud admonuisse suffecerit, permulta quondam in Ecclesiis publice solere legi, quæ postea sint explosa per Episcopos, vel eruditiores, vel attentiores, quemadmodum in catalogo scriptorum testatur D. Hieronymus. Imo in his ipsis quæ rejicit et carbone notat in Decretis Pontificia censura, pleraque fuerant

erant olim publico Christianorum usu recepta. Nec veritus est Hieronymus, receptissimam per universum orbem Canonorum voluminum editionem sua vel interpretatione vel emendatione mutare. Quod si reclament, ea Pontificum esse partes, haud mei similium : nihil equidem repugno. Sane fateor, Pontificum est super hisce rebus statuere, praesertim si quid ad fidei Christianae rem pertinet ; mei tamen similibus fas est admonere. Quamquam Eruditi negant illam Gratiani, nescio cujus, congeriem ulla unquam publica Ecclesiae auctoritate comprobata fuisse, magisque Scholasticorum usurpatione paulatim invaluisse, quam iudicio Synodi : cum inter hos ipsos hodie videamus illius operis testimonium non temere recipi, nisi si quid fuerit commodum ad nostrum negotium, si quid officiat, rejici velut antiquatum jam et obsoletum. Sed donemus valere, magni certe refert, quid quo animo comprobet Ecclesia. Ut enim parem auctoritatem tribuat Hebraeorum voluminibus, et quatuor Evangeliiis, certe non vult idem esse pondus Judith, Thobiae et Sapientiae libris, quod Moyse Pentateucho. Paulum recipit, sed ut Apostolum : Augustinum recipit, sed ut interpretem ; nec alia lege recipit, quam ipse qui scripsit, suos libros legi cupit. Recipit Canonicam Scripturam, ut de cujus fide nolit ambigi. Recipit humanas de Sanctis historias, non per omnia certas, sed quae cum fructu morum legi possint. Nonnulla condonat jam receptae consuetudini, ac multitudinis affectibus, si modo senserit ejusmodi ut citra religionis vitaeque perniciem legi possint. Nisi quis forte, quod in Decretis legerit : *Sedulii Paschale opus insigni laude praeferrimus* ; continuo postulet, ut Sedulii versiculos Actis Apostolorum aequemus. Postremo non illic agitur de titulo, sed de re. Alioqui quid futurum est, cum ea quae publice canuntur in templis, alio atque alio titulo proponi videamus, id quod in multis usuvenire certum est ? In multis inscriptionis falsitas manifestioribus deprehenditur argumentis, quam ut quisquam possit tergiversari. In Sententiis Petri Lombardi, atque in Gratiani Collectaneis quam multa citantur ex opere, quod Augustini titulo legitur : De vera et falsa poenitentia, quum in eodem Augustini referatur et refellatur sententia ? Ita multa citantur ex Hieronymo, quae nusquam in illius libris reperiuntur. Ad hujusmodi permulta ceu connivent Ecclesiae procures. Quod si in nonnullis constat Ecclesiam mutasse sententiam, nimirum diligentius pensitato negotio, quid magni si quid in his mutetur, quae aut non pertinent ad Christianam fidem, aut certe multo levius pertinent ? Neque enim, opinor, protinus haereticus sit, si quis Evangelium quod Marci nomine legitur, Petri titulo legendum existimet. Verum hisce de rebus plura jam pene diximus, quam decretum erat, quae suo loco copiosius reddentur. Nunc, ne Lectorem nimis longa praefatione defatigem, et priusquam ad rem veniatur, praemissis brevibus in singulas censuris, ipsas Epistolas subjiciemus.

Nº. LIX.

A Preface of Erasmus to the third section of the fourth Tome, p. 406.

Erasmus Roterod. Divinarum studiosis Literarum S. D.

HAUD me fallit, optime Lector, in prima hujus tomi serie, quædam a nobis esse relicta, quæ et stultitiam et balbutiem respiciant ejusdem impostoris, cujus nœnias in hunc extremum hujus voluminis locum, velut in sentinam rejecimus: nullo alioqui dignas loco, nisi quemadmodum ante sum testatus, humanius ac modestius esse duxissem, in hanc peccare partem, ut quædam residere pateremur, quæ merebantur abjici, quam ut quicquam loco moveremus, aliquo modo lectu dignum, videlicet æquos imitati iudices, qui propensiores esse solent ad absolvendum, quam ad damnandum: si-ve quod humanius est liberare periculo nocentem, quam infontem perdere; si-ve quod præter meritum absolutus, rursus in jus vocari potest, ac pœnas dare legibus; cum non perinde commode succurri possit præter æquum damnato. Quanquam et illic censuris additis opinionem nostram verius quam sententiam indicavimus. Cæterum hac in parte nihil omnino reperies, non dicam, quod Hieronymi dignitati respondeat, sed aliqua ex parte dignum, in quo bonarum horarum ullam portionem collocent, qui vel pietatis studio, vel bonarum literarum amore ducuntur. Verum hoc datum est quorundam imperitorum invictæ pertinaciæ, qui quicquid semel infedit animo, nunquam patiuntur revelli, stupidiore quam ut ipsi recte judicare queant, et iidem præfractiores, quam ut alienæ sententiæ velint accedere: quod quidem hominum genus omnium extremum ac prorsus inutile merito judicavit^d Hesiodus. Ego sane quoties ineptissimas hominis ineptias, et nugacissimas nugas mecum expendo, parum liquet utrum potius debeam admirari, hujusne scriptoris, quisquis fuit, impudentissimam insaniam, qui fato quodam natus ad perdendos bonos auctores, omnes vires, totum otium, imo totius vitæ studium, in hoc unum contulisse videtur, ut insignium virorum eruditissimas lucubrationes, insulsißimis blateramentis contaminaret, an nostram magis oscitantiam, vel, ut verius dicam, stuporem, qui jam seculis aliquot Hieronymi nomine, viri doctrina, facundia, sanctimonia prorsus incomparabilis, legamus obscuri nebulonis nugas; in quibus nec ulla sententiarum gravitas, neque verborum cultus, nec lepos, nec argutia, nec eruditio, nec ullum denique sanæ mentis vestigium; sed temere utcunque in buccam venerunt effusa verborum volumina, rerum nullus delectus, solœcismis ac sordidissimis verbis, et nuper in culina natis undique referta omnia; exclamationes insanæ subitæque, quas sic adhibet, ut prorsus intelligas histrionem personatum agere, non gravem et sanctum virum ex animo loqui. Ita scilicet nobis hic Rhetor Hieronymi refert epiphonemata. Quid multis? Sic notis omnibus discrepat ab Hieronymo, ut non sit facilius suam ab homine dignoscere, nisi si quis sit omni sue stolidior. Et tamen hæc, O rem pudendam! Hierony-

^d Eey. 297.

mi titulum occupant. Verum ea res hinc evenit, quod bona pars hominum iudicio careat. Quid enim de tam excellentis viri monumentis iudicent ii, qui linguarum omnium imperiti, ignari antiquitatis, in nullo scripti genere exercitati, in nullis bonorum auctorum libris versati, præter sophisticas ineptias nihil unquam didicerunt? Nonnulli rursus dum impendio candidi videri student, dum inhumanum iudicant quicquam omnino reprehendere, dum quicquid semel chartis illitum fuerit, id nefas esse ducunt ullo pacto convellere, rabularum ineptias pro doctissimorum hominum egregiis monumentis amplectuntur, et alba, quod aiunt, amussi legunt omnia. Quare fiat necesse est, ut dum intempestiva modestia, flagris etiam aut pistrino dignum nebulonem lædere verentur, in summos viros existant contumeliosi, nimirum quos illis æquant, ut hic optimo jure possis illo versu Homérico stomachari,

Ἐν δ' ἡ τιμὴ ἡμῶν κακὸς ἢ δὲ καὶ ἐσθλός.

Sunt alii qui sedulo quidem illi, sed parum prudenter Hieronymi gloriæ faventes, ipsi sibi scientes dataque opera occludunt oculos, ut quod cernant non videant, quod audiunt non audiant, quod manibus tangant non sentiant, neque quicquam putant interesse, cujus ore, quave ratione laudetur aliquis, modo laudetur, cum Alexander ille Macedonum rex non a quovis artifice vel fingi voluerit vel pingi. Tum a quibusdam laudari, vituperari est, ut vere scripsit Seneca. Nec usque adeo gloriæ inops est sanctissimus Hieronymus, ut indocti blateronis mendaciis debuerit commendari. Sunt rursus quibus non omnino deest iudicium, sed vix est credibile quantum valeat imaginatio persuasioque, si prior animum occuparit: idque non solum in vulgo, verum etiam in eruditissimis magnique iudicii viris. Sic quotidie falluntur oculi, sic totius populi aures olim Parmenionis suam requirebant, quæ quidem res et in proverbium deinde cessit. Non pigebit fabulas aliquot hoc referre loco, quo magis quod dico fiat perspicuum. Fuit olim juveni mihi cum Petro Santerano Siculo, homine non minus festivo quam erudito, familiaritas, in ædibus inclyti viri Henrici vulgari cognomento de Bergis, Episcopi Cameracensis. Is, uti referebat, cum Parisiis ageret, ludens huiusmodi scripserat epigramma, veluti τὴν ἡχὴν referens:

Tempora fatalis quoniam sic limitis itis,

Tristia concentu funera solor olor.

Affinxerat titulum: *Cygnus moriens pro specu.* Sub id adhibuit scribendi pulchre peritum artificem, qui distichon hoc quam maxime posset ad imitationem antiquitatis pingeret, literis aliquot data opera relictis mutilis, ceu jam oblitteratis vetustate. Carmen adornatum exhibuit Fausto Andreelino, qui multos jam annos illic poeticon profitetur. Addidit eam schedulam inter vetustissimas antiquitatis reliquias sibi repertam fuisse, videlicet quod sciret hominem aspernaturum, si dixisset nudiustertius apud se natam. Legit iterum atque iterum Faustus, et difficile dictu, quam stupuerit quamque exosculatus sit, quam pene adoraverit doctam illam et inimitabilem antiquitatem. Nec finis nec modus admirandi antiquitatem, donec ipse Santeranus sui proditor, rem omnem in risum verteret. Ludit olim ad consimilem modum Gulielmus Copus, immortale Basileensis urbis ornamentum, quæ talem prodiderit heroa, imo totius nostræ Germaniæ nunquam inter-

moriturum

moriturum decus, Galliarum felicitas, quæ tanto viro tot jam annos fruitur, atque utinam quam diutissime fruatur, aulæ regalis honestamentum, in qua apud Regem, regum omnium haud dubie principem, principem agit medicum: imo, ut quod est illo dignius dicam, totius orbis præsidium, qui rem omnium saluberrimam, nempe medicinam, inscitia profitentium propemodum extinctam, eruditissimis suis lucubrationibus vindicat ac restituit. Is igitur, ut est non solum integritate doctrinaque singulari, verum etiam gratissima quadam morum festivitate præditus, sed quæ bonum virum nequaquam dedecet, cum in cœna catinus appositus esset, diversi generis olerum plenus, et forte fortuna complures accumberent medici, vulgo quoque notissimam herbam delegit, quam Græci petroselinon appellant, apii genus. Medicorum, inquit, est herbarum formas et vires nosse. En adsumus tot medici, dicat qui potest, quod sit huic herbæ nomen. Nemo ausus est pronunciare, quod omnes jam teneret persuasio, rarum aliquod ac peregrinum oleris genus esse, de quo vir tantus tam sollicitè percontaretur, donec ipse problema risu solveret, et accersitam culinæ famulam, pro medicis respondere juberet. Ea nihil contata nomen edidit. Jam tertiam quoque fabulam accipies, sed *ἀνώνυμον*. Cuidam apud Italos inter primos erudito, in manum dedit nescio quis paginam e codice quopiam revulsam, sic ut nullus esset titulus qui proderet auctorem. Qui tradiderat admonuit, sibi videri recentioris cujuscumque scriptoris opus esse. Erat autem is ex istorum numero, qui studio favoreque vetustatis, omnia neoterica fastidiunt. Ibi protinus offensus homo spurcitia sermonis, ut tum quidem videbatur, multa convicia congeffit in barbarum scriptorem, qui tam indoctis nugis miseras perdidisset chartas. Nec modus aut finis irridendi, donec alter ostenderet, id quod tantopere damnasset, fragmentum esse Ciceronis. Agnovit admonitus, et risit homo doctus tantam ex imaginatione delirationem. Tantum valet in eruditis quoque præsumpta persuasio, nec alia res in judicando magis vel avertit, vel adimit oculos. Quo minus mirandum, si nobis idem usu venit in Hieronymo. Videmus in singulis paginis adscriptum Hieronymi titulum: videmus admixta his, quæ citra controversiam Hieronymi sunt. Audimus hæc passim citari, legi, cani, Hieronymi nomine. Cum hac persuasione ad legendum accedimus. Verum qui vel leviter admonitus fuerit, statim animadvertet errorem suum, jamque velut experrectus, quasque subito redditus oculis, tam profundam hallucinationem suam ipse demirabitur. At illud magis et stomachor et admiror, quid tandem in mentem venerit, si quid omnino mentis habuit impostor ille, ut non unam aut alteram epistolam, sed ingentia multaque volumina titulis alienis proderet in vulgus. Nec enim hunc lusum lusit duntaxat in Hieronymo, verum ejusdem artificis sunt illæ Augustini nomine Homiliæ ad fratres Eremitas: et aliæ rursus, quas inscripsit De Tempore, pauculis aliquot exceptis. Has casusne admiscuerit incertum est, an, quod magis arbitror, illius ars: hoc nimirum ingenio, quo mentientes assolent, ut magis fallant, veri nonnihil admiscere falsis. Quod et apud Maronem facit Græculus ille Sino. Ejusdem est oratio Ambrosii Mediolanensis Episcopi nomine, qua Christianæ plebi baptizatum Augustinum gratulatur. Nec his contentus, mediis enarrationibus, quas Divus Hie-

Hieronymus in Prophetas et in Psalmos edidit, suas ineptias intermiscuit, id quod alias locis aliquot nominatim proditis, docebimus. Nam eundem fuisse cuculum, vox ipsa palam arguit. An ita putandum est inter tam innumera infaniæ genera, quibus humanum laborat genus, hunc illius fuisse morbum, ut felicem sese crederet, si consequi potuisset, ut orbe decepto, nebulonis ineptiæ, tantorum virorum titulis celebrarentur (sunt enim quidam sic ad imposturam nati, ut vel gratis, imo suo quoque malo gaudeant fallere : tanta est imponendi libido) ipsæ interim legentium errore frueretur, atque hanc voluptatem tot laboribus bene putaret emtam? An magis conjiciendum est fuisse, qui suis scriptis sacros illos doctores voluerit illustrare, simulque pietati consulere, atque id quo facilius assequeretur, gratiosi nominis titulum prætexuisse? Verum quid aliud est, si hoc non est maculam et labem aspergere viris suapte virtute clarissimis : si quis tam insulas ineptias illorum titulis traducat? Deinde cum quæ præcipit, ejus sint generis, ut eadem a quavis muliercula dici possint, quorsum opus erat tam insignium commendatione nominum? Si nova et paradoxa prodidisset, quæ tamen ad pietatis studium magnopere conducerent (tametsi mea quidem sententia nec mendaciis ornandi sint Sancti, nec mendacio commendanda pietas) tamen fortasse tolerari poterat fucus, quo et veteres illos Christianos sæpius usos fuisse constat, qui juxta Platonis et Origenis opinionem, mendacium non improbant, quod ad magnam aliquam reipublicæ utilitatem adhiberetur. Sed adferam ipse meam conjecturam, et quod vero proximum esse videtur simpliciter eloquar, hac lege, ut nihilo secius liberum sit suum cuique super hac re judicium. Apparet fuisse quempiam ex hoc hominum genere, quos vulgus partim Augustinenses, partim Eremitas vocat, genus hominum nuper natum. Siquidem isti instituti sui originem, quo videlicet antiquitate sit commendatius, ad Eremitas Divi Augustini referri volunt, eoque pingunt Augustinum pullatum, promissa barba, circumsedente grege simili cultu discipulorum. Videmus autem ante ducentos ferme annos, totam describendi libros præsertim sacros, provinciam in Monachos et Monachas fuisse relegatam, adeo ut hodieque complures existent consecratarum virginum manu descripti, vel picti magis codices : idque factum est, ne tam ingens hominum turba vel gratis aleretur, vel otio corrumperetur, neque rursus sordidis vulgarii opificum operis occuparetur, quod id religionis professione parum dignum videretur. Inter hos tum fere indoctos, opinor, sciolum et ardelionem fuisse quempiam, qui describendis libris nonnihil obiter arripuerit eruditionis. Nam loquacitatem indiderat ipsa natura. Eum laborasse morbo, quo videmus et hodie teneri non paucos, mei similes, qui cum scribere nesciant, tamen a scribendo temperare non possint. Is partim quo quæstus esset uberior, ex accessione semper novorum voluminum, ut quæ illi domi nascerentur, partim ut suam professionem hac arte redderet plebi commendatorem (mirum enim est dictu, quam ambitiosum sit hujusce rei studium in toto hoc hominum genere) videlicet laudatissimorum virorum titulis ad eam rem est abusus. Et idcirco in Hieronymi vita, quam nos in extremo hujus ordinis calce subjecimus, identidem inculcat illum Eremitam fuisse, quo tam inclytum virum suo assereret gregi. Deinde tot lepidissimas scilicet homilias addidit

didit ad fratres Eremitas Augustini titulo, cum omnes ferme veterum conciones non in tractandis communibus locis, sed in exponendis Divinis Literis versari soleant. Postremo, quod est omnium venustissimum, orationem finxit Ambrosii nomine, cujus initium est : *Quod his diebus contigit, fratres charissimi* : in qua Christianæ gratulatur religioni, de tanti militis, nempe Augustini, accessione ; miroque artificio illud agit homo suavis, ut in ipso statim baptismo Divus Augustinus nigram cucullam et baltheum coriaceum ab ipsis Ambrosii manibus sumsisse putetur ; nimirum ejus professionis insignia ; ut totum etiam Augustinum suo vindicaret ordini ; eumque cingulum a Simpliciano donatum affingit. Ad hæc de hymni vicissim decantati fabula meminit. Postremo vaticinatur futurum, ut ex Augustino multæ religionis constitutiones nascerentur : cum Ambrosii temporibus nemo *religionis* vocabulum in eum sensum usurparit, quo nunc vulgus utitur illiteratum. Ut ne dicam interim, quod ipsa tam diligens historiæ inculcatio, de disciplinis citra præceptorem perceptis, de Monica lacrymis, de Simpliciano, de Adeodato et Alypio, affectatæ imposturæ suspicionem habent. Quemadmodum eleganter Quintilianus parietem undique palmis cruentatum, cæterasque nimirum consentientes conjecturas, in ipsam retorquet novercam. Atque hæc quidem, studiose Lector, tametsi mihi quidem conjectura vehementer probabilis ac propemodum certa videatur, tamen haud est animus super hac re cum quoquam digladiari. Nec enim ita magni refert, quis fuerit hujus actor fabulæ. Certe impudentissimum fuisse rabulam et sacrilegum impostorem, res ipsa indicat. In confesso est illum, quisquis fuit, hoc affectasse, ut nunc Hieronymus, nunc Augustinus, nunc Ambrosius, nunc Cyrillus, nunc Eusebius, nunc alius atque alius videretur, Vertumnum quendam aut Empusam Proteumque referens, et cum sit idem, alia atque alia specie nobis occurrens. Idque cum nec eloquentia possit assequi, homo infantissimus ; nec eruditione, illiteratissimus ; nec pectoris sanctimonia, circulator ; quod erat in proclivi, fictis titulis rem agit. Hieronymum se visum iri credit, si sæpicule nominet Paulam et Eustochium ; Augustinum, si plus vices in singulis paginis iteret, *fratres charissimi*, quod aliquoties his verbis ille sit usus. Sed astutus admiscet nonnihil ex historia, quod quidem facit etiam in homiliis ad Eremitas : verum adeo coacte frigideque, ut facile suboleat mendacium, et continuo succurrat illud Ciceronis : *Nisi fingeres, non sic ageres, impostor*. Cæterum in regula virginum, quam scripsit jam centenarius, totas sic furcifer hebdomadas versatur inter Angelorum choros, et affatim cum divina Triade confabulatus, tandem in terras devolat, jam vates factus ac futurorum præscius. Quid hac impudentius hypocrisi ? Imo quid magis impium ? Nam longe alium fuisse, quam videri studet, primum ipsa prodit inscitia, deinde prodigiosa sermonis balbuties, plurimis et sordidissimis horum temporum vocabulis inquinati. Atque hic est certissimus index, et Lydius (quod dici solet) lapis. Nihil enim hic succulentum, nihil exactum, nihil elaboratum invenies : sed tumultuariam modo vulgarium verborum et ineptissimarum sententiarum congeriem. Jam et illud plane coarguit hominem, quod cum plurimum intersit inter Hieronymianam, Ambrosianam, et Augustini dictionem, apud hunc eodem orationis filo loquuntur omnes, atque ille quidem coccycis in morem,

morem, subinde aliis atque aliis convestitus plumis sese ostentat : at cantum illum suum nativum mutare non potuit infelix, et velut histrio varia tectus persona, subinde alius nobis prodit in proscenium : sed vox semper eadem, eadem gesticulatio prodit subornatum. Nam et Cyrillus, qui Græce scripsit, apud hunc Latine loquitur, nec aliter loquitur quam Augustinus aut Hieronymus. Nimirum declaravit fallendi studium sibi non defuisse, cum deesset facultas. Ac cætera quidem ipsa causæ præstabit æquitas. Unum illud precibus meis Lector donet velim, ne quid obstrepat nostro iudicio, ne reclamet, ne tumultu misceat omnia, priusquam attentius quæ rejecimus, perlegerit. Si in his quæ Divi Hieronymi titulis insigniuntur vel unica periodus inveniatur eo viro digna, non obsistam, quo minus omnia Hieronymo transcribantur. Sin totus sermo a capite (quod dici solet) usque ad calcem, sic cum omnibus Hieronymi dotibus pugnat, sic omnibus diffidet notis, ut plus conveniat homini cum camelo, quæ, malum, dementia est perpeti ut cum summa et tanti viri, et studiosorum omnium contumelia, fictis titulis ista venditentur? Bene res habet, quod tali animo non contigerit eruditio. Deum immortalem! quid si huic impostori vel mediocris accessisset eloquentia, si vel tantillum eruditionis et ingenii, ut quaecunque simulacrum Hieronymianæ dictionis effingere potuisset? Quis ausurus erat hæc jam recepta convellere? Nunc præter titulos adeo nihil potest imitari eorum, quorum personam sumit, ut qui credat, non ab illo sed a suo ipsius animo deceptus esse videatur. Quot dotes præstandæ sunt ei qui Hieronymus velit haberi? Habet Augustinus floridum quiddam et picturatum, atque, ut ita loquor, Punicum; habet argutiam non injucundam; habet sua schemata, quibus se delectatum ipse fatetur in opere cui titulus : *De Doctrina Christiana*. Divus Ambrosius acumen quoddam e schola declamatoria refert, tacitis ac crebris titillat allusionibus. Ex his notis tantum abest ut quicquam potuerit adumbrare noster histrio, ut nec semilatinam exhibeat orationem, ut nec cordatam, nec sanam. Et tamen homo perfictæ frontis non dubitavit insulsißimis blateramentis excellentium virorum titulos præfigere. Tantum illi addidit fiduciæ, mortalium vel inscitia, vel oscitantia. O sacrilegum caput, cui id tantopere studio fuit, ut sacras tantorum virorum lucubrationes suis conspurcaret ineptiis! O spem improbam, qua sibi promisit futurum, ut hæc indoctissima deliramenta cœlestium doctorum titulo circumferrentur! O lethargum nostrum, quorum oscitantia factum est ut huic impostori tam impius conatus successerit, totque jam annis insulsißimæ næniæ excellentissimorum heroum nomine legantur citenturque! Neque vero quisquam hæc contumeliosius a me dici putabit. Non est enim contumelia detrahere personam histrioni, sed pium est sanctissimos viros simul et studiosum Lectorem ab indignissima contumelia vindicare. Non est contumelia prodere sacrilegum, sed officium est excellentium hominum famæ consulere. Non est hoc truncare Hieronymum, sed aurum plumbo vitiatum repurgare. Nec amat Hieronymum, nec intelligit Hieronymi dotes, qui nugas ejusmodi illius legit nomine. Plusquam cæcus est, qui hæc non perspicit : plusquam impius, qui, cum perspiciat, ferre tamen potest. Semper inter sacras res habita sunt eruditorum

monumenta, atque hac gratia Veteres illi libros immortalitate dignos cedrina conditos capsula, in Apollinis templo reponere consueverunt. Auctorum imagines in bibliothecis reponebantur, ac nunc quoque Ciceronis bibliotheca Puteolis ceu res sacra dicataque visitur. Quanto magis nobis sacras esse convenit Divi Hieronymi lucubrationes, quem juxta commendat et eruditio singularis, et rara vitæ sanctimonia? Quem ita Romanus orbis summum habet Theologum, ut habeat pene solum. Sacrilegii genus habetur parum reverenter attrectare Sanctorum reliquias, puta cingulum Annæ, aut calicem Edmondi, Georgii pectinem, aut calceum Thomæ. Hæc quoque venerabundi exosculamur, oculis admovemus. Quantum igitur debetur religionis, tam divini viri literis, quæ nobis non pileum illius exhibent aut strophium, sed vivam et adhuc spirantem pectoris imaginem, unde Christi spiritus inhabitator ea mundo prodidit oracula? Exhibent nobis apices illi muti, quod vivum Hieronymi corpus non exhiberet. Quid enim magni sit hominis figuram intueri? Hic, hic arcanum illum mentis habitum intueor, hic mihi quod in illo fuit optimum, superest. Hic mihi totus vivit Hieronymus, docens, exhortans, consolans, ac veluti de sui pectoris igni inflammans ad pietatem. Hæ sunt vere sacrosanctæ divini Confessoris reliquiae; quas illotis pedibus simul ac manibus contaminare, conspurcare, adulterare, ac modis omnibus profanare, nonne summa videatur impietas? Omnes inexpiabile facinus clamitent, si quis Sardanapali cineres pro Divi Joannis cineribus exhibeat osculandos. At longe gravius piaculum est, nebulonis indocti nœnias pro sanctissimi doctissimique viri monumentis in universam Ecclesiam inducere. Nam illic quidem aut nihil aut non multum lædit error; cum affectum non factum in hisce rebus soleat imputare divina bonitas. At hic deceptus, pro salutaribus præceptis, hypocritæ somnia in animum trajicio. Nemo non summam ducat esse impietatem, si quis Sancti Francisci tunicam in cœnum abjiciat, ac pedibus conculcet. At quanto irreligiosius, salutare optimi viri lucubrationes, admixtis obscuri nebulonis nugamentis, depravare, profanare, corrumpere? Irenæus, Eusebius, Ruffinus, cumque his alii complures, si quando volumen ederent in vulgus, per omnia sacra Scriptorem obtestabantur, ne quid immutaret, ne quid adderet, ne quid prætermitteret; sed quod in exemplari reperisset, bona describeret fide. Quodnam igitur hoc tam impium sacrilegii genus, omnes sacrosancti viri libros, utcunque libuit, truncare, augere, miscere, vitiare, tollere, supponere, nec aliter in hos, quam sus solet in segetem, debacchari? Ipse profecto qui nihil sum, non solum ad Hieronymum, verum etiam ad mediocres, tamen haud ferendam contumeliam mihi factam putarem, si quis ejusmodi nœnias meo prodatur nomine, cujusmodi impostor hic attribuit Hieronymo. Tam multæ sunt Principum et Pontificum constitutiones de rebus pene nihili. Super hoc negotio, quo non aliud magis pertinet ad hominum vitam vel instituendam, vel corrumpendam, nulla cautio, nulla exactio, nulla poena; sed quicquid librariis libuerit, idem licere sinimus: neque secus atque medici et pharmacopolæ, quodcunque nomen herbæ dixerit anicula quæ attulit, hoc accipiunt, et ægrotis ministrant; ita nos quocunque titulo librarii librum evulgarint,

garint, eo legimus et amplectimur. Quod quanto cum periculo fiat, vel hinc æstimes, licebit. Comprobatus est tum omnium consensu, tum Pontificum auctoritate, Divus Hieronymus. Proinde fieri potest, ut hujus titulo rabula quispiam pestilentes opiniones suas in vulgus disseminet. Quod si Hieronymo refragari non licet, et illius esse censetur, quicquid hujus præfert titulum, futurum est, ut vel impius habeatur qui reclamet, vel venenum hauriat pro remedio qui legerit assentiens. Nunc restat unus ille scrupulus eorum, qui plus operæ contriverunt in sophisticis contentionibus, quam in evolvendis bonis auctoribus. Hi forte cavillabuntur nimis audacter a me rejici quædam, a quibus tamen permulta citat Gratianus in Pontificum Decretis. Respondere poteram, quemadmodum et ante sum testatus, opus illud usu modo Scholasticorum receptum. Nec enim ullis constat argumentis, quis fuerit Gratianus, quo tempore suum exhibuerit opus, cujus Pontificis, cujus Concilii fuerit auctoritate comprobatum. Nam ea quidem fabula, quæ de palea jactatur in scholiis, prorsus affinis videtur illi, quæ de permutatione Diomedis et Glauci, deque legibus a Græcis petitis fertur in Pandectarum glossæmatis. Deinde in tam confusa rerum congerie, cum interim velut a disputante pugnantes sæpenumero sententiæ recitentur, non continuo pro oraculo convenit accipi, quicquid ibi scriptum offenderis. Primas illic tenet Isidorus, ac summis de rebus pronunciat homo Grammaticus. Nihil enim is aliud (quod equidem sciam) scripsit: et ita grammaticus, ut a Grammaticorum quoque collegio rejiciatur. Ac mihi quidem videtur is, quisquis fuit, sive Gratianus, sive Crassianus, hoc potissimum consilio veterem illam Decretorum collectionem antiquare nova voluisse, ut Isidorum suum contrerraneum, opinor, et alios quosdam recentiores nobilitaret. Nam Bedam inter eruditos numero. Hoc eam ob causam admonui, ne cui mirum videatur, si quem librum Hieronymi nomine citat Gratianus, qui non sit Hieronymi, videlicet homo seculo natus infelicissimo et veteris literaturæ prorsus rudis et imperitus, adeo ut sæpenumero cum ex Hieronymianis commentariis citat testimonia, si quid incidit, quod vel ob antiquitatem vel Græcitatem admixtam minus intellexerit, transfiliat, cum ea magis etiam ad rem pertineant. Postremo labi potuit summus Pontifex, hallucinari potuit summum Pontificis concilium, in his, inquam, quæ ad fidei necessitatem non pertinebant. Nec enim continuo periclitatura sit Christiana religio, si quis Evangelium Marci, Petri titulo legere malit, a quo nonnulli dictatum existimarunt; aut Pauli ad Hebræos Epistolam Clementi malit asserere. Rem potissimum approbavit Ecclesia; de auctore non reclamans quidem, sed neque digladians. Ad hæc multa passim irrepunt in publicam consuetudinem, Episcopis vel insciis vel conniventibus, quæ deinde, quoniam extorqueri vix possunt, publicis condonantur affectibus, et tolerantur verius quam approbantur. Atque utinam tantum esset otii Romanis Pontificibus, ac cæteris Episcopis, ut in his quæ ad Christianam pertinent eruditionem, tantum studii curæque possent impendere, quantum et ipsa meretur res, et publica flagitat utilitas. Hoc loco sentire puto cordatum Lectorem, quid reticeam, ac tacitæ cogitationi relinquam. Siquidem expedit nonnunquam et vera tacuisse. Ad hæc, ut repetam quod jam su-

periore præfatione diximus, non hoc agebatur id temporis a Gratiano, cuius essent ii libri quos citat, Hieronymi ne, an alterius, sed quod ad argumenti propositi probationem facere visum est, in reliquum agmen adscripsit. Et quoniam Jureconsultis titulo citare mos est, eum addidit quem forte reperit in codice: quemadmodum et Divus Hieronymus, opus ad Herennium, Ciceronis nomine citavit. Atqui si hac de re incidisset disputatio, non dubito, quin negaturus fuerit a Cicerone profectum. Nisi forte quoties apud eundem Gratianum deprehendimus Hieronymi nomine citata, quæ sunt Origenis; aut Cypriani titulo, quæ sunt Augustini; id quod in multis accidere palam est; aut cum offenderimus in Catalogo Scriptorum, pro Juvenco subditum Vincentium, aut aliud simile, quod vel auctoris errore, vel librarii commissum sit incuria; protinus actum putabimus de fide deque auctoritate totius voluminis. Proinde quod ista semovimus, nihil, opinor, attinet ad fidei Christianæ veritatem, sed ad Hieronymi gloriam pertinet, in quem indignum erat huiusmodi conferri nœnias, quem virum haud conveniebat a tali præcone laudari. Pertinet ad studiosorum utilitatem, quo passus non sum, pro doctissimis optimi viri scriptis, infulsa obscuri nebulonis blateramenta legere. Porro quod audio quosdam inepte meticulosos objicere, si in receptis sanctorum Doctorum voluminibus aliqua convellantur, periculum fore ne Divinæ Scripturæ vacillet auctoritas; etiam si nihil ad hanc rem pertineat, tamen non alienum fuerit paucis refellere. Nec enim hic de Divinis agitur Literis, sed de libellis falso inscriptis Hieronymo. Quod si maxime ageretur, succensere conveniebat, non ei qui falsitatem coarguit, sed qui admiscuit. Etenim quo quidque sacratius est, ac propius ad Christianam attinens pietatem, hoc sceleratius est vitare quod scriptum est. Rursum quo gravius crimen corruptoris, hoc magis amplectendum officium restituentis. Non hoc est falsitatem inducere Sacris Literis, sed excludere. Nec ob id periculum est, ne minoris fiat aurum, si fuerit ab aurifice repurgatum: aut ne abjiciantur gemmæ, si quis adulterinas et factitias semoverit. Imo hoc certior erit Divinæ Scripturæ auctoritas, si nihil in ea vel subdititium, vel mendosum residere patiemur. Nisi forte nunc non credimus quatuor Evangeliiis, quod reliqua veluti fabulosa damnavit Ecclesia: Aut metuendum est, ne mundus universus desciscat a Christo, si quid in arcanis literis indicaro, vel ab indoctis aut supinis librariis depravatum, vel a dormitante interprete parum commode redditum. Nihil credit, qui quidvis credit, ut qui non iudicio, sed animi credat levitate. Nemo verius credit Evangeliiis, quam qui non omnibus credit Evangeliiis. Nemo plus deferret sacris libris, quam qui a vere sacris secrevit apocryphos. An is tibi videtur honorem habere Hieronymo, qui nolit Hieronymum a nebulo ne dignoscere? Plinius ita demum credit placuisse librum, si quædam displicuerint, usque adeo non existimat probari, nisi quod iudicio probaris. Et superiore præfatione satis, opinor, demonstratum est, nullum esse scriptorum genus quod non alicubi sit subdititiis huiusmodi libris contaminatum. Num illud pium et candidum esse duces, cuius indocto permittere, ut quidlibet invehat, depravet quidlibet: non permittere studiosis et eruditis, ut quod suppositum fuerit, rejiciant, quod vitiatum, emendent? sed illud fortassis
exigis,

exigis, ut hoc auctoritate fiat Episcoporum. O rem præposteram! Non indignantur impostori, qui citra ullius auctoritatem vitiavit sacros libros: in eo stomachantur, qui citra totius Ecclesiæ auctoritatem, quæ vitiata sunt, corrigunt. Quanquam nos haud conamur præire Principibus Ecclesiæ, sed illorum occupationes hac nostra qualicumque adjuvamus opera. Admonemus, non decernimus: indicamus, non judicamus. Neque enim addubito, quin et illi vel potissimum sint nostram comprobaturi sententiam. Sed odiosum est, inquiunt, tot jam seculis recepta labefactare. At quid olim Septuaginta editione receptius? Nec tamen hanc veritus est Hieronymus, frustra reclamantibus cum Augustino quibusdam Episcopis, sua interpretatione corrigere. Quid illa de septuaginta cellulis fabula decantatius? At non dubitavit Hieronymus rem nulli non creditam, non solum Augustino, mendacium appellare. An quicquam est hac Novi Testamenti editione vulgatius? At quid decessit de pondere veritatis Evangelicæ, quod Laurentius homo Rhetoricus magis quam Theologus, locos aliquot reprehendit perperam ab interprete redditos? An minore fide jam Epistolæ Paulinæ leguntur, quod earum editionem hanc qua vulgo utimur, Jacobus Faber Stapulensis, vir non minus integritate vitæ quam eruditione probandus, negavit esse Hieronymi, quod Laurentium imitatus, permulta mutavit, vel depravata, vel male reddita? Qua quidem in re nos quoque per idem tempus navabamus operam: ac mire factum est, ut cum uterque de altero nesciret, tamen ambo rem eandem, eodem moliremur tempore, etiamsi illius antevertit editio. Quæ utinam esset ejusmodi, ut nostra quam paramus, prorsus supervacanea videri possit. Plurimum tribuo Fabro, ut viro non vulgariter erudito: veneror, ut optimum: faveo, ut amicissimo. Verum si in profanis rebus Aristoteles, Veritatis potius quam amici Platonis rationem habendam esse judicavit, multo magis id par est facere in his literis, quas inter sacras habemus, ut ita dicam, sacratissimas. Nec hoc dixerim, quod illius editionem minus approbem, sed ut mihi detur venia, sicubi videbor a tanto viro dissentire. Verum ut ad id quod agitur redeam: quid proximis hisce diebus accidit Ecclesiæ? Num labascit orbis Christianus, quod Paulus Middelburgus, Episcopus Forosempronienfis, publicum de ratione festi Paschalis errorem, libris editis coarguit? Quod si tantarum novatione rerum, non solum non labefactatur Ecclesiastica auctoritas, verum etiam constabiltur; quid pavitant ne cælum ruat, si nos ab eruditissimis Hieronymi libris ineptias studuimus semovere? Atque utinam quod in Epistolarum voluminibus præstitimus, in cæteris item illius Commentariis præstare licuisset. Quod si omnino requiritur auctoritas, molimur hæc multis ac magnis, et his eruditis Præsulibus, faventibus adhortantibus, excitulantibus, nec approbantibus modo, verum etiam effusissima liberalitate nostram industriam adjuvantibus. Quorum princeps et antesignanus unus ille studiorum meorum Mæcenas Guilielmus Vuaramus Arch. Cant. totius Angliæ primas, vir omni literarum ac virtutum genere sic absolutus, ut quæ vix singula reperias in aliis, in hoc mireris universa, et unus abunde sufficiat ad omnes consummati Præsulis dotes, velut in tabula repræsentandas. Nec alii sane sua laude fraudabuntur. Verum in præsentia non est

onerandus

onerandus longiore præfatione Lector. Illud modo adjiciam: admonitus est jampridem super hoc nostro labore Leo Pontifex modis omnibus maximus, idque non tantum mei, sed complurium item excellentium virorum literis, a quo, ceu doctissimo simul et optimo, non illud solum exspectamus, ut hos conatus nostros sua comprobet auctoritate, verum etiam ut amplissimis præmiis prosequatur. Verboſius quidem hæc, fateor, a nobis sunt disputata, quam prologorum modus patiat. Sed nihil non tentavimus, nullum non movimus lapidem, quo nemini non eſſet ſatisfactum, ut alios aliæ res vel offendunt, vel placant. Quod ſi quis adhuc reperietur vel adeo ſtupidus, vel adeo ſibi ipſi inimicus, vel ita diutina conſuetudine corruptus, ut in hiſce blateramentis bonas horas velit male collocare, ne is quidem habebit quod nobis ſuccenſeat, quandoquidem per nos habet omnia, quæ ſuperiores editiones complectebantur, eaque multo quam antehac emendatio-
ra: Nonnullis etiam additis, quæ illic non habebantur. Adeo cavimus ne quem offenderemus, ut eruditis pariter et ineruditis, æquis et iniquis, deploratis ſimul et bonæ ſpei ingeniis ſtuderimus morem gerere. Bene vale, Lector amice. Baſileæ, Anno 1515.

Nº. LX.

Eximii Doct̃oris Hieronymi Stridonensis vita, ex ipſius potiffimum ſcriptis contexta, per Deſ. Erasmum Roterodamum.

EQUIDEM haud ſum neſcius veterum permultos in hac fuiſſe ſententia, ut pium et officioſum eſſe ducerent, in commodum publicum apte confictis narrationibus abuti; nempe vel ad vitam recte pieque inſtituendam, vel ad erigendos et inflammandos ad honeſti ſtudium animos, vel ad fulciendam quorundam imbecillitatem, vel ad territandos impios, quos neque ratio corrigit, neque movet charitas; vel ad illuſtrandam miraculis ſanctorum hominum gloriam. Atque hoc fuci genus nec Platoni diſplicuit, nec Origeni, nec horum dogma ſequutis. Certe objicit hoc Hieronymus Ruſſino, atque hic viciffim in Hieronymum regerit, malens alterum eodem conſpurcare luto, quam in ſe conjectum lutum abſtergere. Eſt quidem mira quædam vulgi credulitas, imo neſcio quid penitus inſitum animis mortalium, ut ficta lubentius audiant quam geſta, et commenticiis ſupraque veri fidem fabulis libentius aſſentiantur quam veris: adeo ut olim viri prudentes quicquid vehementer commendatum eſſe vellent multitudini, id fabuloſis miraculis celebrarent; velut numinum religionem, origines urbium aut gentium, exordia nobilium familiarum, exempla clariffimorum principum. Hoc igitur imperitorum affectu ad ipſorum abuti commodum, permittebant illi, ſed non niſi ſapienti viro, propterea quod hujus rei fructus omnis pereat, ſi ſemel ſuboleat artificium mentiendi. Verum hac quidem in parte haud gravatim in Auguſtini ſententiam pedibus eo; non ſolum ob eam cauſam, quam ille ſane gravem adducit, ne ſi ſemel in Chriſtianorum literis ſuborta

suborta fuerit mendacii suspicio, fiat ut nec his habeatur fides, quorum auctoritatem modis omnibus indubitata et inconvulsa esse oportet; sed multo magis, quod meo iudicio ne possit quidem vir probus ac sapiens esse, qui tam male sentiat tum de sanctis viris, tum de Lectoribus. De sanctis quidem, quos aut usque adeo iudicant propriae domesticæque laudis inopes, ut alienis mendaciis putant illustrandos, aut adeo *κενοδόξως* stulteque gloriosos, ut *Æsopicæ* corniculæ ritu velut in proskenio gaudeant ostentari, fictitiis laudibus ceu plumis alienis adornati: de Lectoribus autem, quos omnes aut ita stupidos ac muccosos naribus arbitrati sint, ut cum veritas semper habeat suam faciem, nullis imitabilem fucis, non queant excogitatam artificio fabulam a vero dignoscere, aut certe adeo gratis etiam nequam ac perversos, ut scientes ac volentes faveant vanitati. Quod si vitari non potest, quo minus istiusmodi fabulamenta misceantur nostris voluminibus, certe quod proximum est, optarim. Quid istud, inquires? Nimirum platen eximium ac prudentem, catumque mentiendi artificem. Quandoquidem juxta Socratis sententiam, nemo sit ad mentiendum accommodatior, quam qui ad vera dicendum est appositissimus, quod ejusdem artificis partes esse ducat, certissime veridicum esse, et nihil omnino veri dicere. Hoc quidem consilio suam historiam contexuit Herodotus, hac ratione Xenophon Cyri descripsit institutionem, non ad historię fidem, sed ad exemplum probi principis. Nec alio spectasse videtur Homerus ille, quem jure fabularum Oceanum possis dicere. Verum hi quemadmodum ingenii quidem et eloquentiæ laudem fingendo promeriti sunt: ita dum malum virtutis exemplar effingunt ac proponunt, non mediocriter offecerunt vitæ mortalium. Siquidem Herodotus stultos plerosque facit principes. Xenophon vafrum quempiam et *ἀγκυλομήτην* expressit, potius quam vere prudentem ac salutarem principem. Homerus ejusmodi facit Deos, cujusmodi nolit magistratus bene morata civitas. Deinde tales depinxit uxores Deorum, qualem nemo probus civis conjugem aut optet domi suæ aut ferat. Denique tales finxit Deorum filios, ut nemo sanus paterfamilias similes sibi liberos velit obtingere, ut non abs re Plato locum illi negarit in sua republica. Neque vel tantillum erat causæ cur Alexander ille magnus invideret Achilli talem laudum præconem, si penitus intellexisset quid sit vere magnum ac salutarem agere principem. Ego nihil arbitror esse rectius, quam ejusmodi describere sanctos, cujusmodi fuerunt ipsi, in quorum vita si quid etiam errati deprehenditur, hoc ipsum nobis vertitur in exemplum pietatis. Cæterum si quis omnino figmentis delectetur, is si prudenter effingat pii viri simulacrum, quocumque nomine, non sacco, cilicio, flagris, prodigiosis jejuniis, vigiliis non credendis, sed ex ipsis Christi decretis, sic ut primum Christianæ pietatis vim penitus habeat cognitam ac perspectam, deinde scite illius exprimat imaginem, is mihi fortasse tolerabitur. Etiam si quantumvis gemmæ nitorem ac lucem effingat artifex, certe nativam gemmæ vim nunquam assequitur imitatio. Habet suam *ἐνέργειαν* veritas, quam nullum æquat artificium. At istos quis ferat, qui plusquam anilibus deliramentis, infantibus, indoctis, ineptis, divos non celebrant, sed contaminant? At Divus Hieronymus, nisi quod abunde juxta Græcorum proverbium, *αὐτὸς αὐτὸν*

αὐτὸν ἠύλησεν, hac parte parum erat felix: propterea quod quum unus præcipue dignus esset, ut pari doctrina parique facundia posteris commendaretur, qui tam erudito tamque mellito ore Christi Sanctorumque præconia cecinisset, haud scio quonam fato, in rabulam quendam incidit, sic undique sui similem et Hieronymi dissimilem, ut nescias quid in eo potissimum admireris, linguæne prodigiosam infantiam ac balbutiem, an insignem literarum inscitiam, an miram mentiendi impudentiam. Hominem profecto dignum, quem si vivat, publicitus omnes omnium mortalium manus faxis impetant; qui mortales universos pro faxis, non pro hominibus habuerit. Quis enim illius legens nœnias, ni plane truncus sit, non protinus sentiat personatum histrionem; qui Vertumnum quendam aut Proteum nobis referens, nunc Eusebius est Cremonensis, nunc Cyrillus, nunc Augustinus, nunc Ambrosius, nonnunquam, si libeat, Damasus, aliquoties ipse, si Superis placet, Hieronymus. Sed quibuscunque plumis nobis opertus prodit, vox ubique sui similem coccygem arguit. Idem ubique dicendi lepos, eadem sermonis venus. Cujus stuporem, ut nihil accedat, hinc certe palam cernere est, quod Hieronymum paulo ante mortem facit Damaso commendantem suos commentarios, quem ipse Hieronymus non uno in loco testatur ante se decessisse vita. Sed hic de quo plura dicentur alias, tam indoctus et elinguis, ut rebus quamlibet clavis ingenii sui culpa tenebras possit offundere; tam stupidus ut ne verissima quidem verisimiliter queat efferre; ridicula miraculorum portenta, et impudentissimæ vanitatis fabulas confert in Hieronymum, nec has tamen abs se repertas, in quo nonnulla laus fuisset ingenii, sed e vulgatissimis historiis huc non minus ridicule quam improbe detortas. O fortunatum tam insigni præcone Hieronymum! Neque vero defuit dignum patellæ operculum. Reperit hic scriptor suos Lectores, reperit a quibus citetur; et quo magis mireris, eruditos, Platinam et Volaterranum, quos equidem vel hinc suspicor ea nunquam legisse, sed aut audisse in concionibus, aut hinc excerpta fragmenta modo vidisse. Imitati sunt impudentissimum scriptorem unus et item alter, sed adeo præclare, ut ejusdem hominis videri possint omnia. In quibus nihil agnoscas, nec eruditionis, nec eloquentiæ, nec prudentiæ, nec diligentiae: super hæc omnia nihil minus quam quod in primis exigitur in historiographo, nempe fidem. Utrum quæso istud est, divorum vitas describere, an contaminare potius? Nos igitur, licet impares argumento, tum nullis adjuti commentariis, quibus fidi poterat, tamen bona fide, quaque licuit diligentia, vitam sanctissimi viri ex Prospero, Severo, Orosio, Ruffino, tametsi calumniatore, et si qui sunt alii non omnino contemnendæ fidei auctores, collegimus; sed potissimum ex ipsius Hieronymi libris Hieronymum eveſtigavimus. Quis enim rectius noverit Hieronymum, quam ipse Hieronymus? Aut quis eum fidelius expreſſerit? Si rerum a se gestarum certissimus auctor est Julius Cæſar, quanto justius est Hieronymo sua narranti fidem habere? Ex hujus igitur libris omnibus lustratis, quod sparsim annotare licuit, in narrationis ordinem redeſgimus, nihil^e admentientes, quod arbitremur abunde magnum eſſe miraculum, ipsum Hieronymum tot egregiis voluminum monumentis

^e Should it not be *admetientes*? But, which makes me doubt, Erasmus ſays in one of his letters: *ſecus quam vulgus ſcriptorum facit, qui --- multa ſolent impuſilgēiv, hoc eſt, admetiri, ne dicam admentiri.* *Admentiri* is a verb of his own coining.

fese nobis exprimentem. Quod si cui nihil absque miraculorum portentis placere potest, is legat Hieronymianos libros, in quibus tot pene miracula sunt, quot sententiæ. Natus est igitur vir eximius Hieronymus, anno ab orbe redempto, trecentesimo trigesimo primo, sub Imperatore Constantino in oppido Stridonis, quod jam tum a Gotthis omnia populantibus eversum fuisse, testis est ipse in catalogo Scriptorum illustrium, olim Dalmatiæ Pannoniæque confinium. Id hodie nonnulli, quorum de numero Blondus est, idem esse volunt cum eo, quod hac tempestate vulgus Sdrignam appellat, oppidulum in Histria, Italiæ regione, situm inter Petram pilosam, Portulam, et Primontem, ut horum temporum utamur vocabulis. Addunt in hujus rei fidem, ibidem ostendi monumentum Eusebii patris, cum epitaphio laminis insculpto, nimirum id agentes, ut Hieronymum Italiæ suæ vindicent. Mihi studium et affectus istiusmodi parum dignus videtur gravibus viris, imo in totum Christianis. Qui in libris Hieronymianis erit diligentissime versatus, qui vitam Hieronymianam proxime exprimet, is sibi jure vindicet Hieronymum, etiamsi porro ultra Britannos natus fuerit. Erat illi frater natus minor, nomine Paulinianus; nam sororis nomen tacuit. Matertera Castorina, cum qua dissidii nescio quid intercesserat, ob rem, ni fallor, familiarum: quam tamen humanissimis literis ad concordiam invitat. Patri nomen fuisse Eusebio, declarat ipse, quod Græcis a pietate dictum est, non absque præfagio; quod pulchre conveniat, ut ex pio nascatur ille sacri nominis heros: nam id sonat *Ἱερώνυμος*. Atque ea demum est digna Christiano nominis gloria, quæ non ex stemmatis aut imaginibus, non ex oppidis everfis, aut concisis copiis, sed ex vita pie sancteque acta nascitur. Cæterum nihil addit, plebeiusne fuerit an patricius, tenuis an locuples, privatus an magistratus, cum hoc quidam affingant, illum nobilissimis ortum parentibus, sed ut eadem opera potuerint illum urbis præfectum facere. Consentaneum est autem, ante dirutam patriam, mediocri loco fortunaque fuisse. Matris nomen nusquam edidit; non tacens tamen se parente utroque Christiano genitum. Ab his domi diligenter institutus, una cum Bonoso inter ipsos statim parentum amplexus, et nutricum blanditias, Christum imbibit; ac mox Christianæ pietatis rudimentis imbutus, simulque bonis literis, quarum ea tum ætas capax esse poterat, puer adhuc Romam missus est, velut ad primariam eo seculo tum religionis tum eruditionis magistrum, liberalibus studiis erudiendus, quod ipse declarat enarrans Ezechielis caput undecimum. Quamvis enim illis temporibus et apud Gallos, Hispanos, et Afros florerent literarum studia, tamen in provinciis pro gentis ingenio, nonnihil degenerantes, Romæ, velut in suo fonte, puriores adhuc erant et incorruptiores. Atque hoc nomine Rustici Monachi matrem collaudat ipse, quod post Galliarum licet florentissima studia, filium Romam miserit, quo Gallicanæ dictionis nitorem ac luxum Romana gravitas temperaret. Intellexisse videntur prudentissimi parentes, plurimum referre inter quos primum et a quibus instituaris. Quæ sunt optima nunquam discuntur felicius, quam rudibus illis annis, et non minus tenacibus, quicquid insculpseris, quam in omnem sequacibus habitum. Itaque perinde quasi jam tum intelligerent sese puerum eum orbi communiter genuisse, non sibi: ita publicis utilitatibus, non suis

privatis affectibus educandum curarunt. Græcas ac Latinas literas ab ipsis statim incunabulis didicit, quemadmodum ipse testatur; et hoc didicit felicius quo maturius. Sentias enim nescio quid duriusculum et subacribum in his qui serius se contulerunt ad discendas literas. Proinde non abs re sibi gratulatur Hieronymus, quod a puero inter Grammaticos et Rhetores fuerit pene detritus: quorum alteri docuerunt emendate pureque loqui; alteri splendide, graviter et sapienter. Horum institutioni debemus incomparabilem Ecclesiæ Doctorem, non loquacium Sophistarum scholis. Quis non jam nunc in summam erectus spem, novum quiddam de hoc præfagiat puero? Primum reputans talem parentum animum, deinde felicissimam indolem, ingenium fœcundum ac facile, pectus ardens et infatigabile. Præterea Romam educatricem, id temporis, opinor, aliquanto quam nunc incorruptiorem. Denique præceptores eximios, Donatum in grammaticis, Victorinum in rhetoricis. Etiam si video quosdam ambigere, num hic fuerit Donatus ille, cujus exstant in Terentium ac Maronem eruditissimi Commentarii. Tum an Victorino præceptore sit usus, non satis liquet ex Hieronymi verbis, quibus utriusque meminit in Appendice Annalium Eusebii hunc in modum: *Victorinus Rhetor et Donatus Grammaticus, præceptor meus, Romæ insignes habentur; e quibus Victorinus etiam statuam in Foro Trajani meruit.* Hactenus Hieronymus, magis exprimens alterum, nempe Donatum sibi præceptorem fuisse quam utrumque, dicturus alioqui, *præceptores mei.* Ad eandem conjecturam facit, quod idem nec in Catalogo Scriptorum illustrium, nec usquam alibi quantum commemorari, Victorini faciens mentionem, præceptorem appellet. Quin totam Victorini dictionem parum approbasse videtur Hieronymus; id quod haudquaquam obscure declarat in epistola quam scripsit ad Paulinum Monachum, cum ait: *Inclito Victorinus martyrio coronatus, quod intelligit eloqui non potest.* Et rursus in Catalogo Scriptorum illustrium: *Victorinus (inquit) natione Afer, Romæ sub Constantio principe rhetoricam docuit, et in extrema senectute, Christi se tradens fidei, scripsit adversus Arium libros more dialectico, valde obscuros, qui et ab eruditis non intelliguntur.* Verum de Victorino quidem Lectoris facio iudicium. Cæterum ipse de Donato dubitationem omnem ademit in Apologia priorē adversus Ruffinum, hisce verbis: *Puto quod puer legeris Aspri in Virgilium et Sallustium commentarios, Vulcatii in orationes Ciceronis, Victorini in Dialogos ejus, et in Terentii Comædias, præceptoris mei Donati, æque in Virgilium, et aliorum in alios.* Citat eundem enarrans caput Ecclesiastæ primum. Sub hujusmodi præceptoribus, jam adultior in bonis literis, nullum doctrinæ genus intactum reliquit. Porphyrii *Ἐισαγωγὴν*, Aristotelicam, Platoniam, Stoicam, ac cæterorum omnium philosophiam attigit. Verum hæc delibavit, non his semet addixit, nec in his velut ad scopulos Sireneos consenuit, quibus hodie plerique immoriuntur. In rhetorica tamen sese studiosius exercuit, degustatis omnibus, sed his præcipue quæ propius ad eam conferant facultatem, historia, cosmographia, et antiquitatis notitia: partim quod intelligeret apud Latinos ad id usque temporis pene infantem esse Theologiam, et ob hanc causam permultos a divinorum voluminum abhorrere lectione, sperans futurum ut plures sacris literis delectarentur, si quis Theologiæ majestatem dignitate sermonis

sermonis æquasset; partim ut esset aliquando quod Ethnicis objici posset, Christianos ut infantes et elingues despicientibus. Testatur id multis in locis; et si non testaretur, libri clamitant illum in declamatoria palæstra diligentissime versatum fuisse, puerum in fictis controversiis, et obliquis rhetorum strophis lusisse. Studiorum sodales inter cæteros, hos præcipuos habuit, Pammachium summo nato loco, postea Paulæ generum, Paulinæ maritum, qui, defuncta uxore, Monachi sumsit institutum, tandem ad Episcopi munus ascitus; Bonosum, et hunc summo genere, postea Monachum; Heliodorum, quem deinde sua virtus ad Episcopi functionem pertraxit. Hic interim apparet Hieronymum Christo renatum, in illius jurasse verba, ut hoc certe nomine Roma sibi jure posset hunc virum asserere: quandoquidem a baptismo denique censemur Christiani. Id satis indicat in epistola quadam ad Damasum Papam, testificans sese ejus urbis fidem velle sequi, in qua Christi vestem accepisset. Nec enim de Presbyterio sentit, opinor, sed in baptismo vestis candida dabatur, symbolum innocentiae, et lotis mandabatur ut candorem vestium suarum illibatam fervarent. Igitur in profanis literis, quas quidam seculares vocant, ad plenum eruditus, ad graviora studia jam adjiciens animum, hac etiam parte laudatissimos viros est imitatus, velut Pythagoram, Platonem, Apollonium, ut lustrandis regionibus sapientiae supellectilem redderet auctiorem. Gallias omnes sic undique lustravit, ut nonnullis locis habitasse videatur: adeo et locorum situm ac nomina tenet; et multorum sibi conciliavit amicitiam. Atque in epistola quadam ad Florentium, testatur se Treviris ingens Hilarii volumen de Synodis suapte manu descripsisse; quod aliquanto post jubet sibi remitti, jam in eremo quæ Syriam a Saracenis dirimit, agens. Atque hujus peregrinationis comitem habuit Bonosum, ut alicubi declarat ipse. Ad hunc itaque modum studiose lustratis bibliothecis omnibus, et congressus cum his, quos vel eruditio vel integritas morum reddiderat insignes, et undequaque nonnihil decerpens, quod ad Christianum institutum facere videbatur, tandem velut industrius et avidus negotiator, non auro ditior, sed usu rerum, literis ac pietatis ardore locupletior, utramque revisit patriam, et eam in qua natus fuerat, et eam in qua renatus. Sub hæc cœpit de deligendo vitæ genere, deque loco commodo cogitare; quod haud nesciret hinc præcipuam hominis pendere felicitatem, si institutum ingenio accommodum, judicio, non casu fumeret. Sunt enim qui se præcipites dant in vitæ rationem, priusquam sibi noti sint ipsi. Et sunt e diverso, quos cunctantes ac deliberantes mors occupat. Reputabat animo, Romam adhuc veterem sapere Paganismum, et inter ejus urbis delicias parum esse tutam adolescentiam, ut quam alicubi Babylonem appellet: deinde suam quoque patriam barbaricis voluptatibus esse corruptam, quod ipse non dissimulans in epistola quadam: *In mea, inquit, patria rusticitatis vernacula, Deus venter est, et in diem vivitur, et sanctior ille est, qui ditior est.* Proinde communicato cum sodalibus consilio, de secessu cogitavit, quo liberius et expeditius se totum sacris studiis et Christo dedicaret. Jam tum pium adolescentis animum offendeat mundus, qui ea tempestate Christianos Ethnicis habebat admixtos. Unde fieri necessum erat, ut qui Christum profitebantur, plerique titulo magis quam vita essent Christiani,

ni, et vere probis mentibus pie vivendi votum adesset verius quam facultas. In matrimonio, ut nihil aliud accideret, certe libertatis naufragium perspiciebat: ad hæc Clericorum et Episcoporum statum, quod hos quoque volentes nolentes honos, opes, et negotia mundi involverent, ac transversos raperent, gravissimis periculis obnoxium esse. Et multorum vita displicebat, jam tum prisca illa pietate sacerdotum ad tyrannidem ac fastum degenerate. Pensitatis igitur omnibus ac circumspectis, Monachi placuit institutum: quod ne quis in hoc erret, id temporis longe diversum erat ab hoc, quod hodie videmus, ceremoniis obstrictum: imo quibus maxime libertas erat cordi, hi Monachi professionem suscipiebant. Primum enim res manebat integra, si quis ita censuisset, manebat commigrandi remigrandique quo vellent potestas, manebat dulcissimum ac liberrimum otium. Ad studium, jejunia, psalmos, vigiliis aut suoapte incitabantur animo, aut exemplis invitabantur, non cogebantur hominum constitutiunculis. Vestitus erat simplex, nec is tamen præscriptus, sed suo cuique arbitrio sumtus, non qui prodigiosa novitate faceret insignem, et digito notandum, sed qui simplicitatem Christianam præ se ferret. Votorum nulla vincula, nisi quæ sunt cujusque pure Christiani. Denique si quem forte sui instituti poenitentia cepisset, tota demum poena erat, inconstantiae nota. Cujus rei si quis fidem requirat, legat Hilarionis vitam, legat Institutionem Monachi ad Rusticum, et item ad Paulinum, legat in Epistola, cujus initium: *Audi filia*, descriptum triplex apud Ægyptios Monachorum genus. Quin inter alia præstabat et hæc commoda illud vitæ genus: hujus prætextu honestius licebat ab affinium et cognatorum vinculis temet excutere, gravi nimirum onere, ei cui nihil dulcius otio studiorum. Etenim qui Monachum erant professi, a publicis functionibus, a muniis et officiis Imperialis aulæ prorsus habebantur excusati. Postremo minus patebant Episcoporum quorundam jam tum insolentium tyrannidi. Jam hic titulus nec a functione Clericatus quicquam remorabatur; et ex nullo ordine sæpius deligebantur Episcopi. Nec aliud quicquam erat tunc Monachi professio, quam priscae liberæque vitæ meditatio, ac pure Christianæ. Hæc obiter admonenda duxi, ne, qui mos est plerisque, Hieronymum sui instituti faciant auctorem, ad quos ille nihil attinet. Conatus est ad eandem vitæ rationem capeffendam sodales aliquot pellicere. Verum Pammachius in studiorum contubernio semper unanimis, in vitæ genere deligendo plurimum dissentiebat. Hieronymo placuit summa libertas. Pammachius conjugii vinculis innecti maluit. Bonosus compositis rebus, relicta patria, parentibus et amicis, solis libris comitatus, in desertam insulam, et undique circumfremantibus undis horridam secessit; ac prætervolavit quidem Hieronymum, et prior mundi laqueis extricatus, in libertatem se recepit Christi, sed ab Hieronymo primum inflammatus. De quo cum alias meminit, tum in epistola, cujus initium, *Plus Deum: Bonosus*, inquit, *tuus, imo meus, et, ut verius dicam, noster, scalam præsagiatam somniantem Jacob, jam scandit: portat crucem suam, nec de crastino cogitat, nec post tergum respicit. Seminatur in lacrymis, ut in gaudio metat: et sacramento Moyse, serpentem in eremo suspendit. Cedant huic veritati tam Græco quam Romano stylo mendacis ficta miracula. Ecce puer honestis seculi nobiscum artibus institutus; cui opes affatim,*
dignitas

*dignitas apprime inter aequales erat, contenta matre et sororibus, et charissimo sibi germano, insulam pelago circumsonante naufragam, cujus asperæ cautes, et nuda saxa, et solitudo terrori est, quasi novus quidam Paradisi colonus insedit. Nullus ibi agricolarum, nullus Monachorum, ne parvulus quidem quem nosti Onesimus, quo velut fratre in osculo fruebatur, in tanta vastitate adhæret lateri comes. Et aliquanto post: Ut ego et ille pariter a tenera infantia, ad florentem usque adoleverimus ætatem, ut iidem nos nutricum sinus, iidem amplexus foverint bajulorum, et dum post Romana studia adirem semibarbaras ripas, eodem cibo, pari fruermur hospitio; ut ego primus cæperim velle te colere; memento, quæso, hunc bellatorem tuum, mecum quondam fuisse tyronem. Et hætenus quidem Hieronymi verba recensuimus, qui et in alia item epistola Bonosum laudibus vehit, suam solitudinem cum illius vita conferens. At non multo post Bonosi secessum et ipse Hieronymus, ordinatis domi rebus, conflato viatico, cum primis autem locupletissima bibliotheca summo studio comparata, Syriam adiit, Heliodoro tum itineris comite, tum propositi consorte. Quem aliquamdiu cum eo commoratum in Syria, quibus de causis incertum, cœpit ejus vitæ pœnitudo; non quod damnaret, sed quod pro varietate ingeniorum, aliis alia magis congruunt. Nec magni refert, quo tramite curras, modo ad Christum properes. Heliodorus itaque mutato consilio, reversus est ad suos: ad quem paulo post elegantissimam illam scripsit epistolam de laudibus et commodis vitæ solitariae, mira ubique civilitate suspicionem inconstantiae depellens ab amico, et suis imputans commissis, quod ille decessisset: ut obiter et hoc laudis annotem in Hieronymo, quem quidam e suis moribus æstimantes, tetricum quempiam et incivilem fuisse somniant, cum eo nihil unquam fuerit nec humanius nec urbanus. Sic enim scribit ad Julianum Diaconum: *Sanctus frater Heliodorus hic adfuit, qui cum mecum vellet incolere, meis sceleribus fugatus abscessit.* Et propemodum colligere licet, illos primum una visisse Hierosolymam, et lustratis sacris locis, Redemptoris adorasse vestigia. Erat autem id temporis urbis Hierosolymitanæ tanta apud omnes religio, ut parum pius sibi videretur, qui Hierosolymis non fuisset. Deinde destitutus sodali charissimo, cum et morbis ob cœli vitæque novitatem contractis, et peregrinationis molestia graviter affligeretur, Monachorum quorundam humanitate refocillatus est, præsertim Evagrii, cujus etiam hospitio aliquamdiu est usus. Restitutus pristinae valetudini, toto pectoris ardore ad susceptam Christi militiam accinctus, procul in horridam solitudinem abdidit sese, quæ inter Syros et Agarenos, nunc corrupto vocabulo Saracenos dictos, vastum limitem ducit, in qua præter feras et serpentes et sparsim habitantium Monachorum greges, nullus incolebat. Quamquam huc quoque semotum, crebro solitus est invisere Evagrius. Inter hæc Ruffinus, qui post ex intimo sodali factus est hostis acerrimus, Monachus et ipse, Nitriam Ægypti sese contulerat; cujus adventum gratulatur in ea quam modo citavimus epistola. Eam hac finit clausula: *Obsecro te, ne amicum, qui diu quæritur, et vix invenitur, difficile servatur, pariter cum oculis mens amittat.* Et paulo inferius: *Amicitia, quæ desiderare potuit, nunquam vera fuit:* ceu jam tum præsagens futurum ut ab amicitia descisceret Ruffinus. Sub idem ferme tempus, Hieronymi soror Virginis institutum arripuit, instigante Juliano quodam. Sed multum et hoc dissimile:*

diffimile ab harum conditione, quas hodie ferreis cancellis, ceu feras indomitas inclusas tenent. Non quod damnam publicam seculi consuetudinem, sed quod doleam huc denique delapsam Christianorum pietatem, ut virginum integritas claustris ferreis et repagulis murorum sit extorquenda; cum ea demum religio sit accepta Christo, non quæ vi extunditur, sed quæ ultro a volentibus offertur. Ejus rei meminit in epistola, cujus initium: *Non debet charitas dividere*: significans illam a Juliano conversam, cui vehementer illam commendat, ætati lubricæ omnia etiam tuta timens. Quin innuit eam nonnihil etiam fuisse lapsam primis annis adolescentiæ, scribens in hæc verba: *Hanc mihi Jesus pro eo vulnere, quod Diabolus inflixerat, præstitit, vivam reddendo pro mortua*. Neque vero satis compertum est, quo tempore Paulinianus, Hieronymi frater natus minor, huic proposito accesserit, quem testatur sibi charissimum fuisse, et Syriam adeunti fuisse comitem, etiamnum adolescentem, et in Bethlehemitico monasterio pariter servisse Christo. Mihi probabilius videtur, in secundo in Syriam reditu factum, quod Hieronymus affirmet epistolam ad Heliodorum, cujus initium: *Quanto amore*, sibi adolescenti ac pene puero scriptam fuisse, nisi forte jam admodum seni, grandior etiam ætas pueritia videbatur. Verum is Paulinianus juvenis adhuc, hoc est vix triginta natus annos, Presbyterii meruit honorem, quo nomine postea calumniam Hieronymo struxit Joannes Episcopus Hierosolymitanus, quod infra legitimam ætatem ad hoc honoris esset evectus: verum illius calumniis abunde respondit Hieronymus. Porro fratris mentionem facit et in epistola cujus initium: *Sanato vulnere*: *Compulsi sumus*, inquit, *fratrem Paulinianum ad patriam mittere, ut semidirutas villulas, quæ Barbarorum effugerunt manus, ac parentum communium habent cineres, venderet*. Rursus in epistola, cujus exordium: *Diu te Romæ*: *Paulinianus*, inquit, *necdum e patria reversus est: puto quod eum Aquilegiæ apud sanctum Chromatium Papam videris*. Sed plura super hoc in epistola, cujus initium: *Epistola tua hæreditatis*. Cæterum quamquam in proclivi non est, quo quidque tempore acciderit ad liquidum persequi, tamen ex variis Hieronymi scriptis conjectare licet, illum ubi primum in Syriam demigrarat, non statim uno sedisse loco, sed aliunde alio vertisse sedem, quo tandem circumspæctis omnibus, habitaculum suis accommodum votis deligeret; et primum aliquamdiu vixisse Hierosolymis, nonnihil temporis Antiochiæ, sed hinc demigrasse, partim offensum celebritate loci, partim quod Antiochena Ecclesia a tribus Episcopis, Miletio, Vitale, atque Paulino distraheretur. Nec in Chalcidis solitudine, nam in hac sedere conatum indicat in Abdiæ Commentarios præfatio, dabatur tranquilla sedes ob viciniam Campensium, qui cum Tharsensibus Arianis sentiebant. Horum improbitate vir sanctissimus mire divexabatur, dum quotidie citatus examinatur de fidei ratione: exiguntur *tres hypostases*, nondum audita Latinis vocabula: quod satis indicat in duabus ad Damasum epistolis, quarum alteri principium est: *Quoniam vetusta*: alteri, *Importuna in Evangelio*: obtestans illum et obsecrans ut sibi præscribat, cui debeat in Syria communicare, cum vix usquam conspiceret Romanæ fidei sinceritatem. Denique sic agitatus est his turbis, ut non semel poenituerit aditæ Syriæ. Tandem velut in semotissimam eremum abdidit sese, quæ Syriam, ut dictum est, a Saracenis disternat,

disterminat, satius esse ducens, cum feris ac prædonibus barbaris habere commercium, quam cum ejusmodi Christianis. Hic annos quatuor ab hominum frequentia semotus, cum solo Christo, cumque libris habebat commercium; ac serio jam et totis, ut aiunt, nervis, quod destinarat, agebat, ut nobis egregium illud Christianæ pietatis exemplar absolveret. Primum erat studium, adolescentiæ lapsus lacrimarum imbre diluere, et laborum asperitate, veluti nitri acrimonia, contractas per ætatis incogitantiam sordes detergere. Inedia, vigiliis, et incredibili totius austeritate vitæ rebellantem carnem, et subinde repullulantem ætatis lasciviam coercerebat, corpus spiritui servire docens, ne quid obstreperent affectus cœlestem molienti vitam; ipse sibi rigidus exactor supplicii, et instantissimus pensorum efflagitator atque ἐργασίας, ut vocat alicubi, prorsusque juxta Paulum, rationalem victimam immolabat, Deo cultum longe gratissimum. Tempus omne studiis et orationibus partiebatur, bonam etiam noctium partem his operis addens: minima portio dabatur somno, minor cibo, nulla otio. Studii lassitudinem recreabat deprecatio, aut hymnus: mox velut integer ad intermissam lectionem redibat. Relegebat universam bibliothecam suam, veterum studiorum memoriam sibi renovans, sacras Literas ad verbum ediscebat. Meditabatur in Prophetis, in eruendis oraculorum mysteriis vigilantissimus. Ex Evangelicis et Apostolicis literis, velut ex purissimis fontibus, Christi philosophiam hauriebat. Primus enim ad pietatem gradus est, scire auctoris tui dogmata. Cæteros interpretes adhibito delectu judicioque legebat, nullum omnino scriptorem prætermittens, unde non aliquid decerperet, non Ethnicos, non hæreticos. Noverat enim vir prudentissimus ex sterquilinio legere aurum, noverat e fruticibus melleum desumere succum, araneæ sua relinquens venena; et jam tum ab Ægyptiis quicquid poterat convasabat, hostium opibus Domini templum locupletaturus. Quoque certior esset memoria et paratior usus, quicquid legerat, id in locos digerebat, compositis singulis, ut affinitatis aut pugnantiae ratio postulabat. Felicibus ingeniis, dictu mirum, quantopere faverit, præsertim quæ facundiæ quoque dos commendabat, adeo ut hæreticos etiam laudibus ornaret, libenter, si licuisset, fidei vitium eruditioni condonaturus: cum primis autem Origenis, quem suum appellat, et cujus homilias aliquot adolescens adhuc Latinitate donavit. Lectioni miscebat scribendi studium, ceu jam tum velitans ac præludens tractandis Literis Divinis. Quam fideliter autem præluserit, indicat vel unus ille libellus quo sodalem Heliodorum desiderat, in quo sic licet agnoscere tyronem, ut tamen appareat, qualis sit futurus imperator. Hoc tempore, ni fallor, allegorice interpretatus est prophetam Abdiam, cum historiam nondum intelligeret; quemadmodum palam ipse testatur in præfatione posterioris interpretationis, qua juvenilem illam præcipationem sarcit ac pensat, idque magnorum virorum exemplum sequutus. Quo quidem in loco, cum alia multa præclare, tum istud festivissime scripsit: *Fateor, miratus sum, quod quantumvis aliquis male scripserit, invenit similem Lectorem sui. Ille prædicabat, ego erubescbam: ille quasi mysticos intellectus ferebat ad cælum, ego demisso capite confiteri meum pudorem prohibebar.* Quid multis? Nihil omnino prætermisum est, quod ad inclitum Ecclesiæ Doctorem, ac vere magnum Theologum instituendum pertinebat:

Pertinebat : ne quid usquam deesset eruditioni, aut necubi vita parum emendata, doctrinae minueret et elevaret auctoritatem. Proinde cum re ipsa compertum haberet, literas arcanas nec intelligi posse, nec tractari, quemadmodum oportet, nisi cognitis his linguis, quibus primum nobis proditae sunt, sermonis Hebraici difficultatem improbo studio pervicit, et barbarae peregrinaeque linguae non solum intelligentiam, sed et peculiarem sonum ac vernaculum stridorem est assequutus, usus ad eam rem doctissimis Hebraeorum, quos ingenti mercede conducebat, marsupium exhaustiens, ut pectus eruditione locupletaret. Horum neminem nominatim designat, praeter unum Bar hanina, quem tamen post jam natu grandis adhibuit, qui illi Nicodemum quendam exhibebat, ut ipse scribit, quod nocturna hominis opera soleat uti; non tam ob eam causam, quod puderet Christianum a Judaeo discere (tantus enim erat ardor discendi, ut undecumque discere magnificum et gloriosum existimaret) quam quod homo Judaeus invidiam suae gentis declinaret, si rem Christianam adjuvare videretur. Id studium, quod plurimum haberet sudoris ac tædii, in praefatione quadam ipse pistrinum appellat. Nec his contentus, Chaldaicam item linguam Hebraeae finitimam aggressus est; quod Daniel et Job, cumque his alii nonnulli veteris Instrumenti libri, literis quidem Hebraicis, sed tamen Chaldaeo sermone descripti sint. Cæterum hanc, quod intelligeret ejus usum non perinde late patere, hactenus modo secutus est, ut intelligere posset verius quam sonare. Quin et peculiarem Syrorum linguam attigit, ob gentis commercia, nonnihil et hanc Hebraeo sermoni confinem; cujus testimonium aliquoties adducit in enarratione nominum, velut in *mammona*. Inter hæc vero dum immodico quodam et juvenili calore, et puerilium amore studiorum, plus satis indulget exprimendis M. Tullii, Platonisque Dialogis, nam id tum, ni fallor, agebat, et hos magis nititur effingere quam sermonem Apostolicum, somnio divinitus immisso, raptus ad tribunal Dei, accusatus quod Ciceronianus esset non Christianus, denique plagis emendatus, sibi redditus est, ut ipse refert in epistola, cujus initium: *Audi filia*. Qua de re quid sentiam, fortasse nonnihil dicturi sumus, cum ad eum locum erit ventum. In his sanctissimis laboribus, in hoc vitae rigore, cum annos aliquot duraret, tamen fatetur nullum vitae genus sibi fuisse jucundius. Paulatim enim, ut fit, quod initio durum et asperum videbatur, dulcescebat; et quod per se erat optimum, reddebatur assuetudine jucundissimum; et adeo non desiderabat Romanas delicias, ut sibi frequenter videretur, non in eremo versari, sed interesse choris Angelorum. Nam stulte quidam tristem quandam fingunt vitae solitudinem, quæ ferarum potius est quam hominum, et insanum reddat citius quam pium. Visebatur nonnunquam ab amiculis, vicinos Monachos invisebat aliquoties, et literarum vicissitudine fruebatur amicis absentibus. Porro quamquam hoc otium ille perpetuum optabat, ut felicius ac tranquillius; tamen e re Christianorum omnium erat, tam insignem athletam Christi aliquando produci in arenam; neque committi, ut tam eximium orbis lumen diutius sub modio conderetur. Itaque licet invitus ac renitens, divino consilio rebus humanis prospiciente, e Syria Romam retractus est, idque per Epiphanium Salaminæ Cypri, et Paulinum Antiochenæ urbis Episcopum, quos ob certas Ecclesiæ necessitates Imperator Romam exciverat.

civerat. Hic jam indies augeſcente tum eruditionis, tum ſanctimoniae fama, Presbyterum ordinatum arbitror. Sunt qui tradant eum viginti natum annos ad hoc honoris vocatum ab Liberio tum Romanæ urbis Epifcopo : quod quando mihi parum compertum eſt, neque refellere, neque probare eſt conſilium. Cæterum quod addunt Presbyterum Cardinalem ordinatum, ^f haud ſcio an illis temporibus Cardinalis titulus fuerit repertus. Ipſe Hieronymus Presbyteri cognomen multis locis agnoſcit, Cardinalis nuſquam. Cæterum in Epiſtola, cujus initium eſt, *In veterè materia* : teſtatur ſeſe juvenem etiamnum Damaſo Pontifici Romano a libellis ſynodicis fuiſſe. Ante annos, inquit, plurimos, cum in chartis Eccleſiaſticis juvarem Damaſum Romanæ urbis Epifcopum, et Orientis atque Occidentis ſynodicis conſultationibus reſponderem. Proinde deplorat alibi, quod eremo relictæ, denuo mundo ſerviſſet. Interea nobilium matronarum familiaritatem eſt naſtus, in primis Marcellæ, quæ prima ſcœminarum auſa eſt Romæ Monachæ inſtitutum profiteri, cum id vocabuli vehementer inuiſum eſſet Romanis auribus. Conceperat autem mulier hunc ardorem potiſſimum ex Athanaſio, ac cæteris Ægypti Sacerdotibus, qui tum Arianæ factionis perſecutionem declinantes, Romam, velut ad tutiſſimum communionis ſuæ portum confugerant. His enim referentibus Antonii vitam (cujus etiamnum viventis mira fuit nominis celebritas) ac Monachorum in Thebaide verſantium, virginum item ac viduarum didicerat inſtitutum. Eadem autem ad æmulationem propoſiti ſui complures allexit, tum matronas, tum virgines, cum primis autem Sophroniam, Principiam, Paulam et Euſtochium : ac brevi tantus accrevit numerus, mundi contemptum profitentium ſcœminarum, ut quod prius ob novitatem invidioſum erat, poſtea cœperit eſſe glorioſum. Has omnes Hieronymus ad Divinæ Scripturæ ſtudium inflammavit, inflammatas ſua doctrina provexit, quo ſcœdius eſſet ab Epifcopis ſacros libros negligi, quos ſexus infirmior amplecteretur. Marcellæ ſtudium teſtatur in ipſius epitaphio, hiſce ferme verbis : *Et quia tunc alicujus nominis eſſe exiſtimabar ſuper ſtudio Scripturarum, nunquam me convenit, quin de Scripturis aliquid interrogaret.* Ac paulo inferius : *Hac ſolum dicam, quod quicquid in nobis longo fuit ſtudio congregatum, et meditatione diuturna quaſi in naturam verſum, hoc illa libavit, didicit atque poſſedit : ita ut poſt profeſſionem noſtram, ſi in aliquo teſtimonio Scripturarum eſſet oborta contentio, ad illam judicem pergeretur.* Hiſce rebus ſic inclaruit apud univerſos Hieronymiani gloria nominis, ut omnium ſuffragiis dignus acclameretur, qui Damaſo ſuccederet. Verum ut umbra nuſquam eſt, niſi cum ad eſt lumen ; ita celebritas ſanctiſſimi viri non caruit invidia.

*Urit enim ſplendore ſuo, qui prægravat artes
Infra ſe poſitas.*

Non deerant qui primum illum in Syriam ſeceſſum calumniarentur, et abſentem virulentæ linguæ telis peterent. Cæterum Romæ Damaſo pontifici præter cæteros charus et in pretio habitus, ad hæc Melaniæ et Paulæ primariæ nobilitatis ſcœminis triennium arctiſſima familiaritate conjunctus, majores invidiæ faces excitavit, et tot jam exantlatis laboribus, Herculis ritu, comperit excetram ſupremo ſine domandam, ut inquit Horatius, quæ primum

^f He might have been more poſitive.

teſte virus ſuum afflabat, donec ſimulata benevolentia in magnum erumperet incendium. Irreperant clanculum in Urbem Arianæ factionis quidam, ſed mutato jam nomine Origeniſtæ, ut diverſus eſſet titulus, error idem. Ii quo ſuas partes communirent, in nobilium matronarum familiaritatem et amicitiam inſinuare ſeſe, et dogmatis ſuis venenum ſpargere; Hieronymum, quod is Origenis ingenio præter cæteros delectatus, laudibus extuliſſet hominem, in ſuæ factionis conſortium pertrahere; hoc nocentiores inimici, quod, ſub amicitie prætextu, pluſquam hoſtilia molirentur, adeo ut deferendæ Romæ conſilium cœperit. Nam quod a nonnullis literis proditum video, de ſuppoſita veſte muliebri, quam cum imprudens pro ſua induiſſet Hieronymus, atque ad eum ornatus modum, in cœtum Eceleſiaſticum noctu prodiſſet, et riſum ac ſtupri ſuſpicionem ſibi conſlaverit, mihi non fit veriſimile. Neque enim uſque adeo ſuis adverſariis parcere ſolitus eſt Hieronymus, ut hac de re tam inſignite contumelioſa, nullam omnino facturum fuerit mentionem: præſertim cum id ad tuendam innocentie famam tantopere pertineret, ut diſſimulare tacitum, hominis fuerit parum bene ſibi conſcii. In Epiſtola, cui principium, *Si tibi putem*, multa querens de variis invidorum in ſe calumniis, ſuper hac re nullum verbum facit. Verum inter alia multa hæc commemorat: *Ego probroſus, ego verſipellis et lubricus, ego mendax et Satanæ arte decipiens. Quid enim eſt tutius, hæc vel credidiſſe vel finxiſſe de inſontibus, an etiam de noxiis credere noluiſſe? Osculabantur mihi manus quidam, et ore vipereo detrahebant, et dolebant labiis, corde gaudebant.* Ac mox: *Alius inceſſum meum calumniabatur, et riſum: ille vultui detrahebat: hic in ſimplicitate aliud ſuſpicabatur.* Ego ut de Roma relinquenda cogitaret, multas cauſas fuiſſe crediderim. Primum otii priſtini deſiderium, et guſtatæ ſemel tranquillitatis memoriam; deinde moleſtam Urbis celebritatem, moleſtiores delicias, luxum, ac faſtum, harum rerum comitem. Jam tum enim paulatim creſcentibus opibus Eccleſiæ, decreſcebat Chriſtiana ſimplicitas. Tum indies magis ac magis glifcentium Origeniſtarum adverſum ſe invidiam: præſertim cum id temporis Ruſſinus ageret in urbe, nunquam ille quidem ſincerus amicus, ut ego ſentio, tum inſidiator peſtilentiſſimus. Neque mediocrem invidiam conſlaverat Hieronymo liber ad Euſtochium de Virginitate, quod in eo falſiſſime taxet Clericos et Monachos, ac virgines ſuo indignas nomine. Demum eo veſaniæ proceſſit res, ut illi crimen impingerent, quod in Paulam Euſtochii matrem deperiret, ob intimam cum illa vitæ conſuetudinem, ſed eam pietatis et ſanctiſſimorum ſtudiorum commercio conciliatam, non turpis voluptatis conſortio. Qua de re ſic ipſe meminit in ea, quam modo citavimus, Epiſtola: *Pene certe triennium cum eis vixi. Multa me virginum crebro turba circumdedit: divinos libros, ut potui, nonnullis ſæpe diſſerui. Lectio aſſiduitatem, aſſiduitas familiaritatem, familiaritas fiduciam fecerat. Dicant quid unquam aliter in me ſenſerint, quam Chriſtianum decebat? Pecuniam cujuſquam accepi? Munera vel parva vel magna non ſprevi? In manu mea æs alicujus inſonuit? Obliquus ſermo, oculus petulans fuit? Nihil mihi aliud obicitur, niſi ſexuſ meus.* Haſtenus ille. Exacerbabat odium hujus rumoris Monachorum nomen, tum apud plurimos inviſum, quibus haud ferendum videbatur tot primarias ejus urbis ſcœminas religionis prætextu ſubduci familiæ, ſubduci affinibus. Id propemodum indicavit

indicavit Hieronymus cum addit eodem, quem modo retuli, loco: *Et hoc nunquam obicitur, nisi cum Hierosolymam Paula et Melania proficiscuntur.* Indicat ibidem, subornatum ab æmulis aliquem, ut opinor, ex Paulæ servis, qui Hieronymum insimularet stupri, et fœdum rumorem in vulgus ebuccinaret. At idem ad quæstionem vocatus, inter tormenta negavit: subjicit enim in hunc modum: *Isti crediderunt mentienti, cur non credunt neganti? Idem est homo ipse qui fuerat: fatetur insontem, qui dudum noxium loquebatur.* Et certe veritatem magis exprimunt tormenta quam risus, nisi quod facilius creditur, quod aut fictum libenter auditur, aut non fictum, ut fingatur impellitur. Antequam domum Sanctæ Paulæ nossem, totius in me urbis studia consonabant, omnium pene judicio dignus summo sacerdotio decernebar. Beatæ memoriæ Damasus meus sermo erat, dicebar sanctus, dicebar humilis et disertus. Numquid domum alicujus lascivioris ingressus sum? Numquid me vestes sericæ, nitentes gemmæ, picta facies, aut auri rapuit ambitio? Nulla fuit alia Romæ matronarum, quæ meam posset edomare mentem, nisi lugens atque jejunans, squalens sordibus, fletu pene cæcata, quam continuis noctibus misericordiam Domini deprecantem sol sæpe deprehendit? cujus canticum, Psalmi; sermo, Evangelium; deliciæ, continentia; vita, jejunium? Nulla me potuit delectare nisi illa, quam manducantem nunquam vidi: sed posteaquam eam pro suæ merito castitatis, venerari, colere, suspicere cæpi, omnes me ilico deseruere virtutes? O invidia primum mordax tui! O Satanae calliditas semper sancta persequens! Nullæ aliæ urbi Romæ fabulam præbuerunt, nisi Paula et Melania, quæ, contemptis facultatibus, pignoribusque desertis, crucem Domini, quasi quoddam pietatis levavere vexillum. Et in hanc sententiam illic plura, quæ, ne longior æquo sim, prætermitto. Hisce de causis Hieronymum tandem urbis odium cœpit indignæ tam eximii viri consortio. Itaque relicta Roma, Syriam repetiit, an una cum Melania et Paula, parum mihi liquet: nisi quod conjicio matronas priores illuc se contulisse, et aut mox sequutum Hieronymum, aut diverso itinere eodem pervenisse. Reditum suum, quandoquidem et hunc calumniatus est Rufinus, ipse describit in Apologia, verbis his: *Vis nosse professionis meæ de Urbe ordinem? narrabo breviter.* Mense Augusto, flantibus Etesis, cum Sancto Vincentio Presbytero, et adolescente fratre, et aliis Monachis qui nunc Romæ commorantur, navim in Romano portu securus ascendi, maxima me sanctorum frequentia prosequente. Veni Rhegium, in Scyllæo litore paulum steti, ubi veteres didici fabulas, et præcipitem fallacis Ulyssis cursum, et Sirenarum cantica, et insatiabilem Charybdis voraginem. Cumque mihi accolæ illius loci multa narrarent, darentque consilium, ut non ad Protei columnas, sed ad Ionæ portum navigarem: hunc enim fugientium et turbatorum, illum securi hominis esse cursum: malui per Maleas et Cycladas Cyprum pergere. Ubi susceptus a venerabili Episcopo Epiphanio, cujus tu testimonio gloriaris, veni Antiochiam, ubi fruitus sum communionem pontificis confessorisque Paulini, et deductus ab eo media hieme et frigore gravissimo, intravi Hierosolymam: vidi multa miracula; et quæ prius ad me fama pertulerat, oculorum indicio comprobavi. Inde contendi in Ægyptum, lustravi monasteria Nitriæ; et inter Sanctorum choros aspides latere perspexi. Protinus concito gradu, Bethlehem meam reversus sum, ubi adoravi præsepe et incunabula Salvatoris. Vidi quoque famosissimum lacum; nec me inertem tradidi otio, sed multa didici, quæ ante nesciebam. Hactenus ille. Verum erit fortassis, qui putet hæc ad primam

illam Hieronymi in Syriam profectionem pertinere : mihi probabilius videntur ad posteriorem referri ; tum ob id quod cum Hieronymus pene puer, ut ipse scribit, adierit Syriam, non admodum consentaneum est, illum et ignotum et id ætatis, tanto honore fuisse exceptum ab Episcopis ejus regionis celeberrimis ; tum quod hujus profectionis et lustratæ Syriæ atque Ægypti descriptio mire congruat cum itinere Paulæ, quod in illius describit Epitaphio ; cui tum Hieronymum fuisse comitem, ex ipsa narratione licet deprehendere. Nec enim animi causa suscipiebat hunc peragrandi regiones laborem, sed partim, ut ex pluribus arriperet exempla pietatis, partim ut inspectis locis, quorum in Divinis Literis fit mentio, penitus intelligeret quod esset scriptum, quod ipse testatur in præfatione quadam. Nec pietatis nec sacræ scientiæ sibi magister esse voluit : diuque discendum putavit, quod doceret : a multis discere curavit, sed a summis. At rursus sic horum doctrinam est amplexus, ut quorundam contentiosum dogma non sequeretur. Quandoquidem illo factiosissimo seculo vix quisquam eximie doctus hæreseos suspicione carebat. Gregorium Nazianzenum præceptorem suum appellat, et hoc interpretante se Sacras didicisse Literas testatur. Verum ubinam audierit hominem, aut quanto tempore, parum mihi compertum est. Nam is vitæ mutavit institutum, et sponte cedens Episcopi locum, ruri abditus, Monachi vitam exegit, auctore Hieronymo in Catalogo virorum illustrium. Apollinarium, Antiochenæ apud Syros Ecclesiæ Episcopum, frequenter audivit Antiochiæ, et domesticam cum illo consuetudinem egit, adhortante Paula, et sumtuum, ut conjicio, partem suppeditante ; verum id jam ætate provectior. Postremo ejusdem impulsu, Alexandriam sese contulit, jam semicanus, quo videlicet ex Didymi consuetudine, quem, quod a puero captus esset oculis, *Videntem* appellat, summam imponeret manum studio Sacrarum Literarum. Etiam si Rufinus calumniatur Hieronymum non plus mense Didymi consuetudine usum fuisse, sed ridicule tamen, ut jam vere. Nec enim refert quanto tempore verferis apud præceptorem, sed quantum proficias. Rufinus sex illis annis quos jactat, et tot egregiis præceptoribus, quos Hieronymus ne de facie quidem nosset, superior, ipsa tamen eruditione multo est inferior. Demum ascito Bar hanina Judæo, quod in literis Hebraicis aut diminutum erat aut exciderat, supplevit et instauravit. Jam itaque longo rerum usu comparata prudentia, multorumque doctissimorum hominum congressu, justa eruditione collecta, ad tractandas Divinas Literas accinxit sese. His instructus præfidiis vir prudentissimus, Theologi munus aggressus est : cum hodie quidam omnium bonarum literarum prorsus rudes et ἀμύστοι, pauculis sophismatibus, et male degustata Aristotelis philosophia freti, pedibus ac manibus illotis irruant in Theologiæ professionem. Bethlehem juxta Domini sui præsepe venturæ senectuti sedem delegit. Quem locum jam religione celebrem orbi, scriptis et virtutibus suis longe celeberrimum reddidit. Is abest ab Hierosolymis sex passuum millibus contra meridianam plagam juxta viam quæ ducit Chebron, estque civitas David in tribu Juda. Juxta hanc Paula quatuor condidit monasteria ; tria mulierum, quibus ipsa præfuit ; quartum virorum, in quo Divus Hieronymus cum piis ac doctis amiculis et studiorum adjutoribus non minus jucundam quam sanctam

sanctam vitam multis egit annis, ut ipse testatur in Epitaphio Paulæ, quæ, viginti annis pie peractis Bethlehem, mortem immortalitate commutavit. Melania quæ se eodem contulerat, incertum quibus de causis, mutata sententia, Romam repetiit. Ruffinus calumniatur, illi parum convenisse cum Hieronymo. Et consentaneum est, opera Ruffini dissidium incidisse, ad quem mulier desciscens, postea partes æmulorum adjuvit: et haud scio an hæc sit in quam Hieronymus locis aliquot oblique stomachatur, nomen nigredinis notans. Marcella tametsi et ipsa, Bethlehemitico rure relicto, Romam se recepit, metu Barbarorum omnia passim vastantium ac populantium, tamen in amicitia fidelissime perstitit, Hieronymianas partes acerrime defendens. Cujus opera, Origenistarum factio sensim insinuans sese, Romæ primum et prodita est et oppressa. Hic omne vitæ tempus aut sacris dabatur Psalmis, aut vertendis sacris voluminibus, aut edisserendis Divinis Literis, quas fratribus ac mulieribus assidue prælegebat. Ruffinus objicit, illum et nobilium pueros sibi commissos, in Poëtarum ac Rhetorum literis instituisse. Et id crimen adeo non timet Hieronymus, ut nec refellere dignetur. Etenim cum Paulus gloriatur se omnia factum omnibus, ut omnes Christo lucrifaceret; quod flagitium, si Divus Hieronymus omnibus prodesse cupiens, omnibus nationibus, omni sexui, omni ætati semet accommodavit? Confluebat huc ex toto undique terrarum orbe frequens hominum multitudo, quos omnes pro suis facultatibus vir sanctissimus Christiana accepit benignitate, neminem arcens a suo contubernio, præter palam hæreseos inustos cauterio. Prorsus exoptanda vita, ni felix otium tot hæreticorum et calumniatorum insultus labefactassent. Quoniam adversum multorum errores acerrime scripserat, nullus erat hæresiarcha, qui non Hieronymum pro hoste duceret, quem quisque sibi male conscius, etiam intactus, ut ait Horatius, horrebat et oderat, aliorum exemplo territus. Nullum fuit unquam seculum feditiosius, neque confusius: et sic omnia contaminarant hæreticorum errores ac dissidia, ut magnæ cujusdam artis fuerit orthodoxum esse. Verum in primis Arianorum factio, literis, armis, et Imperatorum præsidiis, totum Orientem, imo totum orbem in dissidium pertraxerat. Id mali utcumque sopitum, postea mutato cognomine, per Origenistas renatum est, ut ante dixi, et in ipsam usque Romanam urbem mire irrepserat, non palam, sed cuniculis quibusdam sese furtim insinuans; cujus rei dux ac signifer Ruffinus Aquileiensis, cum quo puer puero Hieronymus arctissimam habuerat consuetudinem, et mirus quidam amor intercesserat: id quod facile liquet ex Epistola, cujus initium, *In ea mihi eremi parte*. Verum evenit juxta proverbium Aristotelicum, ut qui sese impensissime dilexerant, acerrimis item odiis prosequerentur. Post primam simultatem, utcumque reditum est in gratiam, Hieronymo quidem modis omnibus adnitente, ne vel casus aliquis malevolentiae suspicionem præberet, et dissimulante interim clancularias illius machinas et virulentas obrectationes. Cæterum ubi jam fidei quoque labem hæreseos aspergere niteretur Ruffinus, et Hieronymum in suæ infamiæ confortium involvere, reclamante viro sancto, et figuratas, ut ipse vocat, laudes summa libertate rejiciente, rescissa est male facta gratia, et insincera necessitudo in apertam erupit simultatem, ac disruptis omnibus pudoris ac modestiæ

destiæ vinculis, uterque in alterum sic debacchatus est, ut in Hieronymo propemodum fateare verum esse, quod Publius ille mimographus scripserat,

Furor fit læsa sæpius patientia.

Primum ipsa scripta clamitant, Hieronymo vehemens et ardens fuisse ingenium, humanissimum quidem, sed liberum; hoc impatientius contumeliæ, quod nulli malum moliretur. Deinde hæreseos ea est insimulatio, in qua tolerantem esse, impietas sit, non virtus. Accedebant ad hæc tot faces, quæ vel lenissimum ingenium valeant irritare. Sunt qui Ruffino nonnihil tribuant. Mihi nec eruditio satisfacit, et mores olfacere videor virulentos ac vafros, minimeque liberales. Certe cum Hieronymus illum talibus pinxerit coloribus, infantiam, imperitiam, ac stuporem hominis ubique ridens et infectans, aut talem Ruffinum fateamur oporteat, aut Hieronymum sycophantam faciamus. Quo magis admiror, quid Gennadio venerit in mentem, qui non contentus Ruffinum immodicis vexisse laudibus, huiusmodi coronidem adjecit, ni fallor, in Hieronymum: *Sed et obtrektatori opusculorum suorum respondit duobus voluminibus, arguens et convincens se Dei intuitu et Ecclesiæ utilitate, auxiliante Domino, ingenium agitavisse; illum vero æmulationis stimulo incitatum, ad obloquium stylum vertisse.* Constat Ruffinum duobus libris invecum in Hieronymum; nec dubium est quin de his senserit Gennadius, qui cum Ruffinum inter præcipuos Ecclesiæ doctores ponat, Hieronymum obtrektatorem facit, et Ruffiniani nominis invidentem gloriæ. Dolebat, opinor, homini Gallo Vigilantius ab Hieronymo parum suaviter acceptus, et Palladius locis aliquot arreptus mordicus, quorum vicem hac ratione voluit ulcisci. Sed ut ad id quod institueram recurrat oratio, nihil non machinatus est in Hieronymum Ruffinus. Subornarat permultos, qui virum excellentissimum conviciis lacefferent, Vigilantium Gallum, Palladium Galatam, tum Magnum oratorem urbis Romæ; denique Domnionem et Pammachium; qui libros Hieronymi supprefferunt ne venirent in manus hominum; et admonuerunt literis, ut quædam emendaret in editis voluminibus, præsertim in quibus propensior videretur in laudem virginitatis, et hujus studio nuptiis iniquior, quam vellent plerique. Quibus ita respondet, ut ipsis parcens, acriter infectetur eos, a quibus sentiebat illos subornatos et impulsos. Ac tantum valuit æmulorum malitiosa calliditas, ut nec ipse Divus Augustinus Hipponensis Episcopus, optime sensisse videatur de fide Hieronymi, priusquam propius et interius nosset hominis et vitam et eruditionem. Hinc illa de mendacio cavillatio, hinc liber de animarum origine, hinc interpretationis ex Hebræo fugillatio, hinc simultatis cum Ruffino deploratio: quibus adversus Hieronymum ceu velitabatur, evocare cupiens ad dogmatis sui professionem. Id subodoratus vir minime stupidus, diu gravatus ad ea respondere, tandem respondet acerbius, parumque blande. Verum simul atque uterque alteri penitus coepit esse cognitus, junctis animis ac studiis, communi opera fidem catholicam adversus hæresiarcharum insultus tuebantur: et minus sibi placuit Augustinus, ubi Hieronymi magnitudinem pernoverat, ex exploratore factus discipulus. Ita ex initio qualicunque, summa inter illos conflata est necessitudo. Cæterum cum Ruffinianis plane, quod aiunt, ἀσπον-

ἡ πόλεμος erat, quorum vesania eo progressa est, ut fictam epistolam, velut ab Hieronymo scriptam, in vulgus spargerent; in qua deploraret vitæ superioris errores, ac damnaret operam olim insumtam vertendis ex Hebræo sacris voluminibus, velut huc inductus a Judæis nonnullis impostoribus. Sed actum esset de rebus humanis, si malitiæ par animo suppeteret nocendi facultas. Stylum Hieronymianum histriones illi assequi non poterant, illo seculo nulli, sicut opinor, imitabilem, nedum Ruffini sodalibus. Quod si potuissent, prorsus Hieronymiana fuisset epistola. Jam quantum virulentiae sit in libris Ruffini, quos in sanctissimum virum scripsit, quisquis legerit, facile perspicit. His addiderat epistolam, præter indignissima convitia, diras minas, judicia, exsilium, mortem denique denunciantem, ni taceret. Ea quanquam intercidit, tamen ex Apologia Hieronymi quam atrox fuerit licet conjicere. Eodem e fonte profectum est dissidium illud acerbissimum, quod illi fuit cum Joanne Episcopo Hierosolymitano, ad cujus diœcesim attinebat Bethlehem: adeo ut ipse cum suis abstineret ab Episcopi communione, quod is in manifestam venisset suspicionem Arianæ factionis, homo syco-phanta, vafer, ac lubricus, et tyrannicæ cujusdam insolentiae. Ad hæc ulcera accedebant, qui frigidam quoque, quemadmodum dici solent, suffunderent, et exasperatum tot injuriis animum literis insuper suis instigarent; hinc Riparius, illinc Marcella, aliunde Paula, Pammachius, Domnio, Oceanus, Augustinus, et præter hos alii complures: *Purga famam, compesce hæresim, succurre fidei.* Sic visum est Christo, ut incliti militis virtus tot exagitata procellis, clarius enitesceret, ac velut aurum igni probatum, perpetuis exercitus malis, per infamiam et bonam famam grassaretur ad immortalitatis bravium. Aderat luctanti, qui periculis objiciebat, et idem vires dabat, qui daturus erat præmium. Hinc ille velut annosa valido cum robore quercus, undique propellentibus calumniatorum ventis, aut Marpesia cautes, quæ fluctibus undique tunditur, pectore invicto infractoque stabat, et adeo non dimovebatur ab honesto, ut quo magis oblatrabant æmuli, quo molestius obstrepebant invidi, hoc acrius exstimularetur ad studium pietatis. Adversus hæreticorum vim et insidias nonnihil adjutus est in Syria ab Epiphano, ac Theophilo Alexandrinæ urbis Episcopo: Romæ, Marcella, Pammachio, Chromatioque, quos sibi vel ob Paulæ affinitatem habebat admodum faventes. Horum etiam benignitate sublevabatur. Quis in hujusmodi vita martyrium requirat, quæ quid aliud fuit, quam diutinum ac perpetuum martyrium? Et reperias, qui mortem possint contemnere, contumeliam non possint. Triginta totos annos in Divinarum Literarum meditatione sudavit, ut ipse testatur alicubi, et ad extremam usque senectam, docendi scribendique laborem juvenili robore sustinuit. Non uno in loco declarat, se corpusculo imbecilli fuisse, crebrisque morbis ac diutinis obnoxium, etiam antequam veniret senectus. Nec dubitandum, quin pleraque valetudinis incommoda sibi conflaret austeritate vitæ perpetua, sed præcipue nocturno studio, super omnia vero scribendorum voluminum indefesso labore: quas ob res frequenter coactus est uti notariorum opera, et, quemadmodum ipse loquitur, auribus tantum linguaque studere. Paulam discipulam et patronam suam, præmisit in cœlum; cui quamdiu fuerit superstes, non satis liquet.

In illius obitu permulta scripsit ad Eustochium, ut maternæ pietatis studii-
que, ita et in Hieronymum benevolentia hæredem. Tandem vitæ cursu
felicissime peracto, ad immortalitatis lauream est evocatus, anno ætatis suæ
nonagesimo primo; anno vero salutis humanæ quadringentesimo vigesimo se-
cundo, sub Honorio et Constantio jam in imperii consortium assumpto. Fe-
runt ossa postea Romam translata fuisse. Siquidem et hodie monumentum
illius monstratur in Exquilis, apud ædem Virgini Matri sacram, juxta præ-
sepe Christi. Is qui vitam illius conscripsit, Cyrilli nomine, non infacete
commentus est, eum jam morti vicinum prædixisse, fore ut Romam aliquan-
do rediret. De miraculis non libet quicquam attingere, jam vulgatissimis,
si quis ejusmodi fabulis delectetur. Ad hoc quod referunt de digesto per
Hieronymum Officio Divino, deque duobus versiculis in calce singulorum
Psalmorum adjectis, an verum sit necne, non magni refert: unum illud pa-
lam est, epistolam quæ testatur id factum, a nebulone confictam alieno titu-
lo. Tantum illi famæ et auctoritatis pepererat vitæ integritas, sed præcipue
libri, doctrinam inimitabilem præ se ferentes, et doctrinæ parem eloquen-
tiam, ut erudita quoque Græcia, quæ consuevit omnes omnium gentium
litteras fastidire, unius Hieronymi commentarios in suam linguam transfe-
rendos curarit; nec puduerit totius orbis semper magistræ, post tot eximi-
os scriptores, ab homine Dalmata discere; jamque ad antrum Bethlehemitic-
um non secus atque ad publicum totius Christiani orbis oraculum undique
curreretur, si quid quem torqueret in Divinis Literis. Crebræ epistolæ, cre-
bri nuntii huc commeabant, ex Italia, ex Hispaniis, e Galliis, ex ultima
Germania, ex Africa. Consulebatur ab Episcopis, a nobilibus matronis, a
primatibus. Quisquis Christianam vitam animo destinasset, prius ab hoc vi-
tæ instituendæ rationem efflagitabat. Multos non tam loci religio, quam
Hieronymi videndi sitis in Syriam attrahebat. Libebat nimirum sacri illius
ac cœlestis animi, quem in libris conspectum adorabant, thecam ac domici-
lium intueri. Visit hunc præter innumeros alios Alypius, mittente Augusti-
no, ut saltem per intimum amicum, Hieronymum complecteretur; quan-
doquidem ipsi licet cupienti, non erat integrum tantum itineris emetiri. Vi-
dit Paulus Orosius historiographus, ab eodem, ut opinor, missus, ut indicat
in calce suæ historiæ, nonnulla referens, quæ ex illius colloquio didicisset.
Vidit Sulpitius Severus, qui magnificis præconiis effert hominem, sed tamen
illius non assequitur merita. Visit Apodemius ex Gallia; cumque his com-
plures alii, quorum in literis suis meminit. Equidem video quosdam mag-
nopere contendere, Hieronymum virginitatis illibatæ fuisse; quod affirmare
quorsum attineat non video: cum ipse duobus in locis palam ac ingenue fa-
teatur sese lapsum in adolescentia, et hac laudis parte caruisse. Primum in
epistola, cujus initium, *Quod ad te hucusque non scripsi*: testatur in hunc mo-
dum: *Virginitatem autem in cælum fero, non quia habeam, sed quia magis
mirer quod non habeo. Ingenua et verecunda confessio est, quo ipse careas in aliis
prædicare. Numquid quia gravi corpore terræ onerosus hæreo, avium non miror
volatus? neque columbam prædico, quod*

Radit iter liquidum, celeres neque commovet alas?

Hæctenus quidem ille. Neque vero me clam est, quosdam hunc sic inter-
pretari

pretari locum, quasi Hieronymus sibi virginitatis laudem adimens, modestiæ causa sese deiecerit. Quemadmodum Paulus, cum plus omnibus laborasset, seipsum tamen minimum Apostolorum vocat, et indignum Apostoli vocabulo. Atque is color alibi fortasse locum habeat: cæterum hic stulti-
 tiæ fuerat id dicere, cum officeret ei quod agebatur. Cum enim ad invidiam usque laudibus vexisset virginitatem, occurrere studuit quorundam calum-
 niæ, qui sic dictitabant: Quisque laudat, quod ipse est. Conjugati gau-
 dent laudari matrimonium; et si liceat, sacramentorum omnium primum cupiant efficere. Monachi suum efferunt institutum. Sacerdotes et Episco-
 pi de muneris hujus excellentia libenter audiunt. Qui virginitatem sequitur, gaudet eam cum Angelorum æquari puritate. Nec istud est favere virtuti, sed suis quemque laudibus applaudere, et honesto prætextu seipsum jactare. Proinde nequid ea calumnia virginitatem prædicantis fidem elevaret, inge-
 nue fatetur se non esse quod laudat; nec suum agere negotium, sed veritati patrocinari. Rursus in Epistola, cujus initium, *Non debet charta*: declarat idem, hisce verbis: *Scitis ipsi lubricum adolescentiæ iter, in quo et ego lapsus sum, et vos non sine timore transistis.* Quod si non possumus nisi virginem amare, nec Apostolos quosdam, nec Patriarchas amabimus. Est autem istud qui-
 busdam studium, in speciem quidem pium, sed tamen ineptum, Sanctorum laudes in immensum attollere, dum illis tribuunt, non quantum adfuit, sed quantum illis optent adfuisse. Hi Christum, si queant, majorem quam est, cupiant reddere; deinde huic pene parem Mariam; et factiose suum quis-
 que Divum attollit. Minoritis nunquam fatis laudatus Franciscus, aliis Be-
 nedictus, aliis Augustinus. At expedit etiam sæpenumero, commissum ali-
 quod ceu cicatricem in Sanctis agnoscere. Fit enim nescio quo pacto, ut efficacius nos eorum exempla permoveant, quibus ex vitiosa vita contigit ad pietatem resipiscere. Quanto plures pellexit ad bonam frugem peccatrix il-
 la Magdalene, Christi deliciæ, quam Teclæ perpetua innocentia, quæ ex tot hominum millibus vix ulli contigit? Magis profuit vitæ mortalium David deplorans quod admiserat, nosque post errata docens resipiscere, quam aliorum semper inculcata vita. Lapsus est Hieronymus, sed primis illis annis, et, ut arbitror, antequam baptismo renatus esset in Christo (solent enim tum fere adulti baptismum suscipere, nisi si quem vitæ periculum huc adegisset) et lapsus est eo vitio, quo fere solet involvi pueritia, priusquam vitium esse no-
 verit. At quot annis, quas pœnas, ob puerile erratum a sese exegit? qui-
 bus suppliciis eam pueritiæ voluptatulam est ultus? Hieronymi præconium amplectantur, quibus virginitas cordi est. Exemplum Hieronymi sequan-
 tur, qui baptismi vestem nonnihil commaculatam, pœnitentiæ nitro cupiunt candidare; multoque magis isti, qui maximam vitæ partem turpibus volup-
 tatibus dedicarunt. Ad hæc sunt, quos nonnihil offendit sermonis acerbitas, quod in scriptis suis acrius nonnunquam videatur incandescere, quam pro Christiana mansuetudine, planeque veteris comœdiæ quiddam referre, mul-
 tos mordicus arripiens. In hac sententia fuit olim Augustinus, et nostra memoria, si superis placet, Franciscus Philelphus, vir ille quidam eruditus, sed nonnunquam plus fatis *φίλαυλος*. At hi mihi parum expendere videntur negotii circumstantias, patriam, ingenium, sui fiduciam, æmulorum impro-
 bitatem,

bitatem, contumeliæ genus nulli ferendum. Postremo nec illud Terentianum: *Tu si hic, aliter sentias*. Nulli suam contumeliam ferunt impotentius, quam qui in aliena sunt lentissimi. Acriter invecus est in Ruffinum, sed ille commeruerat acriora. Hic hæreseos crimen fortiter depellit, ille carnificem minitatur, et fictis flagitiis famam incessit. Et nemo sævit gravius, quam cui non licuit esse mansueto. Atqui si quis attentius ac propius inspiciat eos libros, in quibus velis equisque, quod aiunt, invehitur in adversarios, totaque libertati vela laxat, mira deprehendet humanissimi mitissimique ingenii vestigia. Ludit sæpenumero, et festivis salibus agit magis quam virulentis. Nonnulla dedit suo seculo et amicorum affectibus; et ita crimen a se depellit, ut, si fieri possit, cupiat hosti parcere. Multa sciens ac prudens supprimit, pudori Christiano malens obsequi, quam animo laceffito: velut in Epistola adversus Joannem Hierosolymitanum, quantum tribuit suæ verecundiæ, quantum Episcopi titulo? ut se reprimat? Et si quid incidit odiosius, sæpe nomina supprimit, nonnunquam fictis abutitur vocabulis, velut in argumento de matre et filia reconciliandis, in Diaconum impudicum, in Susannam lapsam. Quin etiam in Ruffinum et hujus socios, Grunnii, Lusci, Lavinii, Calphurnii, Lanarii, Scorpii, Canis Alpini, et id genus aliis aut fictis aut obscuris nominibus stomachatur. Jam vero piget etiam meminisse, quod audimus quotidie quosdam impie religiosos, et inscite doctos nobis ad aurem obgannire, id in Hieronymo calumniantes, quod in eo pulcherrimum est, nimirum doctrinam, ut ipsi vocant, immodicam, et plusculum eloquentiæ, quam Theologum deceat. Neque quicquam omnino norunt de Hieronymo, nisi quod Ciceronianus dictus vapularit. Verum hujus rei, quoniam ab eruditissimis abunde responsum est, Laurentio Valla, et Angelo Politiano, et nos olim adolescentuli, minores annis viginti, lusimus in istorum stultitiam Dialogis, quos Antibarbaros inscripsimus, unum illud hoc adjiciam loco: ubi deterret virgunculam ab immodico studio librorum profanorum, negat fuisse somnium, sed experrectum reperisse scapulas liventes. At idem Ruffino respondens falsissime ridet hominis curiositatem, cui non satis esset observare quod vigilans diceret aut ageret; verum etiam quid dormiens somniaret: et adeo fatetur fuisse somnium, ut illud conferat cum prodigiosis illis noctium ludibriis, quibus aliquoties sibi videretur alatus volare cum Dædalo per maria, nonnunquam comatulus esse, cum esset calvastrer, interdum, sumta toga, causam dicere pro rostris. Expediant igitur isti, qui simul utrumque verum esse possit, aut eligant utro in loco malint Hieronymo habere fidem, illic ubi de fide narrationis non agitur, sed quocunque modo deterretur adolescentula, an hic ubi causa agitur et crimen depellitur, qua in re veritas orationis etiam jurejurando solet exigi. Quomodo commento Pythagoras rudes homines a carniū ingluvie deterruit, sic et parentes nonnunquam commentitiis terriculis pueros a peccando submovent. Præterea videant utrum credere malint seni an adolescenti. Somnium non fuisse, scripsit adolescentulus: somnium fuisse, scripsit senex. Aut hunc nodum explicent. Dixit apud tribunal: Si unquam habuero libros seculares, te negavi. Cur post hæc non refellit Hieronymus, quod objicit Ruffinus de Ciceronis Dialogis, quos majore mercede fratribus scribendos

bendos locarit; de poëtis, quos prælegit pueris? Et in hac accusationis parte ita versatur, ut ludat magis quam refellat: nimirum crimen judicans dignius quod rideretur quam dilueretur. Ubi deinde negat aut dissimulat Hieronymus sibi fuisse libros seculares? Aut si negasset, quis sanus illi fuerat crediturus: nisi forte consentaneum vero putemus, cum in libro de optimo genere interpretandi plurimos versus ad verbum ex Cicerone referat, eum hos omnes ex adolescentiæ memoria descripsisse, non de codice. Postremo si crimen est habere libros seculares, et si Christum negavit quisquis hos legit, cur solus vapulavit Hieronymus? Cur hodie in Theologorum scholis celebrior est Aristoteles, quam Paulus aut Petrus? Verum de re puerili ac ridicula jam pluribus quam sat est. Ego certe, ut finiam, malim cum Hieronymo vapulare, quam melle perungi cum istis, quos adeo scilicet terret Hieronymianum somnium, ut ab omnibus bonis literis sanctissime temperent: at non temperantes interim a vitiis eorum, quorum libros religionis causa non audent attingere. Sunt e diverso quidam, qui quam arroganter sibi plusquam Theologi videntur, tam impie Theologum negant esse Hieronymum. Primum quod non satis Theologice σολοικίζει, quam primam Theologiæ dotem autumant; deinde quod nusquam argutetur, quomodo Capreolus, Alexander, Ægidius, et Scotus; nec usquam adducat Theologicas conclusiones, rythmos scilicet belle concinentes; quod non crepet majores ac minores, quod nusquam sophisticis argutiis, ac puerilibus captiunculis ineptiat, quod non in anxiiis quæstiunculis torqueat sese, quod non passim infulciat philosophum. At æquum erat hac quidem in re veniam dare Hieronymo. Nam qui suspicari potuit vir ille, fore ut novum hoc Theologorum genus nasceretur apud Christianos? Cum nihil simile nec in divinis et Apostolicis libris comperisset, nec apud eruditissimos horum interpretes: præsertim cum a Paulo didicisset hujusmodi quæstiunculas ad nihil utiles, nisi ad subversionem pietatis, esse devitandas. Qui potuit divinare futuros, qui totam Theologiam a capite, quod aiunt, usque ad calcem retexerent, et ex divina facerent Sophisticam aut Aristotelicam? Atqui si hanc ob causam in Theologorum senatum non recipiunt Hieronymum, ne Paulum quidem aut Petrum recipient, neque quenquam omnino, qui ante quadringentos annos vixerit. O miserum illud seculum! O calamitatem orbis Christiani! qui plus mille annos absque Theologis steterit; præsertim cum illis temporibus latissime patuerit religio Christiana, nunc in arctum contracta; præsertim cum tot eruditorum hæreticorum turmæ libris essent revincendæ, non fasciculis. Minore studio licere bis Magistri nostri parare titulum, quam Hieronymianam assequi dictionem, nullus inficias ibit in bonis literis exercitatus. At ille tot linguis excelluit. Ut omittam tam multa disciplinarum adminicula, sine quibus in Divinis Voluminibus necesse sit passim hallucinari, quis unquam Sacras Literas sic ex ipsis hausit fontibus? Quis altius imbibit? Quis simili cura edidicit? Quis sic in promptu et in procinctu, quod aiunt, habuit? Quis citavit aut densius, aut appositius? Quis edisseruit doctius? Quis tractavit sanctius, aut felicius? Quis eruditissimos illos interpretes evolvit diligentius? Quis hæreticorum dogmata refellit efficacius? Quis Christi philosophiam penitus cognitam habuit? Quis eam vividius aut literis expressit, aut vita? Hæc, quæso te, utrum Theologi sunt an non? An ideo

Theologus non erit, quia nobiscum non balbutiat, ne dicam ineptiat? An ideo Grammaticis annumerabitur, et Scotistis in sublimi cathedra tonantibus, Hieronymus ad horum pedes in imis sedebit subselliis, quod divina maluit dicere, quam hominum somnia; quod inter vernantia Scripturarum prata versari maluit, quam inter horum spineta luctari; quod non frigidissimis distinctionibus omnia confuderit, sed velut aureum quoddam flumen ire maluerit, multas simul opes secum deferens? In singulis verbis sæpenumero singuli sunt syllogismi. Num ideo parum est acutus, quia nos illius acumen non assequimur? Tractavit eas quæstiones, quæ tum in Ecclesiis ac Synodis vertebantur; et ita tractavit, ut nemo copiosius, nemo nervosius, nemo magis Theologice; nihil addivinans a Theologorum sacris arcendos, qui de formalitatibus, de instantibus, de quidditatibus, de eccitatibus, deque aliis id genus argutiis non disputaret. Operæ pretium est audire censuram istorum, qui cuncta ad certum numerum redegerunt. Doctores Ecclesiæ quatuor esse libuit: et quatuor item Scripturæ Divinæ sensus; nimirum ut respondeant quatuor Evangelistis. Gregorio tribuunt tropologiam, Ambrosio allegoriam, Augustino anagogen; Hieronymo, ne nihil habeat, relinquunt literam et sensum Grammaticum. Sic enim has voces distinguunt, cum tres superiores indiscrete sumat Hieronymus. Primum ex tot eximiis Doctoribus quatuor esse duntaxat voluerunt, idque candore magis quam ex animo, ne nullos veterum recipere viderentur: quamquam nec hos admodum legunt, nisi velut apocryphos jamque antiquatos. Largiuntur his aliquid, veritates interim sibi servantes. Gestit animus paucis istos, qui sic de Hieronymo sentiunt, cum Hieronymo conferre: sed reprimam me, ne quod in nebulones dixero, probi Theologi in se dictum existiment. Unum illud tacere non possum, tot editis voluminibus quid valuerit, declaravit Hieronymus. Si quisquam istorum unicum Hieronymi volumen suo marte possit intelligere, si quadraginta istius factionis Theologi, communi opera, conflatisque studiis, possint unicum excudere libellum, qui sit ullo modo cum Hieronymianis conferendus, imo cum his, quos dictavit Hieronymus, non scripsit, fatebimur Hieronymum non esse Theologum. Sed istorum iudicium minus demiror, cum magis mirum foret, si probarent quod nec didicerunt, nec intelligunt. Justius in hos stomachor, qui cum bonas profiteantur literas, parum candide, ne dicam arroganter, de tanto viro pronunciant. Franciscus Philelphus, arrepta velut censoria virgula, Augustino tribuit dialecticæ palmam, eloquentiæ Hieronymo. Non est meum Augustini laudibus quicquam decerpere: verum illud ipsa res clamitat, Hieronymum Augustino non minus antecelluisse dialectica, quam præcessit eloquentia: nec minus eruditione superiorem fuisse, quam dicendi laude. Siquidem Hieronymus, Græci sermonis callentissimus, non modo totum Aristotelem, sed cæteros item philosophos omnes evolverat. Augustinus, id quod et ipse fatetur, et indicant libri, duos duntaxat Aristotelis libellos, tum forte in Latinum versos sermonem, de Prædicamentis, ac de Enunciatione. Et, ut ingenue dicam, argumentatur aliquanto perplexius ac molestius Augustinus: at quanto solidius, quanto aliis nervis Hieronymus? Mihi videtur uterque utraque facultate mirabilis, sed eloquentiam magis ostentavit Hieronymus,

Hieronymus, dialecticen Augustinus. Quanquam ego nec de vitæ genere prorsus accedo Philelphi judicio. In se quidem rigidior Hieronymus, quam Augustinus, at in alios lenior: nec unquam Hieronymus a suis exegit fratribus, quod a suis Clericis Augustinus. Sed præstat omittere collationem inter duos Ecclesiæ Latinæ proceres, pro quorum eximiis virtutibus magis decet agere gratias Deo, quam excitare contentionem inter studiosos. Jam vero dictum mirum quantopere celebretur inter quosdam nimis Ethnice doctos, dictum Theodori Gazæ, Hieronymum præter meritum vapulasse, veluti Ciceronianum. Nec defunt Critici, quorum palatum in hujus viri libris desideret Romani sermonis puritatem. Quænam ista Romana puritas? Num eodem more dicere quo dixit Cæsar, aut Marcus Tullius? At qui fieri potuit, ut Hieronymus de rebus longe diversis loquens, iisdem tamen verbis uteretur? Alia religio, alius cultus, diversi auctores, novata omnia: et tu me negabis eloquentem, nisi perinde loquar, quasi Ciceronis ætate vivam; cum præcipua dicendi laus sit, apte dicere? Nisi forte parum Romanus videbor, si pro eo quod olim dicebant, faxit Jupiter optimus maximus, dixerò, faxit Jesus Christus; quod ad hunc modum non sit locutus M. Varro, aut C. Cæsar, aut M. Tullius. Jam quid est hoc quod ait quidam imputandum Hieronymi seculo. Num seculum hoc putat illo facundius? Aut quænam est ista professio, cui condonari vult infantiam? Nec enim adeo stultus est, opinor, ut existimet Hieronymum fuisse Monachum hujus generis, quod hodie receptum est. An Christi professio pugnat cum eloquentia? Quid autem vetat, si Cicero de suis dæmonibus dixit eloquenter, quo minus Christianus idem de pietate veraque religione dicat eloquenter? Sed dicam invitus, quod tamen verissimum esse comperi, esse permultos sic profanis addictos literis, ut ineruditum, ut infans, ut sordidum videatur, ubicumque Christianæ professionis vocabula viderint. Romuli, Camilli, Fabricii, Julii nominibus delectantur: ad Christi, ad Pauli, ad Petri vocabula nauseant. Hos nihil aliud offendit in Hieronymo, nisi quod ingenue Christianus est. At nos si quando videri volumus eloquentes, de rebus sacris, Deum immortalem! quam profane dicimus? Neque vero probem in homine Christiano, anxiam eloquentiæ affectationem, quæ nec philosophis, nec Senecæ, nec ulli gravi viro unquam probata est. Atque adeo ne fieri quidem potest, quin de religione verba faciens, Sacrorum Voluminum testimoniis utare; quorum phrasim innovare ridiculum sit, fastidire impium. Ad hæc interdum eos cites oportet, quibus defuit elegantia sermonis, quales nobis Bonaventura, Thomas, Scotus: Hieronymo, Jovinianus, Vigilantius, Ruffinus. Aiunt Pomponium Lætum, in omnem usque vitam a Græcis abstinuissse literis, ne qua peregrinitas Romani sermonis castimoniam vitaret. At Divus Hieronymus in tot linguas cognoscendas partitus operam et oleum, tum in hujusmodi versans argumentis, quæ non facile splendescunt, nec recipiunt orationis nitorem, denique permulta dictans, tamen eloquentiæ tantum præstitit, ut nemo fuerit nostra memoria, quem hac in parte cum eo conferre possimus. Et tamen eximios viros nostra vidit ætas, et qui ne Ciceronis quidem seculo inter elingues habiti fuissent, quorum præcipui sunt Laurentius Valla, Hermolaus Barbarus, Angelus Politianus, Joannes Picus, et nos-

ter Rodolphus Agricola. Sunt et alii, quos haudquaquam contemno, sed ex his, quoniam insignes sunt, res æstimabitur. Hieronymus ex parte contempsit eloquentiam, tam multis distractus est studiis, quæ dicendi politiem rubigine solent obducere. Hi per omnem ætatem in his modo versati sunt literis, quæ ad dicendi faciunt ornamenta: et tamen detur idem argumentum, sit eadem Christiane loquendi lex, videbimus nec horum quempiam Hieronymianam eloquentiam assequi. Primum enim cum præcipua pars eloquentiæ sit, et fons, ut inquit Horatius, res de quibus dicturus sis, penitus habere cognitas, quis non statim intelligit, quam multis partibus hic potior sit Hieronymus? Ad hæc quis exorditur dexterius? Quis proponit absolutius? Quis narrat evidentius? Quis exspatiatur vel amœnius vel appositius? Quis colligit nervosius? Quis telum in adversarium torquet acrius, aut exceptum retorquet mirabilius? Quis illigat tenacius? Quis in tractandis affectibus, quos ἡδὴ vocant, jucundior? Quis in iis, quos πᾶσι nominant, concitandis gravior? Quis in schematibus florulentior, aut picturior? Quis sententias interferit aptius? Quis epiphonematibus pungit argutius? Quis hypotyposes effingit rectius? Quis aut attollit magnificentius, aut dejicit humiliter? Quanta ordinis ratio? Quod consilium? Quæ transitionum deliciae, & quos sæpenumero per sententiam contextit? Quam parata Latini sermonis copia? Quæ vocum emphasis, qui delectus? Quanta rerum supellex? Quæ auctorum agmina? Quam ubique densus et instans sibi? Quam felici mixtura contextit, concinnat ac struit omnia? Præterea qui nervi, qui lacerti, qui vigor, qui actus orationis, ac vita? Ut nusquam cessat, nusquam dormitat, nusquam jacet, nusquam resistit: ut ubique properans, auditorem secum rapit? Ut semper aliud ex alio pendet; et gemma gemmam trahit? Quam modulata, quam numerosa totius orationis compositio, quam mire commatis et colis rotatur ac volvitur oratio? Quid dicam de festivitate, qua res tristissimas etiam ille mirifice condiit? Postremo, quod pectus, quanta causæ fiducia? Quis docet apertius? Quis delectat urbanus? Quis movet efficacius? Quis laudat candidius? Quis suadet gravius? Quis hortatur ardentius? Quis recenset sublimius? Quis instituit sanctius? Quis cum amicis fabulatur humanius? Nullum est enim argumenti genus, in quo ille non luserit, nusquam sui dissimilis. Hæc non admodum mirentur, qui in hanc palæstram nunquam descenderint. Cæterum magnarum virium est, tractare sacra tam splendide, simplicia tam erudite, inculta tam polite, retrusa tam dilucide, a sensu communi abhorrentia tam populariter, periculosa tam libere, severa tam plausibiliter. Aliud est epistolam scribere ad Ciceronis exemplar, et decem selectis oculis, Ciceronis simium agere: aliud in gravissimis argumentis tot excudere volumina. Aliud est in ficta controversiola declamare: aliud in seriis fidei negotiis utrique satisfacere, et his qui nihil requirunt præter Scripturæ Divinæ scientiam, et his qui tantum ingenii vires expectant. Atque hæc qui præstat, parum Ciceronianus est? Siquidem quid aliud est esse Ciceronianum, quam optime dicere, etiam si diverse dicat? Quandoquidem ipsi Ciceroni secus dicendum foret, si Hieronymus effet. Alias dicendi virtutes mireris in aliis; in uno

& Read *quas*.

Hieronymo tot pariter dotes cumulatae sunt, ut in eo reperire liceat, quod et in Marco Tullio desideres. Loquitur Cicero; tonat ac fulminat Hieronymus: illius linguam miramur, hujus etiam pectus. Quid quod nostro seculo quamquam sat feliciter repullularunt bonae literae, tamen declamandi prorsus extincta est exercitatio; ut hoc ipsum quid sit eloquenter dicere, non queat nisi a paucissimis judicari, cum ea res magis usu constet, quam praeceptis. Ut, juxta Graecorum proverbium, Non una hirundo ver efficit, ita non una quæpiam dos facit eloquentem. Inter tot egregios auctores, quorum ingenio defensa est et illustrata Christi religio, aliis defunt seculares literae, aliis Sacrae Scripturae cognitio. In hoc ingenium desiderat Hieronymus, in alio lucem orationis, in hoc nervos, in illo splendorem. Multis defuit linguarum peritia, nonnullis fidei sinceritas, quibusdam vitae integritas. Hieronymus, et unus Hieronymus, sic omnia praestitit, ut si non ad unam aliquam virtutem, sed ad omnium concentum et summam respicias, dicam audacter, sed vere, nihil habet vel ipsa Graecia, quod nostro opponat Hieronymo. Proferat si possit, et meae sententiae non pigebit palinodiam canere. Et tamen hunc virum, quem ne summi quidem queant assequi, non verentur calumniari et mediocres. Notatur a Laurentio, quod in libris adversus Jovinianum, sic Jovis Statoris fecerit mentionem, velut a stando dictus sit, et non potius a sistendo. Quasi vero illic hoc agat Hieronymus, unde dictus sit Jupiter Stator, ac non magis ridendi Joviniani quæsierit ansam. Nisi forte cum scribit Martialis,

Dicemus ficus, quas scimus in arbore nasci:

Dicemus ficos, Cæciliane, tuos:

vere sensit hanc esse vocum differentiam. Et tamen sive a sistendo deducitur stator, sive a stando, nihil est in quo reprehendas Hieronymum. Quid enim aliud est sistere, quam facere ut stet aliquid? Quod enim Graecis unica vox declarat, *ιστάται*, id Latini duabus explicant, sed inter se cognatis. Proinde cum Jupiter sit Stator, hunc offendere videtur qui sedere gaudeat. Atque hæc qualiscumque vocum ac rerum affinitas satis erat captanti risum. Alius insectatur, quod alicubi Ruffinum taxat, qui *comparandi* verbo abusus sit pro *emere*. Hodie quidem vulgus Italorum *comparare* dicit *emere*, eumque verbi abusum jam tum Hieronymi seculo natum fuisse, declarat non solum hic apud Ruffinum locus, verum etiam quod Sophronius in catalogo Scriptorum illustrium, *comparavit* ab Hieronymo positum verterit *ὠνήσατο*. Cæterum quæ taxator ille citat ex Catone, ne tantulum quidem faciunt adversus Hieronymum. Neque enim si prædium recte comparari dicitur quod emittitur, continuo nihil interest inter emere et comparare. Comparandi enim verbum latius patet, nimirum ad omnia quæ quocumque modo parantur, sive dono, sive opera, sive ære, sive bello, sive corpore, sive furto denique. At Ruffinus sic usus fuerat ea voce, ut nihil aliud esse posset quam emere. Sed demus inveniri *comparare* pro *emere*, quid opus erat hoc cum convicio ingerere, quasi non et Cicero quædam irrideat in Antonio, quæ reperiuntur apud probatissimos auctores, aut quasi Ruffinus uno tantum loco faciat solœcismum. Sed hoc fortasse condonari poterat ætatis calori, quod commentarios in Suetonium^h juvenis, opinor, scripserit. At idem in his com-

^h I take this censurer of Jerom, whom Erasmus doth not name, to have been Phil. Beroaldus. menta-

mentariis, quos senex edidit in Asinum Apuleii, rursus cædit Hieronymum, quod pexam vestem posuerit pro detrita vilique, cum Horatius sit usus pro nova et eleganti. Ne nimium operæ ponam in hujusmodi nugis, primum Hieronymus hoc loco non interpretatur quid senserit Horatius, ne alludens quidem apertius ad illius verba. Neque statim illi concesserim, pexam vestem esse nitidam et elegantem: quin vero propius est, genus fuisse vestis, quod villos haberet: quod genus sunt laneæ non attonsæ. At subucula jam villis attritis parum congruit cum tunica pexa. Neque Hieronymus pexam tunicam et nigram subuculam opposuit novæ et eleganti, sed lineis, sericis, ac candidis, quæ tum in deliciis erant: adeo ut ætate Plinii a barbaris importata, non satis digna viris Romanis haberentur: et notati sunt Imperatores aliquot, quod holosericis uterentur. Id ita esse, ipsa Hieronymi verba declarant: *Tunc pexa tunica et nigra subucula vestiebaris, sordidatus et pallidus, et callosam opere gestitans manum: nunc lineis et sericis vestibus, et Atrebatum ac Laodiceæ indumentis ornatus incedis.* Proinde pexa vestis, sive nova sit, sive vetus, sive vilis, sive pretiosa, certe lanea est. At serica lineaque lanea non sunt, et candore potissimum commendantur. Et quamquam nunc linearum vestium usus vilis sit ac plebeius, tamen is olim nobilium erat; et honoris causa primum datus est Sacerdotibus, ac proinde nulli Monachorum concessus, nisi inter obeunda sacra. Jam illa quæ notavit alius quidam in ⁱ Psalmo primo pro מִן, vertendum fuisse *acum* aut *stipulam*, non *pulverem*; et in ^k Hieremia pro לִמְקוֹנֹת non *lamentatrices*, sed *præficas*; prorsus indigna duco quæ refellantur, tantum abest ut existimem non posse defendi. Atque ad hæc ipsa diluenda, vix eloqui possim, quam invitus descenderim. Poteram illud e trivio respondere, ab aquila non cerni muscas: verum paucis ostendere volui, nec in his minutissimis cessasse virum undecunque doctissimum. Illud hætenus offecit Hieronymo, quod ut a plerisque non legitur, ita a paucissimis intelligitur. Alioqui verum esse fateremur illud egregii pictoris elogium, *μιμήσειαί τις θεῶν ἢ μιμήσειαί.* At posthac quando per universum orbem Christianum revixerunt bonæ literæ, et non pauca bonæ spei ingenia ad veterem illam ac germanam Theologiam expergisci cœperunt, Hieronymum veluti renatum communibus studiis complectamur omnes: hunc singuli sibi ceu peculiarem vindicent. Olim Homerum septem urbes sibi certatim asserebant. At Hieronymum vicinitatis jure rapiat hinc Dalmatia, hinc Pannonia, hinc Italia. Stridon sibi gratuletur, quæ tam eximium orbi lumen produxerit. Triplici nomine sibi gratuletur Italia, primum quod erudierit, deinde quod per baptismum genuerit Christo, postremo quod sanctissimi corpusculi pignus apud se servet. Hunc ut suum agnoscant Galliæ, quas omnes sic peragravit, quasque tot libris nominatim dedicatis instituit. Hunc sibi vindicent Hispani, quos aliquot epistolis ad illos scriptis illustravit. Hunc exosculetur Germania, quam unico licet volumine satis et docuit et nobilitavit. Hunc gemino nomine complectatur Græcia; primum ob linguæ commercium; deinde quod orbis magistra, hujus viri literis vicissim adjuta sit. Complectatur Ægyptus, quam toties invisit, quæque ex doctissimo nobis reddiderit doctiorem. Amplectantur Arabes et Saraceni,

ⁱ Psalm i. 4. where it means *acus*, *gluma*.

^k Jer. ix. 17.

quos sua vicinitate reddidit claros. Hunc colant Hebræi, quorum sermonem et literas tantis sudoribus pararit. Hunc omnis quidem rapiat Syria, in qua magnam vitæ suæ partem exegit: sed præcipue Bethlehem bis felicissima, et quod in hac Christus natus sit mundo, et quod in eadem Hieronymus natus sit cœlo. Hunc omnis sexus, omnis ætas discat, evolvat, imbibat. Nullum doctrinæ genus est, quod hinc non queat adjuvari; nullum vitæ institutum, quod hujus præceptis non formetur. Soli hæretici Hieronymum horreant et oderint, quos ille solos semper acerrimos hostes habuit.

Nº. LXI.

Extracts from Maittaire's Annales Typographici.

ERASMI de duplici copia verborum ac rerum Commentarii duo, de ratione studii et pueris instituendis Commentariolus; ac de¹ laudibus literariæ societatis, reipublicæ et magistratuum urbis Argentinæ Epistola. Apud Jo. Frobenium, 4to, Basil 1516.

His præmittitur^m sequens Erasmi Epistola.

Erasmus Roterodamus Guilielmo Neseno Nastadiensi suo S. D.

Sive tu isthuc judicio facis, optime Nesene, sive studio quodam amoris erga me tui, certe de Copia Commentariolos, antehac ἔμπροσθεν ἐρασμίου, Erasmo commendas, dum illos sic laudibus vehis, sic ediscis, sic tuis prælegis, ut magis jam tui sint usucapione, quam mei qui genuerim. Eos igitur ita ut volebas, recognovi inter navigandum, ne vel hoc temporis mihi prorsus periret a studiis. Tuæ partes erunt curare, ut Frobenianis formulis majusculis quam emendatissimeⁿ rursus exeant in publicum, quo hac sane placeant, si eruditione parum commendantur Lectori. Bene vale, charissime Nesene. Antuwerpiæ, Nonis Septemb. Anno a Christo nato 1516. II. 292.

Auctarium selectarum aliquot Epistolarum Erasmi ad Eruditos, et horum ad illum: apud Jo. Frobenium, 4to, Basil 1518.

Cum Beati Rhenani ad Michaëlem Humelbergium Ravenspurgensem Jurconsultum Epistola.

— *Natus* sum hic ex Erasmi bibliotheca nuper propitio Mercurio fasciculos aliquot Epistolares, e quibus nonnullas statim Epistolas sublegi, nempe insigniores, quarum illius quædam sunt, quædam doctissimorum hujus ævi virorum illis respondentes. Animavit autem ad hoc me furtum, in primis, quod quemadmodum beatos istos rebus omne genus cumulatifimos quædam etiam sublata fallant, sic Erasmus τοῖς Μισσὼν χειμηλίοις instructissimum non sensurum putabam, etiamsi aliquid sustulisssem: deinde quod hic vir me minus quidem merentem sic amat ex animo, ut etiam in se gravius aliquod admittenti noxam sit facile condonaturus. Vide quam fiduciam amicitia fin-

¹ The Epistle *De laudibus Argentinæ* is not to be found, I think, in the Editions of Leyden or of Basil. I have it not.

^m This Letter is not amongst the Epistles of Erasmus.

ⁿ Prior, ut puto, Editio prodierat Anno 1512. quo data est Erasmi nuncupatoria ad Joannem Coletum Epistola.

cera pariat. — Quid Erasmo vel doctius vel eloquentius? Quid Budæo politius aut excussius, aut Atticum magis? Quid Tunstallo vel candidius, vel tersius, vel modis omnibus absolutius? Ut de aliis interim taceam. Eas Epistolas post Erasmi discessum Frobenio typis excudendas tradidi, &c. Literarium sodalitium hujus urbis recentem, quam ex tanti viri discessu tristitiam contraxit, his legendis aut discutiet, aut certe solabitur, &c. Vale. Basileæ, xi Cal. Sept. A. 1518. II. 318.

Erasmi Epigrammata: apud Jo. Frobenium 4to, Basil 1518.

Huic Editioni præmisit hanc Epistolam.

Joannes Frobenius candido Lectori S. D.

Accepimus jampridem Erasmi Roterodami Compatriis nostri Epigrammata a studiosis summo opere flagitari. Proinde dedimus operam, ut quicquid illius versiculorum aut apud Beatum nostrum Rhenanum esset, aut Brunonem Amerbachium, id omne uno complexi libello typis nostris excuderemus. Quanquam intelligebamus plurimum nos hac in re studiosis, Erasmo vero minimum gratificaturos. Nam magnam horum Epigrammatum partem non in hoc scripsit ut ederentur, sed ut amiculis suis, ut est minime morosus, obsequeretur. Quin ipsi vidimus, cum abhinc sesquiannum apud nos ageret, Evangelica et Apostolica monumenta partim Latine vertens, partim recognoscens, et doctissimas illas in Novum Instrumentum Annotationes, nec non in Divum Hieronymum Scholia scriberet, Deum immortalem! quam laboriosis lucubrationibus, quamque pertinaci studio, quantum sudoris illi cotidie exhauriebatur! Ipsi, inquam, vidimus, non defuisse e magnatibus, qui virum occupatissimum, si quisquam in literis unquam fuit occupatus, interpellare de nugis auderent, aliquod Epigrammation aut Epistolum eblandientes. Sed enim quid ageret vir suavissima morum facilitate præditus? Negaret? Incivile hoc exigentibus videretur. Scriberet? At animus aliis cogitationibus impediatur: nec ab inceptis laboribus quicquam respirare licebat. Nihilo secius scribebat, sed ex tempore et obiter ad Musarum sacra divertens. Quanquam hujus extemporalia plane talia sunt, ut aliorum diu meditatatis anteponi mereantur. Et veniet nunc triobolaris aliquis paedagogulus, qui instar Momi tantum carpendi studio singulis curiosissime exploratis verbulum aliquod reperiet, quod sibi non probetur, ut non Baptistinianicum, aut Faustinum, aut denique, si Diis placet, Marullicum. Hic statim succlamabit, O virum carminis indoctum! Regererem in illum ego, si quem superbe sic ineptientem audirem, O nebulonem! O furciferum! Tune tantum tibi tribuis, ut tanti viri censuram agas? Decem totis mensibus non posses vel unum versiculum scribere, caput scabens, et arrosis ante digitis, quod genus hic multos, ut Horatius inquit, stans pede in uno, minima parte horæ, amanuensi suo dictat. Sed hæc in malignos istos. Candidi vel infeliciora boni consulunt; tantum abest ut quæ docta sunt vellicent. Bene vale. Basileæ, Cal. Martiis 1518.

Hanc Epistolam præcedit Philippi Melanchthonis in Erasmus Opt. Max. Græcum carmen Iambicum dimetrum, scriptum Tubingæ, A. 1516. II. 321.

Aldi Pii Manutii Instit. Gramm. &c. Erasmi libellus de octo partium orationis constructione: per hæredes Philippi Juntæ. 4to, Florent. 1519.

Conjicio

Conjicio hunc libellum prodiisse primo αἰώνιον, Anno 1513. deinde cum idem Erasmo plerumque vindicaretur, recusum fuisse Anno 1515. cum Epistola, qua Erasmus interminatus est, ne nomen suum ascribatur. Postea tamen et Anno 1519. et sæpius deinceps eundem sub Erasmi nomine vulgatum constat. II. 340.

Nº. LXII.

° *Julius Exclusus, Dialogus, Pasquillo Romano Autore.*

I HAVE spoken of this Dialogue, in the Life of Erasmus, p. 92. I do not wonder that many have^p ascribed it to him; for it is very elegant and ingenious, and very much in his manner and style. At least, I know of no person in his days, besides himself, who can be supposed to have been both able and willing to write it. It is printed amongst the Pasquills:

Pasquillorum Tomi duo. Eleutheropoli, MDXLIV.

“ This scarce collection (as my friend Dr. Maty observes) was published, as it is said, at Basil, from the press of J. Oporinus, by Cœlius Secundus Curio. It consists of satyrical poems, and libels in prose, against the Popes and the Court of Rome. Many of them made their first appearance in Italy; and some were written by Ulric Hutten, a defender of Luther, and a violent enemy to the Papal cause. The most^q considerable of these Tracts, is *Julius Exclusus*, ascribed by several persons to Erasmus. It is no wonder that this book of Pasquills was sought after, and almost entirely destroyed. At least, so thought Daniel Heinsius, who being at Venice, purchased a copy at a great expence; and, in the first leaf of this book, which afterward went into the Hohendorffian Library, wrote these lines, as it is reported:

Roma meos fratres igni dedit; unica Phœnix

Vivo, aureisque veneo centum Heinsio.

But this learned man was mistaken in his *Phœnix*; for there are several copies up and down in various public Libraries, and it is not uncommon to meet with them in auctions in Germany, although they always sell at a great price. See more concerning this book in *Salengre Mem. de Lit. tom. II. p. 203. -- 232. Vogt Cat. Libr. rar. Hamb. 1738.* and particularly *Clement's Bibl.* under the name *Curio*.”

Burchard supposes that Hutten was the author of this Dialogue, *Vit. Hutten. tom. II. p. 302.* But surely he is mistaken. Hutten could not write so well: It is a work beyond his abilities, both for style and vivacity. It hath also been ascribed to Faustus Andrelinus, who was still less capable of writing it, than Hutten.

° Concerning Julius II. see Father Paul, Book i. Sect. 3. and the notes of Courayer.

^p Leo Judæ charged him with being the author of it. See Life of Erasmi. p. 406.

^q It is indeed the only good one.

Erasmus says to Campegius :

— *Dialogi* cujusdam suspicionem mihi moliuntur impingere. Is, ut ex argumento satis constat, scriptus est in odium ^r Divi Julii Pontificis Maximi, schismatis tempore, sed a quo incertum. Ante quinque annos degustavi verius quam legi. Post reperi in Germania apud quosdam descriptum, sed variis titulis. Quidam testabantur Hispani cujuspiam esse, sed suppresso nomine; rursus alii Fausto poetæ tribuebant, alii Hieronymo Balbo. Ego quid de his conjectem non habeo, subodoratus sum quoad licuit, verum nondum pervestigavi, quod animo meo faceret satis. Ineptiit quisquis scripsit, at majore supplicio dignus, quisquis evulgavit. Ac miror esse qui solo styli argumento mihi obtrudere parent, quum nec mea sit phrasis, nisi prorsus ipse mihi sum ignotus, nec mirum sit futurum, etiamsi qui in oratione non nihil referrent Erasmicum, quum verfer in manibus omnium, et referimus fere, in quorum assidua lectione versamur. Neque desunt hic qui jactitent tuam quoque Celsitudinem propemodum in eam suspicionem adductam esse — Interim obsecro pietatem tuam ut hoc sibi persuadeat, Erasmus hujusmodi libellos ab aliis conscriptos, et edendos suppressisse, tantum abest, ut hujusmodi quiddam vel ipse ^s ediderit, vel editurus sit unquam. — Ep. 416. c. 437.

A certain Monk wrote a letter to More against Erasmus, in which he accused Erasmus, amongst other things of being the Author of this Dialogue; and More replies in such a manner ^r as neither to affirm nor to deny that Erasmus might have had some hand in composing it. But he denies that he was the publisher of it.

Quod vero spectat Libellum in Julium Pontificem scriptum, is Dialogus recusus est Oxoniæ ^v 1669; cui præfixum est Colloquium exploratorium Dialogistæ, quem magnum ille fuisse Erasmus conjecturis longe luculentissimis efficitur. Expendat Lector, Authorine Colloquii, an Erasmo ipsi velit credere. *Maittaire*, II. 369, 370.

It was translated into German.

Gregorius Curæus, cum odisset fraudes et idola Pontificia, et delectaretur erudito sale, venissetque in manus ejus Dialogus, qui nominatur *Julius*, cujus auctor putatur Erasmus, aliquot horas diei versioni ejus in linguam Germanicam tribuit, &c. *Melch. Adam*, Vit. Joachimi Curæi.

As to the style of this Dialogue, it is elegant, and it abounds with imitations of Terence, an author, whom Erasmus, as it is said, had much studied, and, in his younger days, could repeat by heart.

Dorpius, in a letter to Erasmus, Anno 1518. tells him that it was very much read, and very well liked: *Libellum de Julio cælis excluso passim legunt omnes, et, baud scio quo pacto, pauci damnant: etsi tu quidem justa in auctorem ratione stomacheris, qui literas facit esse, si unquam alias, hac maxime tempestate in- visas.* Epist. 323.

^r With what face could Erasmus call him *Divus*? but he was writing to a Cardinal.

^s Observe that Erasmus doth not say *scripsit*, but only *ediderit*.

^t See below, Appendix N°. LXIII. 12. somewhat beyond the middle of the Epistle.

^v It was printed again at Oxford, in 1680,

Erasmus says to More: *Dialogus ille Julii et Petri, ut intelligo, jam τῷ Καὶ κελλερίῳ μεγάλῳ in manibus est, et unice placet.* Ep. 208. Anno 1516.

Petrus Ægidius says to Erasmus: *Dialogus nescio cujus auctoris, prorsus tamen eruditi, de Julio hic passim venditur: hunc nemo non emit, nemo non habet in ore; hunc te vidisse maxime vellem, quanquam non dubium quin istic quoque venundetur.* Ep. 436. Anno 1519.

“Erasmus was greatly suspected of having written the Dialogue against Julius.” He disculpated himself, before men; but I hold him to be the Author, before God. This Dialogue appeared as early as the year 1517. as it may be proved by a * Letter of Erasmus, which is inserted amongst *Lamentationes obscurorum virorum*. It is written from Antwerp, Aug. 14. 1517. and I am much mistaken if, when the Dialogue first appeared, Luther had made himself remarkable.” *Ducatiana*, I. p. 11.

THOUGH of all the trades which are taken up by men of letters, that of publishing anonymous Libels and Satires against the *Living*, be usually one of the most disingenuous and despicable; yet as to his Holiness Pope Julius, who went above two hundred years ago * εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ἰδίον, there needs no apology, I think, for republishing an elegant composition, which did not come forth till after his death, and in which he is handled according to his deserts; for History bestows nearly the same character upon him.

Extracts from the Colloquy prefixed to the Oxford Edition of Julius.

CRITOBULUS. BIBLIOPOLA.

BIBL. **Q**UO tempore, qua occasione, quo denique ab Auctore conscriptum existimas Dialogum? CRIT. En tibi ex Erasmi Epistola quæsitis duobus primis responsum. *Is dialogus, ait Erasmus, ut ex argumento satis constat, scriptus est odio Divi Julii Pont. Max. schismatis tempore: schismatis illius, ut Julio vivo orti, ita et mortuo aliquamdiu manentis; ut utrumque satis liquido ex Dialogo patet. Vivo adhuc an mortuo demum Julio scriptus sit, nihil habemus satis explorati. Quidam, inquit Erasmus, testabantur, Hispani cujuspiam esse, sed suppresso nomine; rursus alii Fausto poetæ tribuebant, alii Hieronymo Balbo.* BIBL. Harum vero quænam tibi arridet sententia? CRIT. Nulla hercle omnium mihi placet: nec Erasmo etiam referenti placuisse ullam credo, licet alios ita credidisse illi tunc temporis perplacuisse forsitan maxime. --- Mihi sane Erasmus ipse pro indubitato habetur auctore. Nec paucis nitor nec levibus conjecturis. Principio Dialogorum Ἀρχιτέκτων, quem superius hoc nostro novit seculum, pene solus, longe maximus, erat Erasmus. Deinde hujus Dialogi auctorem, nec Pontificiorum totum, nec totum Protestantium partibus addictum, sed Semi-Papistam fuisse, luculenter satis ex Dialogo patescit. Talis vero erat Erasmus. Rursus acriter admodum, oblique licet, in Monachos, tam Franciscanos quam Benedictinos, invehitur Dialogista. --- Nec in Monachos solum, ut par erat, sæpe liberius, sed et in Monarchas, quam par erat, licentius

* This Letter I would have inserted, if I could have found it.

† Ep. 416. c. 437.

• Acts I. 25.

femel locutus, nempe prioris editionis pag. 14. (tua enim prudens dispunxit) Etiam inde satis se prodit^z Auctor, vel libera jamjam oriundum Republica, vel sub id saltem tempus in libertatem se asserendi, armisque etiam vindicandi, ansam sedulo meditante. Porro Dialogi scribendi occasionem ipse qui optime omnium novit, asserit, in Julium fuisse auctoris odium. Eorum autem omnium, qui Papæ nuncium plane non remiserant, cedo, si potes, quempiam adeo exacerbati odio in Julium animi, ac ipse erat Erasmus.

In^a Epistola ad Bussidianum, ait: *In præsentia quidem, in Italia mire frigent studia, fervent bella; Summus Pontifex Julius belligeratur, vincit, triumphat, planeque Julium agit.* Præter dictærum satis aculeatum in vivum etiam Julii caput vibratum, data est Epistola Bononiæ, 15 Cal. Dec. Anno 1506. eo loci, et sub id tempus, quibus splendidissimus agebatur a Julio triumphus, tantopere ab eo in Dialogo decantatus: ex quo autem spectato, Erasmus, ni fallor, incessit Dialogi scribendi impetus, quem vero non ita multo post revera scriptum auguror; in istam enim partem voti propendet, si non et judicii pondus, Julio adhuc vivo fuisse conscriptum. Et in Epistola ad Campegium, data, Anno 1519. Cal Maias: *Ante* (non quam multo ante) *quinque annos* subdolus dicit Erasmus se *degustasse potius quam legisse.* Nempe suum ipsi Dialogum nihil erat legendi opus. Sin suus reipsa non fuisset (sic notum est scilicet Erasmi ingenium) cum semel degustasset, ausim dicere, sibi ab eo iterum atque iterum legendo (plusquam egomet mihi) se neutiquam temperare potuisse, utpote eorum nulli, quos pro suis agnovit, ullatenus concessero. Ad Bussidianum autem, illud haud leviter animadvertendum velim, *Belligeratur Julius: belligeratur*, forma^b deponenti, pro *belligeratur*: qua et usus est Dialogista. Hæc vero verbi illius forma, Erasmo ut peculiaris, ita et perquam familiaris, nulli, cujus memini, aut Classicorum veterum, aut etiam^c Recentiorum purioris, cum Erasmo, Latinitatis magistrorum, ullo est in usu. Nec inusitata aliis unius solum verbi forma; tota ad verbum pene eadem sententia, in re prorsus eadem, Erasmo cum Dialogista plane est communis: *Quo major, modo malus etiam, eo perniciosior.* Hanc Dialogistæ sententiam cum Erasmania illa, Julium etiam oblique vellicante, collatam cupio, ^d Epist. ad Leonem: *Quo major est potestas, hoc perniciosior, si inciderit in hominem vel stultum, vel malum.* Adeone vero aut verborum indigus, aut inops sententiarum (utroque, si quis alius, genere locupletissimus) censendus est Erasmus, ut ad obscuri nescio cujus Dialogistæ ostium emendicando quæreretur? BIBL. Imo illam Dialogistæ sententiam censendum est potius ab Erasmo mutuo acceptam. CRIT. Nequaquam; neque hoc patitur calculus ex ipso Erasmo supputandus. Data est enim hæc ad Leo-

^z It appears from many passages in his works, that Erasmus hated arbitrary government, and had republican principles.

^a It is to be found in tom. i. c. 311.

^b The Dictionaries, I think, give us no authority for the deponent verb *belligeror*, except that of Hyginus, who is a bad writer.

^c I remember to have seen it in one of Melanchthon's Epistles. We have it in Erasmus, above, p. 365. l. 23. p. 441. l. 22. But he also sometimes makes use of *belligero*.

^d Ep. 174. c. 149.

nem, Ep. Anno 1515. aliquot saltem annis, posteaquam scriptus est Dialogus. Si Dialogista non sit Erasmus, Erasmus, non Dialogista, plagii reus sit oportet. Vide Erasmus Leoni simul adblandientem, Juliumque eadem opera fugillantem: vide et Dialogistam Julium pariter insectantem.

ERASMUS.

Alii laudibus vehant bella a Julio secundo vel excitata gnaviter, vel gesta feliciter; victorias armis partas recenseant; triumphos regaliter actos celebrent. — Ut maximum declararit Julium totus pene orbis in bella excitatus. — Nunc tuam bonitatem magis sentimus, cum nobis expressius Christi refers imaginem, cujus haud dubie vicem geris, posteaquam ad summam bonitatem, summamque sapientiam,* par accessit potentia. — Nihil potest accidere pestilentius, quam si pravitas ac stultitia summi magistratus armetur auctoritate.

DIALOGISTA.

Gloriaris te plurimum potuisse ad discindenda foedera, ad inflammanda bella, ad strages hominum excitandas. — At fieri potest, ut bellorum incendium per te excitatum universum denique mundum corripiat. — Qui orbem universum ad teterrima bella concitarit. — Qui Christi vicarium se facit, eum oportet ad illius exemplar quam proxime accedere. Est in illo summa potestas, sed cum summa bonitate conjuncta; est summa sapientia, sed simplicissima. — In te potestatis imaginem video, cum summa malitia summaque stultitia copulatam. Quod si malorum princeps Diabolus vicarium sibi cupiat subrogare, quem potius asciscat, quam tui similem?

BIBL. Concentum agnosco. CRIT. Repete nunc, ad Bussidianum, illum praegnantem *νεῖσις* locum: *Julius belligeratur, vincit, triumphat, planeque Julium agit.* Jam Dialogum vide: *Ubi jam res in eum propemodum locum deductae sunt, in quem volebam, supererat, ut vere Julium agerem.* Nec haec transeunda sunt: *Si Judaeus ille medicus, ait Julius in Dialogo, qui diu mihi vitam arte sua prorogarat, amplius proferre potuisset.* Erasmi scilicet odium in Julium, etiam in Julii medicum redundavit, de quo in ^e Epist. ad Ammonium ait: *Cui succenseam nisi Verpo illi τὸ Ἀρχιτέκτων ἰατρῶν; qui quidem aut parum artifex est, aut prorsus effatae sunt Anticyrae.* Vox scilicet artem medico, quia Julio vitam arte medica, prorogatam, invidentis. Adjicit Erasmus, ad Ammonium: *Sed ipsa Fata viam inveniant.* Conferantur et haec cum Dialogista: *Deturbaturus et Hispanos, nam illuc ibam, nisi me Fata terris eripuissent.* — Bella Christianis, saltem in se invicem, neutiquam licere sensit Erasmus. Eadem sentit Dialogista. Quin istis quid immoramur? Inventio, judicium, sermonum elegantia, rationum argutia, diverbium, sarcasmus, lepos, filum orationis, et textura, omnia palam Erasmianna sunt. Nec modo Luc. Osiander Epit. Hist. Eccl. Cent. 16. pag. 17. asserit multos eruditos viros ex stylo judicasse Erasmus fuisse hujus Dialogi auctorem; sed et Leo Judae Dialogum Erasmo auctori tribuit, imo ut sedi-

* Ep. 138. c. 119.

ditiosum exprobrat. Nec quicquam tamen huic Judæ criminationi responsum est ab Erasmo; metiente scilicet illo, ne qui seditiosum exprobravit, probaret et suum, BIBL. Annon Erasmus ipse Dialogi parentem se negat? CRIT. Prima quidem facie in ^f Epist. ad Campegius, ^g alteraque ad Morum, speciem præ se fert negantis, sed negantis frigide. Nosti autem, quod in veteri est proverbio, Qui frigide negat, consentire videtur. In Epistola ad Bombasium ait: *Non dubitem omnes diras imprecari capiti meo, si in omnibus quæ Lutbero tribuuntur, ulla syllaba mea est.* Et paulo post: *Aleander indicavit mihi tribui duos libellos, &c. Emoriar, si unquam mihi fuerat auditus titulus, antequam ille protulisset.* Viden' ut non directe solum, sed et fervide negare potuit Erasmus, ubi potuit et vere: Julium esse suum nec fervide, nec directe quidem negare voluit, quia non nisi falso potuit. — Veracior erat Erasmus, quam ut negaret; prudentior, quam ut agnosceret; præsertim rigidis duobus Papistis, Campegio atque Moro. BIBL. Quid vero tot fictis auctoribus (si modo fictos omnes norat) tributum diceret Dialogum? CRIT. Nimirum, ut in tanta fictorum turba, verus ipsemet auctor securius delitesceret. — In coronide Dialogi, animi dubius hærens Erasmus, cælo solummodo exclusum, nec Tartaro adhuc, necdum Purgatorio concludendum misit, sed inter utrumque hac illac errabundum (ut cælum inter orcumque Erasmus ipsum Papicolæ depingunt pendulum) abrupte satis dimisit Julium.

“*Thomas Gilbert, a Nonconformist Preacher, wrote a large Preface Dialogue-ways, before Julius Secundus, a Dialogue; wherein he proves that piece to have been written by Erasmus. It was printed at Oxon. 1669. in 12mo, and there again in 1680. in 8vo.*” Wood, vol. II. c. 916.

^h JULIUS EXCLUSUS,
DIALOGUS, Pasquillo Romano autore.

Interlocutores,

JULIUS II. GENIUS. PETRUS.

JULIUS II. Pont. Max. Quid hoc mali est? Non aperiuntur fores? Opinor aut mutatam, aut certe turbatam seram. GEN. Quin potius vide, ne tu non attuleris clavem, quam oportet. Neque enim eadem aperitur hoc ostium, qua arca numaria: atque adeo cur non utramque huc attulisti? nam ista quidem potentiae clavis est, non scientiæ. JUL. Imo mihi præter hanc nulla unquam fuit: neque video quid opus sit illa, quum hæc adsit. GEN. Nec ego sane: at nisi quod interim excludimur. JUL. Effer-

^f Ep. 416. c. 437.

^g Ep. 17. c. 1534.

^h Transcribed by me, from an Edition of the *Pasquilli*, which is in the *Museum Britannicum*.

vescit mihi bilis; pulsabo fores. Heus, heus, aperite hoc actutum aliquis ostium. Quid hoc rei est? Nemon' prodit? Quid ita cessat Janitor? Stertit, opinor, adprobe potus. GEN. Ut hic ex se metitur omnes! PET. Bene habet, quod portam habemus adamantinam, alioquin fores hic quisquis est, perfregisset. Gigantem aliquem aut Satrapam, urbium everforem oportet adesse. Sed, O Deum immortalem! quam hic cloacam olfacio? Non statim aperiam ostium, sed hic e fenestella cancellata prospectans, quid portenti sit cognoscam. Quis es, aut quid tibi vis? JUL. Quin tu fores aperis, quantum potes: ⁱ qui si tuo fungi voluisses officio, obviam oportuit venisse vel universa cœlitum pompa. PET. Satis imperiose. At tu mihi prius exponito, quisnam sis. JUL. Quasi vero ipse non videas. PET. Videas? Ego vero novum et hactenus non visum spectaculum video, ne dicam monstrum. JUL. At ni plane cæcus es, agnoscis, opinor, clavem hanc, si quercum auream ignoras. Et vides triplicem coronam, nec non undique gemmis et auro lucentem pallam. PET. Equidem argenteam clavem utcunque agnosco, licet et solam, et multo dissimilem iis, quas olim mihi verus ille pastor Ecclesiæ ^k mihi tradidit Christus. Porro coronam istam tam superbam quæ, quælo, possim agnoscere? quam nec barbarus unquam tyrannus ausus est gestare, nedum is qui huc admitti postulet. Nam palla quidem ista nihil me movet, qui gemmas et aurum perinde ut rudera semper calcarim atque contemserim. Sed quid est hoc? Video passim et in clavi, et in corona, et in palla notas sceleratissimi cauponis, et impostoris, mei quidem prænominis, sed non instituti, Simonis, quem ego quondam Christi præsidio dejeci. JUL. Mitte nugas istas, si sapis: nam ego, si nescis, sum Julius ille Ligur, et agnoscis, ni fallor, duas literas, P. M. nisi omnino literas nullas didicisti. PET. Significare, opinor, *Pestem Maximam*. GEN. Ha, ha, ha, ut hic divinator rem acu tetigit! JUL. Imo *Pontificem Maximum*. PET. Ut ter maximus sis, ac magis etiam quam Mercurius ille ^l trimegistus, huc non recipieris, nisi fueris Optimus, hoc est, Sanctus. JUL. Atque adeo si quid ad rem pertinet appellari sanctum, nimium impudens es, qui mihi cunctis aperire fores: cum tu tot jam seculis tantummodo sanctus dicaris, me nullus unquam vocarit nisi sanctissimum. Exstant sex millia bullarum. GEN. Vere bullarum. JUL. In quibus non semel sanctissimus Dominus nominor, imo jam sanctitatis nomine denotabar, non sancti: ut quicquid mihi libuisset. GEN. Etiam temulento. JUL. Id sanctitatem sanctissimi Domini Julii dicerent fecisse. PET. Quin tu igitur ab istis adulatoribus cœlum postulato, qui te sanctissimum fecerunt: et iidem tribuant felicitatem, qui dederunt sanctitatem. Quanquam usque adeo nihil interesse censes, dicaris sanctus an sis? JUL. Irritor. Si vincere modo licuisset, ego tibi istam nec sanctitatem inviderem, nec felicitatem. PET. O vocem sanctissimæ mentis indicem! quanquam et alioquin ego te jamdudum oculis totum collustrans, ^{*} multa impietatis, nullam in te sanctimonix notam animadverto. Quid enim sibi vult novus iste comitatus, tam non Pontificius? Nam viginti ferme millia tecum adducis: nec ullum in tanta conspicio tur-

ⁱ quem would be more regular.^{*} Perhaps *multum*, or *multas*.^k This *mihi* is superfluous.^l Trismegistus.

ba, cui vel vultus sit Christianus. Video teterrimam hominum colluviem, nihil præter fornices, temetum, ac pulverem bombardicum olentium. Latrones conductitii mihi videntur, vel larvæ potius Tartaræ, huc ab inferis^m eruisse, ut cœlo bella moveant. Jam teipsum quo magis ac magis contemplor, hoc minus ullum video Apostolici viri vestigium. Principio quid hoc monstri est, quod cum superne sacerdotis ornatum geras, idem intus armis cruentatis totus horres, crepasque? Ad hæc, quam truces oculi, quam contumax os, quam minax frons, quam elatum et arrogans supercilium? Nam pudet dicere, ac piget interim videre, nullam corporis partem non conspurcatam notis prodigiosæ ac abominandæ libidinis. Ut ne dicam, quod etiamnum totus et ructas et oles crapulam ac temetum; ac mihi quidem modo vomuisse videris. Utique is est totius corporis habitus, ut non tam ætate morbisve, quam crapula victus, marcidus, ac fractus videaris. GEN. Ut graphice hunc suis depinxit coloribus! PET. Tametsi video te jamdudum mihi supercilio minantem, tamen haud queo reticere quod sentio. Suspicio pestilentissimum illum^a Julium Ethnicum ab inferis rediisse personatum, ut me videat: adeo tibi cum illo conveniunt omnia. JUL. Ma defi. PET. Quid dixit? GEN. Iratus est. Ad hanc vocem nemo Cardinalium non fugitabat, alioqui fustem illum sanctissimi sensurus, præsertim a convivio. PET. Tu mihi videre probe callere sensum hominis: proinde dic mihi, quis es. GEN. Ego sum magnus ille Julii Genius. PET. Imo, malus, opinor. GEN. Qualiscunque sum, Julianus sum. JUL. Quin tu nugas istas missas facis, ac fores aperis? nisi mavis effringi. Quid multis opus est? vides cujusmodi ducam comites? PET. Sane video latrones exercitatissimos. Verum, ne sis inscius, hæc fores tibi sunt aliis armis expugnandæ. JUL. Verborum, inquam, jam satis. Ni propere pares, excommunicationis fulmen vel in te torquebo, quo summos aliquando reges, atque adeo regna terrui. Bullam vides jam in hæc paratam? PET. Quod, malum, fulmen, quod tonitru, quas bullas, quas ampullas mihi narras, obsecro? Nam istorum nihil unquam audivimus a Christo. JUL. At senties, nisi pares. PET. Si quos olim istis fumis territasti, nihil ad hunc locum: hic veris agas oportet; benefactis non malefactis hæc arx expugnatur. Sed quæso te, tu mihi fulmen excommunicationis minitaris? Dic quo jure? JUL. Optimo, quando jam privatus es, nec aliud quam quilibet privatus sacerdos, imo ne sacerdos quidem, et consecrandi impotens. PET. Nempe quia mortuus, opinor? JUL. Videlicet. PET. At ista quidem ratione, nihilo mihi præstas^o plus quam mortuus. JUL. Imo quamdiu Cardinales de novo Pontifice subrogando litigant, mea est administratio. GEN. Ut adhuc vitæ somnia somniat! JUL. Sed jam aperi, inquam. PET. Ni merita narras, inquam, nihil agis. JUL. Quæ merita? PET. Dicam. Excelluisti doctrina sacra?

^m Read *erupisse*.

^a Julius II. more than once, took to himself the name of *Julius Cæsar*, intimating, that he pretended to be both Emperor and Pope. The Emperor Maximilian, to be even with him, took the title of *Pontifex Maximus*. Ducatiana, I. p. 7.

^o I would distinguish — *præstas, plus quam mortuus* i. e. *tu qui mortuus es, et plus quam mortuus, nempe, damnatus.*

JUL.

JUL. Minime : nec hoc vacabat tot occupato bellis : verum abunde satis est fratrum, si quid hoc ad rem pertinet. PET. Ergo vitæ sanctimonia multos Christo lucrificisti ? GEN. Tartaro quam plurimos. PET. Claruisti miraculis ? JUL. Obsoleta loqueris. PET. Pure orasti et assidue ? JUL. Quas nugas hic gannit ! PET. Jejunii quoque vigiliisque corpus emacerasti ? GEN. Desine, quæso, frustra hæc apud hunc, ne ludas operam. PET. Ego alias egregii Pontificis dotes non novi : si is habet magis Apostolicas, narret ipse. JUL. Quanquam indigna res est, Julium illum omnibus antehac invictum, nunc Petro cedere, ne quid aliud dicam, piscatori, ac pene mendico, tamen uti cognoscas cujusmodi contemnas Principem, audi jam paucis. Principio Ligur sum, non, ut tu, Judæus, cum quo mihi vel hoc tecum esse commune doleo, quod ^p janiculator aliquando fuerim. GEN. Nihil est quod graviter feras. Nam hic quoque ^q permultum interest, quod hic victus parandi gratia piscabatur, tu ad stipem exiguam ^r scalmum remis subigebas. JUL. Deinde Sixti Pontificis vere maximi. GEN. De vitiis sentit. JUL. E sorore nepos. Hujus singulari favore, meaque industria, primum ad ecclesiasticas opes, deinde per gradus ad Cardinalitii galeri fastigium sum evectus. Post multis fortunæ procellis exercitus, ac durissimis casibus sursum jactatus ac deorsum, ac præter alios morbos, comitali quoque obnoxius : denique scabie quoque, quam Gallicam vocant, totus opertus, ad hæc exsul, invisus, damnatus, omnibus abjectus ac pene deploratus, tamen ipse de summo Pontificio spem nunquam abjeci : ea erat animi fortitudo ; quum tu mulierculæ voce territus, statim cesseris. Tibi mulier animum ademerat : mihi mulier quædam fatidica, sive sortilega, fiduciam hanc addiderat ; quæ quondam tot merso malis, clam insusurravit in aurem : Perdura, ^s Juliane, nihil te pigeat vel facere vel pati : olim triplici corona decoraberis : eris Rex Regum, et Dominus Dominantium. Neque vero me fefellit vel mea spes, vel illius vaticinium. Huc quoque præter omnium spem sum eluctatus, partim ope Gallorum, qui rejectum foverunt, partim inæstimabili vi pecuniarum, non absque multo conflata scœnore ; neque id absque ingenio tamen. PET. Quod ingenium narras ? JUL. Hoc est, non absque promissis ex pacto sacerdotiis, atque in hoc repertis ex arte fidejussoribus, quandoquidem tam ingentem pecuniam vix Crassus ipse præsentem totam numerasset. Verum hoc frustra tibi narro, quum me omnes intelligant mensarii. Habes quomodo pervenerim. Jam in Pontificatu ita me gessi, ut nemo sit, non dicam priscorum illorum Pontificum, qui solo titulo mihi videntur fuisse Pontifices, sed nec recentiorum, cui tantum Ecclesia, tantum Christus ipse debeat, quantum mihi. GEN. Ut Thrasonem

^p It should be *naviculator*. The Oxford Editor, I find, hath given it thus.

^q *permultum*, ironically.

^r *A remo ad tribunal*. Dicitur solitum, ubi quis repente ab infima conditione provehitur ad honesti muneris administrationem. Id quod haud scio an ulli contigerit felicius quam Julio secundo. Nam fama est hunc juvenem *ad stipem scalmum remo subigere solitum*, et tamen a remulco non solum ad tribunal, verum etiam ad summum illud rerum humanarum culmen evectus est. Nec contentus hoc fastigio, Pontificiæ ditionis pomœria multum protulit : longius etiam producturus, si per mortis inclementiam vitam illi producere licuisset. *Erasmus, Adag. c. 823.*

^s His name was *Julian de la Ruvere*.

agit bellua! PET. Exspecto quorsum evadas. JUL. Nam multis officiis (sic enim vocant) novis repertis, non mediocriter auxi fiscum Pontificium. Tum rationem inveni, ut citra Simoniae vitium Episcopatus emerentur. Nimirum constitutum est a majoribus meis, ut cui contigerit Episcopatus, is deponat officium. Id ita sum interpretatus, ^t Deponere juberis; at non deponitur quod non habes: emendum igitur quod deponas. Hac arte singuli episcopatus sena statim aut septena ducatorum milia adferebant: præter illa quæ ex more pro bullis extorquentur. Tum ex nova moneta, qua totam explevi Italiam, non exiguum emolumentum conflavi: nec ulla cessavi parte in accumulandis pecuniis, nimirum intelligens absque his nihil recte geri, neque sacrum, neque profanum. Et, ut ad majora veniam, Bononiam a Bentivolis occupatam Romanæ sedi restitui. Venetos ante invictos omnibus Marte contudi. Ferrariæ Ducem diu male vexatum bello propemodum in nassam illexeram. Conciliabulum schismaticum, simulato contra Concilio, feliciter elusi, et clavum, quod dici solet, clavo pepuli. Postremo Gallos, tunc orbi formidabiles universo, ex universa Italia deturbavi: deturbaturus et Hispanos, nam huc ibam, nisi me fata terris eripuissent. Atque hic quoque quam invictum præstiterim animum, vide. Gallis superioribus, latebras circumspectare cœpi. Canam alebam barbam, rebus propemodum in desperationem adductis, cum repente nuncius affertur aureus, apud Ravennam aliquot Gallorum milia trucidata: ibi revixit Julius. Ad hæc per triduum ferme pro mortuo habebam, etiam mihi: atque hic quoque rursus, præter omnium, atque adeo meam etiam spem revixi. Tantum igitur valet mea vel auctoritas vel astutia, ut hodie nemo sit regum Christianorum, quem non ad arma concitaverim, ruptis, discissis, discussis fœderibus omnibus, quibus inter se fuerunt exactissime conciliati. Proximo quoque fœdere (quod Cameraci inter me et Gallorum et Rom. regem, aliosque coierat Principes) ita abolito, ut ejus ne mentio quidem unquam sit facta. Super hæc omnia, quum tantum aluerim exercitum, tot splendidissimos triumphos adornarim, tot exhibuerim ludos, tot locis ædificaverim, tamen moriens reliqui quinquagies centena milia ducatorum: majora gesturus, si Judæus ille medicus, qui diu mihi vitam arte sua prorogarat, amplius proferre potuisset. Atque utinam nunc quoque magus aliquis me in vitam restituat, quo egregiis cœptis meis colophonem liceat imponere: tametsi moriens sedulo id curavi, ne bella per me toto orbe concitata componerentur: dedique operam, ut pecuniæ in eum duntaxat usum essent incolumes. Hæc erat suprema vox animam exhalantis. ^v Nunc et sic de Christo, de Ecclesia merito Pontifici gravare Christi fores aperire? Atque hæc magis admirabitur, qui perpenderit me hæc sola animi virtute perpetrasse, nullis aliis adjutum adminiculis, quibus alii fere solent. Non natalibus, quum ne ipse patrem norim: quod quidem ad gloriam meam dixerim: non forma, quum larvalem faciem omnes exhorruerint; non literis, quas nunquam attigi; non corporis viribus, quod mihi tale ^x contingit, quale superius descripsi; non ætatis favore, se-

^t Quasi vero lex Pontificia dum jubet deponere officium, cui contigit episcopatus, illud senserit, cuicumque contigerit episcopatus Romæ, ei, si non habeat, parandum esse officium quod possit deponere. *Erasmus, Epist. 516.*

^v Perhaps, *I nunc*; though as it stands, it is sense.

^x Perhaps *contigit*.

nex hæc gessi ; non popularitate, nam nemo non oderat ; non clementia, qui adeo fuerim inexorabilis, ut in eos quoque sævierim, quibus alii solent omnia permittere. PET. Quid hoc rei est? GEN. Hoc tametsi durum videtur, molle quiddam est. JUL. Sed reluctante fortuna, ætate, corpore, breviter diis atque hominibus, solo tamen animo fretus meo, et pecuniis, hæc tanta paucis annis gessi, tanta relicta materia posteris, ut sit quod agant vel in decimum annum. Hæc de me ipso verissime quidem, sed modestissime dixi : quæ si quis eorum, qui Romæ solent apud me dicere, suis phaleris exornasset, Deum audires, non hominem. PET. Inviçtissime bellator, quoniam mihi nova et inaudita sunt omnia quæ narras, quæso veniam hanc meo des vel stupori vel imperitiæ, ne molestum sit crassius de singulis percunctanti respondere. Qui sunt isti candidi comatulique? JUL. Hos quidem animi causa alebam. PET. Qui nigri isti et cicatricosi? JUL. Milites sunt ac duces, qui mea et Ecclesiæ causa fortiter in bello mortem oppetierunt, partim in expugnanda Bononia, complures in prælio adversus Venetos, plerique apud Ravennam : quibus omnibus vel ex pacto debetur cælum. Siquidem jampridem magnis bullis sum pollicitus, recta in cælum evoluturos, quicunque Julii auspiciis pugnarent, etiam quæcunque vita præcessisset. PET. Proinde quantum conjectura consequor, ex istis erant, qui mihi sæpius ante tuum adventum molesti fuerunt, dum huc tantum non vi conarentur irrumperere, plumbeas quasdam bullas ostentantes. JUL. Ergo non admisisti, quantum audio. PET. Egone ? ne unum quidem istius sane generis. Nam ita me docuit Christus, has fores aperiendas non his qui plumbo graves huc adducunt bullas, sed qui nudos vestierunt, esurientes paverunt, sitientibus potum dederunt, captivos inviserunt, peregrinos collegerunt. Etenim si eos quoque voluit excludi, qui in nomine suo prophetarint, qui dæmonia ejecerint, qui signa fecerint, tu censeres admittendos, qui tantummodo huc afferunt bullam, Julii nomine? JUL. ^y Quid si scissem? PET. Intellego : si quis ab inferis reversus, ea tibi nunciasset, bellum indixisses mihi. JUL. Quin et excommunicassem. PET. Sed perge, cur armatus ipse? JUL. Quasi nescias Summo Pontifici utrumque esse gladium, aut nisi velis bellare nudum. PET. Ego sane cum istum tenerem locum, nullum novi gladium, nisi gladium spiritus, quod est verbum Dei. JUL. At non idem prædicat Malchus, cujus auriculam absque gladio amputasti, credo. PET. Memini et agnosco : sed tunc pro magistro Christo pugnabam, non pro me ; pro vita Domini, non pro numis, aut ditione seculari. Et pugnabam nondum Pontifex ; promissis duntaxat clavibus, nondum acceptis ; nondum accepto Spiritu Sancto : et tamen jussus sum recondere, ut palam ^z admoneret hoc pugnae genus non convenire sacerdotibus, imo ne Christianis quidem. Verum hæc alias. Cur tam accurate te Ligurem esse prædicas ? quasi quicquam hoc ad Christi vicarium pertineat, qua gente sit oriundus. JUL. Imo summam existimo pietatem, gentem meam nobilitare : proinde titulum hunc numismatis, statuis, fornicibus, ac parietibus omnibus inscribo. PET. Ergo patriam novit, qui patrem non novit? At ego initio putabam te de cœlesti Hi-

^y Perhaps, *Quod si scissem.*^z Perhaps, *admoneret.*

erusalem credentium patria loqui; deque illius unico principe, cuius optant illi sanctificari, hoc est, illustrari nomen. Sed cur addis Sixti ex sorore nepotem, quem quidem hominem demiror nunquam huc accessisse: præsertim cum et Summus fuerit Pontifex, et tibi tanto duci cognatus. Quare dic, obsecro, quod hominis fuit? sacerdosne? JUL. Imo miles egregius, tum eximie religionis, nempe Franciscanæ. PET. Equidem Franciscum vidi quondam, virum inter laicos optimum, opum, voluptatis, ambitionis summum contemptorem. An pauperculus ille tales nunc habet fatrapas? JUL. Tu quantum video, nolis quenquam ad meliora proficere. Pauper erat et Benedictus, cum hujus posterum nunc adeo divites sunt, ut nos etiam illis invidemus. PET. Pulchre. Sed ad rem redito, de Sixti nepote. JUL. Consulto id facio, nimirum ut obturem os illis, qui me ex illo prognatum affirmant, nimium libere. PET. Libere, sed num et vere? JUL. Atqui non est istud e Pontificia dignitate, cuius ubique habenda est ratio. PET. At ipsa sui rationem ita demum rectissime mihi videtur habitura, si nihil admittat quod jure possit opprobriari. Sed obtestor per Pontificiam Majestatem, dic mihi bona fide, estne ista jam via vulgaris ac solennis ad Summum Pontificium perveniendi, quam modo depingebas? JUL. Aliquot jam seculis haud fuit alia, nisi forte qui mihi successurus, alia creabitur via. Nam ipse Summum affectus Pontificium, statim edita formidabili bulla cavi, ne quis simili ratione ad eum honorem penetraret. Eam bullam et paulo ante mortem renovavi: quantum sit valitura, viderint alii. PET. Oportet neminem rectius id malum describere potuisse: sed illud miror, quenquam inveniri, qui munus hoc velit suscipere, præsertim quum tot occupationibus sit, ut audio, obnoxium, et tanto negotio ad id sit eluctandum. Nam me Pontifice, vix quisquam vi poterat adigi, ut Presbyteri aut Diaconi susciperet honorem. JUL. Neque mirum adeo: nam illis temporibus census Episcoporum et præmium nihil aliud erat, quam labores, vigiliæ, jejunia, doctrina, sæpenumero mors. Nunc regnum est ac tyrannis; et quis pro regno, si spes sit, non dimicet? PET. Sed age, quid Bononia, num a fide desciverat, ut fuerit Sedi Romanæ restituenda? JUL. Bona verba, non hoc agebatur. PET. Fortasse Bentivolo male administrante, marcebat Respublica. JUL. Imo, maxime florebat ea civitas, multis ædificiis aucta et illustrata; et, ob eam rem impensius inhiabam. PET. Intelligo: præter jus igitur invaserat? JUL. Ne hoc quidem: ex pacto possidebat. PET. Cives ergo non ferebant eum principem? JUL. Imo mordicus illum tenebant, me averfabantur fere universi. PET. Quid igitur causæ? JUL. Nempe quod ille sic administrabat, ut ex immensa pecunia, quam a civibus colligebat vix paucula milia ad nostrum redirent fiscum. Præterea sic expediebat ad id, quod tum temporis agitabam animo. Itaque Gallis operam navantibus, et nonnullis meo fulmine territis, profligato Bentivolo, Cardinales et Episcopos urbi præfeci; ut nulla pars emolumentorum non rediret ad usus Ecclesiæ Romanæ. Ad hæc, titulus et imperii dignitas ante penes illum esse videbatur: nunc undique nostræ visuntur statuæ, nostri leguntur tituli, nostra adorantur tropæa: jam passim et Julius saxeus stat, et æneus. Denique si spectas-

fes

ses, quam regali triumpho ^a Bononiam sim ingressus, fortasse contemneres Octavium ac Scipionum triumphos, et intelligeres me non absque causa tam strenue pro Bononia dimicasse: vereque spectasses eodem tempore et militantem et triumphantem Ecclesiam. PET. Ergo te regnante, quantum intelligo, contigit illud quod orare nos jusserat Christus, *Adveniat regnum tuum*. Jam vero Veneti quid admiserant? JUL. Primum Græcissabant, ac me propemodum pro delectamento habebant, nihil non conviciorum in me jacentes. PET. Verorum, an falsorum? JUL. Quid refert? sacrilegium est de Romano Pontifice vel mutire, nisi in laudem. Denique sacerdotia suo conferebant arbitrato: nullas lites huc transferri patiebantur, nullas commercabantur dispensationes. Quid multis opus est? intolerabili jactura Romanam sedem affligebant, quippe qui non exiguam insuper patrimonii tui partem occuparent. PET. Mei patrimonii? Quod, obsecro, mihi narras patrimonium? qui, relictis omnibus, nudum Christum nudus sum secutus? JUL. Aliquot, inquam, oppida Sedi Romanæ debita: sic enim peculiarem illam possessionum suarum partem sanctissimis Patribus placuit appellare. PET. Mea quidem infamia probe vestris lucris consulitis. Hanc igitur appellas jacturam intolerabilem? JUL. Quidni? PET. Verum erant corrupti mores, refrixerat pietas? JUL. Apage, de nugis agis, imo detrahebantur nobis infinita ducatorum milia, quot vel legioni militum alendæ sufficiunt. PET. Magna sane jactura fœneratori. At Ferrariensis ille quid tandem designarat? JUL. Quid ille? homo omnium hominum ingraticissimus. Hunc honorem habuerat ^b ille Christi Vicarius Alexander, ut alteram filiam illi daret uxorem: addidit dotis nomine luculentissimam ditionem, homini alioqui ignavo. Tamen immemor tantæ humanitatis, semper oblatrabat mihi Simoniam, pæderasten ac commotæ mentis hominem dictitans: et insuper vectigalia nonnulla vindicabat, non illa quidem maxima, sed tamen haudquaquam aspernanda diligenti pastori. GEN. Imo negotiatori. JUL. Ad hæc, quod verius ad rem pertinet, expediebat et hoc ad id quod parabam, hoc imperii nostræ ditioni copulari, propter situs opportunitatem. Proinde conatus sum, hoc deturbato, ditionem eam meo cognato conferre, viro strenuo, et quidvis pro dignitate Ecclesiæ ausuro: ut qui nuper suapte manu Cardinalem Papiensem in meam gratiam confoderit. Nam filiaë maritus sua forte contentus est. PET. Quid audio? Uxores ac liberos habent summi Pontifices? JUL. Suas quidem uxores non habent: liberos autem habere, quid monstri est, cum sint viri, non eunuchi? PET. Sed quæ tandem res excitarat schismaticum illud Conciliabulum? JUL. Perlongum fuerit rem a prima repetere origine: dicam summam. Jam quosdam tædere cœperat Romanæ curiæ. Aiebant turpi quæstu, prodigiosis ac nefandis libidinibus, veneficiis, sacrilegiis, cædibus, Simoniacis nundinis undique in-

^a Ipse spectavi primum Bononiæ, deinde Romæ, Julium Pontificem Romanum, ejus nominis secundum, splendidissimos agentem triumphos, ac prorsus tales, ut cum Pompeianis aut Cæsarianis triumphis, conferri possent. Verum quid illi ad Petri majestatem, non armis, non copiis, non machinis, non auro, sed sola fide totum orbem in sui miraculum convertentis? *Erasmus ad Act. Apost. V. 14.*

^b Perhaps illi.

quinata esse omnia. Meipsum aiebant Simoniacum, temulentum, spurcum, mundano turgidum spiritu, ac modis omnibus eum, qui locum illum indignus, cum summa Reipublicæ Christianæ perniciæ occuparem: itaque generali Concilio succurrendum esse rebus tam afflictis. Addebant adjuratum me, ut post acceptum honorem, intra biennium generale Concilium indicere: hac lege creatum Pontificem. PET. Atque id vere dictum? JUL. Imo factum. At ipse me ab eo jurejurando, quum visum est, absolvi. Quis autem dubitet vel quidvis dejerare, cum de regno agitur? In aliis colenda pietas, ut eleganter ille dixit Julius Cæsar, alter ego. Si leges, inquit, confringere fas est, certe tum maxime est, quum regnare concupieris. Sed audaciam hominum specta: vide quorsum evadant. Desciscunt Cardinales novem, denunciant mihi Concilium, invitant, orant ut præsideam. Quum non impetrant, indicunt universis, autore Maximiliano tanquam Imperatore (quod Historiæ testentur, olim ab Imperatoribus Romanis Concilium indici solere) autore item Gallorum Rege Lodovico ejus nominis duodecimo, horresco referens, ac tunicam illam Christi inconfutilem conantur discindere, quam ii quoque reliquerunt integram, qui crucifixerant. PET. Sed eras ejusmodi, qualem illi prædicabant? JUL. Quid ad rem? Summus eram Pontifex. Finge me vel Cercopibus sceleratiorem, vel Morycho stultiorem, vel indoctiorem stipite, spurciorem Lerna; quisquis hanc tenet potentiaæ clavem, eum decet ut Christi Vicarium revereri, ut sanctissimum suscipere. PET. Etiam aperte malum? JUL. Vel apertissime. Quare non ferendum ut * eum qui Dei vicem agit in terris, ^c omnino Deum quendam inter homines præstat, a quopiam homuncione reprehendatur, aut conviciis violetur. PET. Atqui reclamationis sensus communis, ut bene sentiamus de eo quem palam scelerosum cernimus: aut bene loquamur de eo, de quo ^d mala sentimus. JUL. Cogitet quisque quod volet, modo bene loquatur, aut certe si leat. Porro reprehendi non potest Romanus Pontifex, nec a Concilio generali. PET. Unum hoc scio, qui Christi vicem sustinet in terris, debere quam potest illi simillimum esse, atque ^e vitam peragere, nequid in eo possit reprehendi, neve quisquam merito de illo male loqui queat. Male vero cum Pontificibus agitur, si, ut bene de se loquantur homines, minis extorquent potius, quam benefactis impetrant: quos nisi mentiendo laudare non possis, quorum summa gloria sit, hominum male sentientium coactum silentium. Verum illud mihi responde: Nulla ratione potest amoveri scelerosus ac pestilens Pontifex? JUL. Ridiculum! a quo amoveretur qui summus est? PET. Atqui ob istud ipsum maxime debebat amoveri, quia summus. Nam quo major, eo perniciosior. ^f Si mundanæ leges Imperatorem male rempublicam administrantem non solum abdicant, verum etiam

* *eum*: It should be *is*.

^c Rather, *et omnino*.

^d Read *male*.

^e Perhaps *atque ita vitam*; or *itaque*, for *et ita*.

^f *Si mundanæ — depellere?* The Oxford Editor left out this sentence, for fear of offending the Royalists; and inserted a long interpolation of his own. He hath taken the liberty to make additions and alterations in other places, that is, to spoil the Dialogue, and to render his edition of no credit and value. Yet I cannot much blame him for his omissions, since it was not safe for him to act otherwise.

capitis afficiunt supplicio, quænam est tam infelix Ecclesiæ conditio, ut Romanum Pontificem omnia subvertentem ferre cogatur, nec ullo pacto possit publicam pestem depellere? JUL. At si corrigendus est Romanus Pontifex, per Concilium corrigatur oportet. Porro nullum Concilium cogi potest, invito Pontifice: alioqui Conciliabulum sit, non Concilium. Quod^h sit maxime cogatur, nec statui quicquam potest refragante Pontifice. Denique restat extremum præsidium, absoluta potestas, qua longe jam superior est unus Pontifex universo Concilio. Cæterum submoveri sacerdotio non potest ob quodvis crimen. PET. Non ob homicidium? JUL. Nec ob parricidium. PET. Non ob fornicationem? JUL. Bona verba: imo ne ob incestum quidem. PET. Non ob Simoniacam impietatem? JUL. Non vel ob sexcentas. PET. Non ob veneficium? JUL. Ne ob sacrilegium quidem. PET. Non ob blasphemiam? JUL. Non, inquam. PET. Non ob hæc omnia simul in unam ceu Lernam conflata? JUL. Adde, si libet, sexcenta flagitiorum nomina, his quoque fœdiora, non potest tamen Romanus Pontifex ob ista submoveri loco. PET. Novam vero mihi Romani Pontificis dignitatem prædicas; siquidem huic soli licet impune pessimum esse: tum magis novam infelicitatem Ecclesiæ, si tale portentum nulla via queat excutere, talemque cogatur adorare Pontificem, cujusmodi nemo toleret stabularium. JUL. Quidam ob unum duntaxat amoveri posse dicunt. PET. Ob quod, obsecro, benefactum? quandoquidem ob male facta non potest, si ob hæc, quæ dixi, non potest. JUL. Ob crimen hæreseos, atque ita demum, si publice sit convictus. Verum id quoque frivolum est; neque vel tantillum officit Pontificiæ majestati. Primum in manu est legem ipsam abrogare, si minus placeat. Deinde quis ausit Summum Pontificem in crimen vocare, præsertim tot armatum præsidiis? Ad hæc si forte prematur Concilio, facilis est palinodia, si inficiari non liceat. Postremo mille sunt cuniculi, quibus facile possit elabi, ni prorsus stipes sit, non homo. PET. Sed dic mihi per Pontificiam potestatem, Quis leges istas tam præclaras condit? JUL. Quis alius nisi fons legum omnium, Romanus Pontifex? Atqui ejusdem est, legem abrogare, interpretari, dilatare, astringere, utcunque visum est suis expedire commodis. PET. Felicem profecto Pontificem, si legem ferre possit, qua Christum etiam eludat, nedum Concilium. Quamquam adversus hujusmodi Pontificem, cujusmodi tu modo descripsisti, palam scelerosum, temulentum, homicidam, Simoniacum, veneficum, perjurum, rapacem, portentosis libidinum generibus undique conspurcatum, idque pro palam, non tam optandum generale Concilium, quam ut plebs armata saxis, ut publicam orbis pestem, publicitus tollat e medio. Verum age, dic mihi, Quid est causæ cur Romanus Pontifex tantopere horreas generale Concilium? JUL.ⁱ Quin idem a Monarchis quæris, cur Senatum et celebres confessus oderint? Nempe quod turba tot excellentium virorum nonnihil obscuretur regia dignitas. Qui docti sunt, iis literæ fiduciam et audaciam addunt: qui boni, conscientia freti, liberius loquuntur, quam nobis

^h Read *fi*.

ⁱ *Quin — oderint?* This also the Oxonian Editor omitted, for the above-mentioned reason. He was afraid to have it said, that *Kings hate Parliaments*.

expediat : qui dignitate præditi, autoritate utuntur sua. Accedunt inter hos nonnulli, qui nostræ invident gloriæ, et hunc animum secum afferunt, ut minuant Pontificis et opes et autoritatem. Denique nullus hic affidet, quin sibi putet aliquid adversus Pontificem licere Concilii titulo, nimirum alias invictum. Proinde vix ullum Concilium tam feliciter cessit, ut Summus ille Pontifex non aliquam majestatis suæ jacturam senserit, minusque summus discesserit. Cujus rei vel ipse testis esse potes, nisi prorsus excidit. Nam quanquam tamen quidem de rebus leviculis agebatur, non de imperiis et regiis censibus, ut nunc, tamen Jacobus ausus est tuæ orationi nonnihil de suo adjicere. Etenim quum tu Gentiles onere Mosaicæ legis in totum liberasses, Jacobus succedens, fornicationem excepit, et sanguinem, et idolothytum, veluti corrigens tuam sententiam : ut hodieque sint, qui hac re commoti, non tibi, sed Jacobo putent fuisse Summi Pontificis autoritatem. PET. Unum igitur illud spectandum existimas, ut salva sit regia Summi Pontificis majestas, ac non magis publica utilitas reipublicæ Christianæ ? JUL. Ad suum quisque commodum spectat, nos nostrum agimus negotium. PET. Atqui si Christus idem fecisset, jamne esset Ecclesia, cujus te Monarcham esse jactitas ? Et non video qui conveniat, ut qui Christi Vicarius appellari gaudeat, Christo diversa sequatur. Sed illud jam expedi, quam arte schismaticum illud, uti tu vocas, Concilium discussis. JUL. Dicam equidem : assequere, si potes. Primum, Imperatorem Maximilianum, sic enim vocant, ut est unus omnium minime difficilis, ^k tamen per solennes nuncios Concilium indixerat, tamen non dicendis modis ab instituto subduxi. Præterea Cardinalibus aliquot arte simili persuasi, ut quod publicatis jam instrumentis statuerant, rursus accitis notariis ac testibus negarent. PET. An istud licet ? JUL. Quidni liceat ? approbante Summo Pontifice ; qui, si volet, jusjurandum jusjurandum non est : ut a quo passim quos vult liberat. Sed tamen, ut ingenue dicam, erat id quidem paulo impudentius : verum non patebat via commodior. Deinde quum videbam futurum, ut apud nonnullos invidia Concilii premerer, maxime quod sic esset indictum, ut non excluderem, sed suppliciter invitarem, rogarerque præsidere, vide quam jam technam repererim, superiorum secutus exemplum. Ipse vicissim ad Concilium provocavi ; causans, nec tempus nec locum satis esse idoneum, quem illi præstituissem. Romæ subito Concilium indixi, quo neminem venturum arbitrabar Julio non amicum, aut certe non obsecundaturum. Sic enim eos multis exemplis docueram. Ac protinus in hunc usum complures Cardinales creavi meis institutis accommodos. GEN. Hoc est, facinorosissimos. JUL. Rursus hoc Concilium, nisi indixissem, Concilium non fuisset : et tamen haudquaquam expediebat rebus meis, tantam Episcoporum et Abbatum turbam huc confluere, inter quos fieri non potest quin aliquot probi piique fuerint futuri. Itaque monui, ut sumtibus parcerent ; et singulæ regiones unum aut alterum duntaxat mitterent. Deinde cum ne hoc quidem satis tutum viderem, et paucos ex tot provinciis ad magnum redituros numerum, denuo illis jam ad iter accinctis denunciavi ne venirent,

^k He might have said : — *tametsi per solennes nuncios Concilium indixerat, non dicendis modis, &c.*
Concilium

Concilium in aliud tempus prorogandum : commentus ad id causas utcunque probabiles. Atque iis ¹ partibus exclusis universis, rursus antevergens quem præscripseram diem, Romæ Concilium institui, cum iis duntaxat quos ad id paraveram. Inter quos etiam si qui fuerunt, qui dissentirent a me, tamen illud certum habebam, Julio neminem refragaturum, tanto armis et satellitibus superiori. Jam ad hunc modum ingentem invidiam movi Galliano illi Concilio, dimissis quoquoque literis, in quibus de nostro sacrosancto Concilio faciebam mentionem : Concilium illorum execrans, Conventiculum Satanæ, Conciliabulum Diaboli, schismaticam conspirationem subinde nominans. PET. Oportet sceleratissimos fuisse Cardinales autores ac principes Concilii. JUL. De moribus nihil queror : sed caput hujus negotii fuit Cardinalis Rothomagensis, qui, nescio qua sanctimonia ^m hic semper huc spectavit, ut Ecclesiam redderet emendatiorem, idque fecit locis aliquot. Hunc mors eripuit mihi, tamen rem faciens omnium gratissimam. Successit huic Cardinalis titulo Sanctæ Crucis, Hispanus, vitæ quidem inculpata, sed rigidus, senex, ac Theologus : quod quidem genus hominum ferme solet esse infestum Romanis Pontificibus. PET. Atqui homo Theologus nihil habebat, quod suo facto probabiliter obtexeret? JUL. Permulta. Aiebat enim nulla fuisse tempora inquietiora quam tum erant, nunquam Ecclesiæ morbos magis intolerandos, itaque generali Concilio succurrendum : me cum ad Summum Pontificium admitterer, sacramentis adactum ut secundo ab inito Pontificatu anno Concilium indicerem, et ita adactum, ut ne a Cardinalium consensu possem absolvi. Deinde sæpius a fratribus Cardinalibus meis admonitum, rogatum, interpellatum a Principibus, quidvis potius quam hoc in aurem admisisse : ita ut palam appareret, Julio vivo nunquam futurum Concilium. Citabant exempla superiorum Conciliorum : citabant leges aliquot Pontificias, quibus ostendebant me cum meis detrectante Concilio, ad se jus indicendi devolutum. Cæterum item, Principibus conniventibus, indicendi munus ad Imperatorem Romanum, qui olim solus indicebat, et ad Gallorum Regem, qui præcipuus esset, pertinere. PET. Num igitur in te nefanda dictu scribebant? JUL. Imo, furciferi plus hic sapiebant quam volebam. Rem odiosissimam mira modestia tractabant, et non solum temperabant a maledictis, sed me nunquam nisi cum honoris præfatione nominabant : rogantes et obsecrantes per omnia sacra piaque, ut quod me dignum erat, quodque jurejurando pollicitus essem, Concilio indicto præsiderem ; pariterque secum sanandis Ecclesiæ malis operam commodarem. Nec dici potest, quantum hæc temperantia mihi conflavit invidiæ, præsertim cum omnia sua sacris literis condirent : nam apparet eruditos aliquot ad id adhibitos. Addebant interim jejunia, orationes, miram vitæ frugalitatem ; ut magis etiam me premerent opinione sanctitatis. PET. Tu contra quo titulo Concilium indixeras? JUL. Longe splendidissimo. Ostendebam mihi in animo esse primum corrigere caput Ecclesiæ, hoc est, me ipsum : deinde Principes Christianos : postremo plebem universam. PET. Bellam audio comœdiam, sed jam exspecto catastrophem. Juvat audire quid

¹ Read *artibus*.^m *hic* should be left out.

Theologi illi in Satanæ Conciliabulo statuerint. JUL. Indigna, abominanda. Refugit animus commemorare. PET. Obsecro tam nefanda? JUL. Prorsus impia, sacrilega, plusquam hæretica: quibus nisi manibus et pedibus obstitissem, imo armis pariter atque ingenio, actum erat de dignitate Ecclesiæ Christianæ. PET. Tanto magis exspecto quæ sint ista. JUL. Ah, horresco referens. Id agebant scelesti, ut Ecclesiam tot opibus ac tanta ditione florentem, ad veteres illas sordes ac miseram frugalitatem revocarent. Ut Cardinales, qui nunc vitæ strepituⁿ quo suis antecellunt tyrannis, ad paupertatem redigerentur. Ut Episcopi multo contractius viverent, minus satellitum, minus alerent equorum. Decreverant, ne passim Cardinales absorberent episcopatus, abbatias, sacerdotia: Ne quis unus plures episcopatus complecteretur: Istos qui per fas, ut aiebant, nefasque sexcenta, si possint, cumulant sacerdotia, coërcerent: Censebant, ut his essent contenti censibus, qui frugali sacerdoti satis essent: Ne quisquam crearetur Summus Pontifex, aut Episcopus, aut Sacerdos, interventu numorum, aut respectu favoris, aut turpis obsequii, sed duntaxat ex vitæ meritis: quod si compertum esset, ilico submoveretur. Ut liceret Romanum Pontificem, palam facinorosum, ab honore depellere. Ut Episcopi scortatores, ac temulenti, priventur administratione. Ut sacerdotes palam facinorosi non solum sacerdotio, verum membro corporis mutilentur. Aliaque id genus permulta: nam omnia referre piget: quæ prorsus eo tendebant, uti nos onerarent sanctimonia, divitiis et imperio spoliarent. PET. Quid igitur contra hæc statuebatur in illo^o hoc sacrosancto Concilio Romano? JUL. Jam mihi videris oblitus id quod dixi, imo nihil aliud agere voluisse Concilii prætextu, nisi ut clavum clavo pellerem. Primus ille conventus^p consumtis solennibus quibusdam cæremoniis ex autoritate relictis, quas ob auctoritatem adhuc utcunque placet observare, etiamsi nihil ad rem pertinent. Peracta sacra duo, alterum de Sancta Cruce, alterum de Sancto Spiritu, tanquam hujus afflatu res ageretur. Deinde recitata oratio plena laudum mearum. Proximo confessu, quanta vi potui, torsi fulmen in schismaticos illos Cardinales, plus quam impium, plus quam sacrilegum, plus quam hæreticum pronuncians, quicquid illud esset quod jam statuissem, aut statuere pararent. Tertio confessu eodem fulmine terrui Galliam, nundinis a Lugduno translatis, et quibusdam Galliæ partibus nominatim exceptis, quo magis alienarem a Rege plebis animos, et aliquam inter ipsos seditionem excitarem. Atque hæc statim acta, quo plus haberent auctoritatis, bullis prodita, ad omnes misi Principes: præsertim ad hos, quos videbam in nostram factionem esse propensiores. PET. At præterea nihil actum? JUL. Id actum est quod volebam: vici, si modo nostra valebunt decreta. Tres illos Cardinales, qui perstiterunt in cœptis, Cardinalitia dignitate publicis cæremoniis privavi: sacerdotiorum census aliis contuli, ne facile possent restitui: ^q ipsi tradidi Satanæ, libentius tamen ignibus traditurus, si in manus meas incidissent. PET. Attamen si vera narras, non pau-

ⁿ Perhaps, *quibusvis antecellunt tyrannis, or, quosvis antecellunt tyrannos.*

^o *hoc* is superfluous.

^p Read *consumtus*.

^q Read *ipsos*.

lo sanctiora videntur illius schismatici Conciliabuli decreta, quam tui sacrosancti Concilii : unde nihil adhuc video prodiisse, nisi minas tyrannicas, execrationes, et astu mixtam crudelitatem. Si Satanæ fuit illius autor Conciliabuli, propius videtur ad Christum accedere, quam spiritus ille nescio quis, qui modo vestrum moderatus est Concilium. JUL. Quin tu quid loquaris etiam atque etiam vide. Nam omnibus bullis meis execratus sum omnes, quicunque illi Conciliabulo quocunque modo faverint. PET. Miser, ut adhuc veterem illum spiras Julium ! sed quis tandem hujus exitus negotii ? JUL. Hoc equidem in statu reliqui ; quorsum evasurum, viderit fortuna. PET. Nimirum schisma manet. JUL. Manet, et quidem periculosissimum. PET. Et tu quidem Christi Vicarius schisma maluisti, quam verum Concilium ? JUL. Vel trecenta schismata potius quam me velim in ordinem cogi, et ad totius vitæ reddendam rationem adigi. PET. Ita tibi conscius ? JUL. Quid id tua ? PET. Intelligo. Non expediebat eam commoveri Camarinam. Sed penes utros erit victoria ? JUL. Istud Fortunæ est in manu. Quanquam a nobis plus est pecuniarum. Gallus exhaustus est diutinis jam bellis, Anglus auri montes habet intactos adhuc. Illud indubitato possum vaticinari : Si Gallus vicerit, id quod abominor, vertentur rerum nomina : sacrosanctum illud Concilium, Satanæ Conciliabulum erit : ego idolum Pontificis, non Pontifex : penes illos Spiritus Sanctus erit : nos spiritu Satanæ fecerimus omnia. Verum mihi ingens fiducia est in relictis pecuniis, ne hæc fiant. PET. At quid rei tandem incidit adversus Gallos, et horum Regem ? quem vestri majores Christianissimi titulo decorarunt : præsertim cum illorum præfidiis fatearis et vixisse te, et ad istam plusquam imperialem coronam evectum : denique Bononiam et reliquas urbes recepisse, domuisse Venetos, omnibus invictos. Quomodo tot tam recentium meritorum abolita memoria ? Quomodo tot discissa foedera ? JUL. Istam explicare fabulam perlongum fuerit. Verum, ut summatim dicam, nihil a me novatum est : sed quod jam olim animo parturieram, tum parere coepi ; quod antea rebus ita poscentibus dissimularam, tunc aperui. Gallis nunquam ex animo bene volui. Hoc tibi de tripode dictum puta. Nec ullus Italus ex animo bene vult Barbaris : non hercule magis, quam lupo agnis. Sed ego non Italus modo, verum etiam Januensis, tantisper illis utebar amicis, dum opus esset illorum ministerio. Quandoquidem hætenus utendum est opera Barbarorum. Interea multa tuli, multa dissimulavi, multa finxi : denique nihil non et feci et passus sum. Verum ubi jam res in eum propemodum locum deductæ sunt, in quem volebam, supererat ut vere Julium agerem, totamque illam Barbarorum faciem Italia submoverem. PET. Cujusmodi belluæ sunt isti quos vocas Barbaros ? JUL. Homines sunt. PET. Homines igitur, at non Christiani ? JUL. Et Christiani, sed quid hoc ad rem pertinet ? PET. Ergo Christiani quidem, sed absque literis, agrestem degentes vitam ? JUL. Imo rebus istis maxime florent illi ; ^r quid insuper, id quod illis in primis invidemus, opibus. PET. Quid igitur sibi vult Barbari cognomen ? Quid mussas ? GEN. Dicam hujus vice. Itali cum sint ex

^r Read *quis*,

omni

omni barbarissimarum nationum colluvie conflati, confusique, nec aliter quam sentina quædam, tamen e gentilium literis hanc imbiberunt insaniam, ut extra Italiam natos, Barbaros appellent. Quod quidem cognominis, apud illos contumeliosius est, quam si parricidam dicas, aut sacrilegum. PET. Ita videtur. Atqui cum pro omnibus hominibus mortuus sit Christus, nec apud illum sit ullius personæ respectus; cumque tu Christi Vicarium * profiteris, cur non omnes complectebaris eodem animo, quos non discrevit ipse Christus? JUL. Equidem et Indos, et Afros, et Æthiopes, et Græcos complecti cupiam, si modo numerent, et Principem agnoscant vectigalibus. Verum hos omnes recidimus, et proxime Græcos, quod homines nimium tenaces, parum agnoscerent Romani Pontificis majestatem. PET. Ergo Romana Sedes totius orbis veluti horreum est? JUL. Magnum vero, si omnium metamus carnalia, cum omnibus nostra spiritualia seminemus? PET. Quæ narras spiritualia? Nam adhuc quidem præter mundana nihil audio. Fortasse doctrina sacra trahis ad Christum. JUL. Sunt qui concionentur, si velint: nec eos prohibemus, modo ne quid dicant adversus majestatem nostram. PET. Quid igitur? JUL. Quid igitur? Cur Regibus datur quicquid exegerint? nisi quia his acceptum ferunt singuli quicquid possident, etiam si nihil ab illis acceperint. Ita quicquid est sacri usquam, nobis imputandum est, etsi totam stertamus vitam. Quanquam præter ista largissime donamus indulgentias exigua pecuniola, dispensamus in rebus gravissimis non maxima summa, passim omnibus obviis benedicimus, idque gratis. PET. Equidem nihil horum intelligo. Sed redi ad id quod institutum erat: Quamobrem tua sanctissima majestas tantopere Barbaros horreat, ut cælum terræ miscendum duxeris, quo illos ab Italia depelleres? JUL. Dicam. Superstitiosius est cum omne Barbarorum genus, tum præcipue † Gallorum. Nam cum Hispanis non pessime nobis convenit, sive linguam spectes, sive mores. Quanquam hos quoque submotos volebam, quo prorsus nobis liceret more nostro agere. PET. Colunt præter Christum et alios Deos? JUL. Imo Christum ipsum nimis anxie colunt. Antiquis quibusdam et jampridem obsoletis vocabulis, mirum est quam adhuc homines stultissimi permoveantur. PET. Forte magicis. JUL. Nugaris: imo Simonia, blasphemia, Sodomia, veneficio, sortilegio. PET. Bona verba. JUL. Itidem, ut tu nunc abominaris, et isti. PET. Omitto nomina: res sunt apud vos, ne dicam apud ullos Christianos? JUL. Sane Barbari non ipsi vacant vitiis, sed cum diversis laborent, nostra execrantur, suis blandiuntur. Nos contra nostris blandimur, illorum abominamur. Nos abominandum probum ducimus, ac per fas nefasque fugiendum, paupertatem: illi vix Christianum esse existimant opibus frui, vel sine fraude quæsitis. Nos ebrietatem nec nominare audemus (quanquam hac quidem in parte non ita vehementer ab illis dissentiam, si cætera convenient) at Germani leve putant erratum, et festivum magis quam sceleratum. Usuram vehementer execrantur illi; at apud nos nullum hominum genus æque necessarium Ecclesiæ Christi. Venerem præposteram usque adeo spurcam ducunt illi, ut si quis

* Read *profiteris*.

† Gallorum tamen religiosam mentem vehementer approbarem, si quantum nunc propendet ad superstitionem, tantum valeret iudicio spirituali. *Erasmus, Ep. 1060.*

vel nomet modo, et aërem et solem existiment pollui : nobis longe diversa sententia. Item Simonia, jam olim e rerum natura sublatum vocabulum, velut umbram adhuc formidant illi : et antiquas jam veterum leges mordicus tenent. Nos alio spectamus. Atque hujusmodi permulta sunt alia, in quibus nobis non convenit cum Barbaris. Proinde cum jam simus tam dissimili vitæ instituto, procul arcendi sunt a nostris mysteriis, magis suspecturi si nesciant. Nam si semel intellexerint arcana curiæ nostræ, protinus evulgant : et nescio quo pacto ad vitia reprehendenda sunt oculatissimi : scribunt maledicentissimas ad suos literas. Clamitant passim apud nos non esse sedem Christi, sed sentinam Satanæ. De me disputant, num sic affectus Pontificium, sic vivens, pro Pontifice sim habendus. Atque ita primum minuunt nostram apud ignotos sanctitatis opinionem, simul et auctoritatem, qui ante nihil de nobis audierant, nisi quod Christi vicem gereremus, et proximam atque adeo parem Deo potestatem teneremus. Atque his e rebus intolerabilis Ecclesiæ Christianæ jactura nascitur. Dispensationes et pauciores, et minoris vendimus. Minor census reddit ex episcopatibus, et sacerdotiis et abbatibus. Vulgus, si quid exigitur, malignius dat. Breviter undecunque parcius quæstus, et steriliores nundinæ. Postremo fulmina quoque nostra minus ac minus horrent. Quod si semel eo * processerit audaciæ ut dicant sceleratum Pontificem nihil agere, ac fulmen minasque contemserint, nobis ad famem plane redierit res. Quod si procul abfuerint (ita ingenium est Barbarorum) impensius venerabuntur, nosque literis commode scriptis ex animi sententia rem geremus. PET. Non optime vobiscum agitur, si hinc pendet autoritas Apostolica, ut vita ignoretur, nesciantur technæ. Nos nihil aliud optabamus, nisi ut universis esset cognitum, quicquid vel in cubiculis ageremus. Atque ita demum plurimi fiebamur, si vere innotuissemus. Verum illud expedi. Adeo religiosos Principes nunc † habet, tantaque est apud illos Sacerdotum reverentia, ut ad unius, atque adeo talis nutum, ad arma descenderint universi ? Nam meis quidem temporibus, hos infestissimos hostes patiebamur. JUL. Quantum ad vitam attinet, non sunt admodum ‡ superstitiosi Christiani. Nos plane contemnunt, ac pronugamentis habent : nisi quod aliquot ex his infirmiores nonnihil metuunt terrificum illud fulmen excommunicationis. Nec hi tamen perinde re atque opinione commoventur. Sunt qui nostras opes vel sperant vel metuunt ; eoque nonnihil nostræ deferunt auctoritati. Quibusdam persuasum, ingens aliquod infortunium manere hos, qui sacerdotibus qualibuscunque negotium faceffunt. Omnes ferme, ut sunt civiliter educati, nonnihil tribuunt ceremoniis, præsertim a nobis provocati. Nam ceremoniæ ceu fabulæ quædam vulgo dantur. Cæterum res interim serio agitur. Nos illos magnificis titulis decoramus, etiam si sint sceleratissimi. Hunc Catholicum appellantes, illum Serenissimum, alium Augustum, omnes dilectos filios nominamus : illi vicissim nos sanctissimos Patres in suis literis vocant ; et aliquoties ad oscula pedum se submittunt ; et ubi non multum negotii vertitur, cedunt nonnunquam auctoritati nostræ, quo sibi pietatis opinionem apud vulgus parent.

* Perhaps, *processerint*. † Perhaps *habetis* ; or, *habet orbis*, or, *mundus*. ‡ Perhaps *superstitiose*.
Nos

Nos illis rofas mittimus consecratas, tiaras, gladios, et illorum dignitatem maximis bullis confirmamus. Illi vicissim mittunt equos, milites, pecuniam; nonnunquam et pueros: atque ita mutuum, quod aiunt, muli scabunt. PET. Si tales sunt, nondum intelligo quo pacto potueris summos Reges ad gravissima bella concitare, præsertim ruptis tot foederibus. JUL. ^x Atque si nunc assequi possis ea quæ dicam, intelliges ingenium plusquam Apostolicum. PET. Adnitar equidem quoad potero. JUL. Illud inprimis mihi studio fuit, omnium gentium ac præcipue Principum ingenia, mores, affectus, opes, et conatus pernosce, cui cum quo conveniat, cui cum quo diffidium sit: deinde his omnibus ad nostram commoditatem uti. Principio Gallos facile concitavimus in Venetos, quod inter hos intercederet vetus atque antiqua similtas. Deinde sciebamus eam gentem avidam imperii prorogandi. Et Veneti illorum quoque nonnullas urbes occupant. Itaque meum negotium cum illorum negotio miscui. Tum Imperator, quanquam alioqui non admodum amicus Gallo, tamen, quia non erat alia spes a Venetis recipiendi quæ tenebant (tenebant autem urbes aliquot egregias) pro tempore se huic bello adjunxit. Deinde quum non placeret Gallos supra modum crescere (res enim successerat felicius quam volebam) primum Hispaniarum Regem in eos exstimulavi, primum hominem non fidei adamantinæ, deinde cujus magnopere referebat, utcunque premi Gallorum potentiam, cum ob alia multa, tamen præcipue, ne quando ditione Neapolitana excluderetur. Ad hæc, Venetos tametsi non probarem, fide tamen in gratiam recepi, ut hos quoque recentis cladis dolore exacerbatos in Gallos immitterem. Rursum Imperatorem, quem paulo ante cum Gallis conjunxeram, ab illis distraxi: idque partim pecuniis, quæ apud hominem egentem semper valent plurimum, partim literis et nunciis, renovato veteri in Gallos odio, quo vir ille mirum quam semper flagrarit, etiamsi deerat ulciscendi facultas. Jam Anglos sciebam genuino odio esse in Gallorum gentem: et ^y in iis conjunctissimos Scotos. Ad hæc intelligebam nationem præferocem, et belli cupidam, idque potissimum prædandi spe: tum etiam supersticiosam aliquantulum, quod longissime absit a Roma. Postremo id temporis nova libertate (quæ tandem illis morte Regis omnium severissimi contigerat) insolentes ac pene tumultuantes: ut facile jam possent ad quamvis insaniam exstimulari. Quodque maxime volebam, accessit ad opportunitatem rerum mearum, Rex admodum adolescens, vel puer potius, et nuper regno potitus, ingenio acri vividoque, ac vere juvenili, hoc est, inquieto et bellicoso, nec ætate tantum ambitiosus et ad res non mediodiocres erectus. Qui jam tum a primis annis huc spectasse dicebatur, ut Gallos adoriretur armis. Super omnia affinis erat Hispano Regi, quem jam ad arma traxeram. Hisce rebus omnibus usus sum ad Ecclesiæ commoditatem. Ac sexcentis literis non absque ingenio scriptis, tandem involvi Principes bello omnium gravissimo. Neque vero quenquam cæterorum intentatum reliqui, neque Regem Hungarorum, neque Lusitanæ, neque Burgundionum Regibus parem Ducem. Verum quia ad hos nihil harum rerum attinebat, perpellere non quivi: et

^x Read *Atqui*.^y Perhaps, *et iis*.

sciebam

sciebam his tumultuantibus neminem cæterorum quieturum. Hi igitur quum suo morem gererent animo, tamen honestissimum titulum acceperunt a nobis, ut quo majorem cladem inferrent populo Christiano, hoc religiosus viderentur Ecclesiam Dei protegere. Atque uti magis admireris vel ingenium meum, vel felicitatem, belligerabatur id temporis Hispaniæ Rex cum Turcis incredibili rerum successu, maximoque suo quæstu : et tamen illis omnibus omisiss, in Gallum universas vires convertit. Ad hæc Imperator non fœderibus modo multis, verum etiam beneficiis et immensis devinctus erat Gallis, vel hoc nomine, quod horum sumtu operaque suas in Italia civitates recepisset. Et hic erat quod ageret, nempe ut sua tueretur ; jam enim Patavium desciverat : et in Burgundia ; nempe ut Geldrios hostes gravissimos (in quos belli suscipiendi fuerat autor) a nepote suo Burgundionum Principe depelleret. Et sic feci, ut suis omisiss meum agerent negotium. Tum nulla gens est, apud quam minus valeat Summi Pontificis autoritas, quam Anglorum (id quod protinus liquebit, si quis Divi Thomæ Cantuariensis Episcopi vitam, ac veterum Regum constitutiones evolverit) ^z et sic gens alioqui exactionum impatientissima, passa est propemodum se deglubi. ^a Mirum autem quam Sacerdotes quoque, qui nobis consueverant quicquid possunt subtrahere, iis ^b quantumvis multas admiserint : haud perpendentes cujusmodi fenestram Regibus in posterum aperuerint. Quanquam nec ipsi Reges satis animadvertabant, quod exemplum induxerint adversus seipsos : nempe ut liceat postea Romano Sacrifico, regno movere, quem oderit Principem. Et Rex adolescens majori etiam motu rem aggressus est quam volebam, aut quam jusseram : tametsi malebam in hanc peccari partem. Jamvero longum fuerit explicare sigillatim, quibus artibus eos Principes ad tam periculosum bellum excitarem in Christianos, quos nullus unquam Pontifex vel in Turcas potuit excitare. PET. At fieri potest, ut bellorum incendium per te suscitatum, universum denique mundum corripiat JUL. Corripiat sane, modo Romana Sedes dignitatem et possessiones tueatur suas. Tametsi conatus sum omnem belli molem ab Italis in Barbaros rejicere : demicent illi quantum libet, nos spectabimus, et fortassis illorum fruemur insania. PET. ^c Pertinet hoc ad rem, et Patrem sanctissimum, et Christi Vicarium ? JUL. Cur excitant schisma ? PET. Atqui peccata nonnunquam ferenda sunt, si plus malorum a medela. Deinde si tu Concilium admisisses, non erat locus schismati. JUL. Bona verba. Ego sexcenta bella malim, quam Concilium. Quid si me submovissent a Pontificio, veluti Simoniacum, et negotiatorem Pontificii, non Pontificem ? Quid si omnem vitam meam perdidicissent, prodidissentque in vulgus ? PET. Etiam si verus Pontifex esses, tamen satius erat honori cedere, quam tantis orbis Christiani malis tuam dignitatem tueri. Si modo dignitas est, Episcopatus indigno

^z Oxf. Ed. *Ea tamen gens.*

^a Oxf. Ed. *Mirum autem quomodo Sacerdotes quoque, qui nobis consueverant quicquid possunt subtrahere, eo adduxerim, ut Regi tributum numerarent, haud perpendentes, &c.* which makes good sense.

^b This must be wrong.

^c Ill expressed : he might have said : *Pertinet hoc ad te ? &c.* In the Oxf. Ed. *Pertinent hæc ad Pastorem et Patrem ? &c.*

commiffus, ac ne commiffus quidem, fed emtus et arreptus. Unde illud mihi obiter venit in mentem, te confilio quodam Divino Gallis exftitiffe peftem, qui prius Ecclefiae te peftem invexerunt. JUL. Per triplicem coronam meam juro, perque meos clariffimos triumphos, fi mihi bilem moveris, fenties et tu vim Julii. PET. ^d O phreneticum, fed mundanum ! ^e ne mundanum quidem, fed Ethnicum, imo Ethnicis fceleratiorem. Gloriaris te plurimum potuiffe ad difcindenda foedera, ad inflammanda bella, ad ftrages hominum excitandas. Ifta Satanæ poteftas eft, non Pontificis. Qui Chrifti Vicarium fe facit, eum oportet ad illius exemplar quam proxime accedere. Eft in illo fumma poteftas, fed cum fumma bonitate conjuncta : eft fumma fapientia, fed fimpliciffima. In te poteftatis imaginem video, cum fumma malitia, fummaque ftultitia copulatam. Quod fi malorum Princeps Diabolus vicarium fibi cupiat subrogare, quem potius afcifcat, quam tui fimilem ? Dic ubi virum Apoftolicum egeris ? JUL. Quid magis Apoftolicum, quam augere Chrifti Ecclefiam ? PET. Atqui fi Ecclefia eft populus Chriftianus, Chrifti fpiritu conglutinatus, fubvertiffe mihi videris Ecclefiam ; qui orbem univerfum ad teterrima bella concitaris, quo tu impune malus et peftilens effes. JUL. Nos Ecclefiam vocamus facras ædes, sacerdotes, et præcipue Curiam Romanam ; me imprimis, qui caput fum Ecclefiae. PET. At Chriftus nos ministros fecit, fe caput : nifi nunc fecundum caput accreverit. Sed quibus tandem aucta eft Ecclefia ? JUL. Nunc ad rem accedis : itaque dicam. Illa olim famelica et pauper Ecclefia, nunc adeo floret ornamentis omnibus. PET. Quibus ? ardore fidei ? JUL. Rursum nugaris. PET. Sacra doctrina ? JUL. Obtundis. PET. Contemptu mundi ? JUL. Sine me dicere, veris, inquam, ornamentis : nam ifthæc verba funt. PET. Quibus igitur ? JUL. Palatiis regalibus, equis et mulis pulcherrimis, famulitio frequentiffimo, copiis inftitutiffimis, fatellitibus exquisitis. GEN. Scortis formoffimis, lenonibus obfequentiffimis. JUL. Auro, purpura, vectigalibus : ut nullus Regum non humilis ac pauper videatur, fi cum Romani Pontificis opibus ftrepituque conferatur : nemo tam ambitiofus, quin fe victum agnofcat : nemo tam lautus, quin fuam condemnat frugalitatem : nemo tam numatus, nec fcenerator, quin noftris invideat opibus. Hæc, inquam, ornamenta et tutatus fum et auxi. PET. Sed dicito mihi, quis omnium primus iftis ornamentis et inquinavit et oneravit Ecclefiam, quam Chriftus puriffimam pariter et expeditiffimam effe voluit ? JUL. Quid iftud ad rem attinet ? Certe, quod eft caput, tenemus, poffidemus, fruimur : quanquam aiunt Constantinum quendam univerfam imperii fui majestatem in Silveftrum Romanum Pontificem transfudiffe, phaleras, equos, currus, galeam, balteum, paludamentum ^f fatellitum, enfes, coronas aureas, et auri quidem puriffimi, exercitus, machinas bellicas, urbes, regna. PET. Et exftant iftius munificentiae certa monumenta ? JUL. Nulla præter ^g paleam unam

^d Oxf. Ed. O phreneticum ! Verum hætenus nihil audio, nifi Ducem, non Ecclefiafticum, fed mundanum, nec, &c.

^e Read, nec.

^f Read, paludamentum, fatellitium.

^g Palea notat Commentum quodvis addititium ad Decreta Gratiani. Ed. Oxon.

Decretis admixtam. PET. Fabula fortassis est. JUL. Id vel ex meipso conjicio. Quis enim sanus tam magnificum Imperium cederet vel patri? Sed tamen valde libet credere, et curiosis hæc refellere conantibus silentium magnum minis indicimus. PET. Atqui nihil adhuc audio, nisi mundum. JUL. Tu fortasse veterem illam Ecclesiam adhuc somnias, in qua tu cum famelicis aliquot Episcopis frigidum sane Pontificem agebas, paupertati, sudori, periculis, ac mille obnoxius incommodis. Jam ætas in melius commutavit omnia. Alia longe res nunc est Romanus Pontifex: tu nomine tituloque duntaxat eras Pontifex. Quid si nunc videres tot sacras ædes regiis exstructas opibus, tot ubique sacerdotum millia, plerosque censu amplissimo, tot Episcopos armis et opibus summis pares regibus, tot splendidissima sacerdotum palatia; præcipue vero, si Romæ videas tot purpuratos Cardinales, legionibus famulorum stipatos, tot equos plusquam regiones, tot mulas bysso, auro, gemmis ornatas, aliquot soleis etiam aureis et argenteis * calceatos. Jam si Summum Pontificem conspiceres, sublimem in aurea sella militum humeris vehi, ad manum motam passim omnes adorantes; si strepitum audires bombardarum, si clangorem tubarum, si bombos classicorum, si fulmina machinarum videres, si populi applausus, si acclamationes, si omnia tædis collucentia, si summos etiam Principes ad beatorum oscula pedum vix admitti; si spectasses Romanum illum Sacerdotem pede coronam auream imponentem Imperatori Romano, qui Rex est Regum omnium (si quid modo valerent jura scripta) quanquam nihil obtinet, nisi magni nominis umbram: Hæc, inquam, si vidisses audissesque, quid tandem diceres? PET. Tyrannum plusquam mundanum videre me, Christi hostem, Ecclesiæ pestem. JUL. Secus loquereris, si vel unum meorum triumphorum spectasses, vel eum quo Bononiam sum invectus, vel quem egi Romæ, subactis Venetis; vel quo Bononia fugiens, Romam sum revectus; vel quem hic egi postremum, Gallis præter omnem spem fufis apud Ravennam: si mannos, si caballos, si militum armatorum aciem, si ducum ornamenta, si delectorum spectacula puerorum, si faces undique lucentes, si ferculorum apparatus, si pompam Episcoporum, si Cardinalium fastum, si tropæa, si manubias, si in cælum reboantes plebis ac militum acclamationes, si plausu perstreptentia omnia, si lituorum cantum, tubarum tonitrua, bombardarum fulmina, si sparfos in populum numos, si me veluti numen quoddam sublimem ferri spectasses, totius pompæ caput et authorem, tum Scipiones, Æmilios, Augustos, sordidos ac frugales duxisses præ me. PET. Ohe, satis triumphorum, gloriosissime miles! Imo illos licet Ethnicos, odio tui complecterer, qui cæsis tua causa tot Christianorum milibus, triumphos agebas, sanctissimus in Christo Pater, tot legionibus interitus autor exististi, qui ne unam animulam, neque verbo neque vita ^h Christi lucrifeceris. O paterna viscera! O dignum Christo Vicarium, qui semet ipsum impendit, ut omnes servaret! Tu, ut unum pestilens defenderes caput, totius orbis exitium accerxisti. JUL. Ista ⁱ loquaris, quod invideris gloriæ nostræ, dum perspicias quam humilis fuerit tuus Episcopatus cum nostro collatus. PET. Audes, impudens,

* Perhaps calceatas.

^h Read *Christo*.ⁱ Read *loqueris*.

tuam gloriam cum mea conferre? Tametsi mea gloria, Christi gloria est, non mea. Primum omnium si mihi das Christum optimum esse, verumque Principem Ecclesiæ, ipse mihi claves regni dedit, ipse pascendas oves commisit, ipse meam fidem suo præconio approbavit: Te pecunia, te studia mortalium, te fraudes fecere Pontificem, si modo Pontifex is appellandus est. Ego tot animarum milia Christo lucrifeci: tu tot in exitium traxisti. Ego Romam antea Gentilem, primus Christum docui: tu Christianæ jam Gentilitatis exististi magister. Ego vel umbra corporis sanabam ægros, liberabam a Dæmonio vexatos, ad vitam revocavi defunctos, et quacunque incederem, beneficiis implebam omnia. Quid simile tui habuere triumphi? Poteram verbo quem voluisssem tradere Satanæ; et quantum poteram, experta est Saphira cum suo marito: tamen quicquid habebam potestatis, in utilitatem omnium consumsi. Tu omnibus inutilis, si quid poteras, imo et quod non poteras, ad publicam orbis perniciem vertisti. JUL. Demiror, cur in catalogo gloriarum tuarum non hæc etiam addis, pauperiem, vigiliis, sudores, tribunalia, carceres, vincula, probra, plagas, cruces denique. PET. Recte admones. Nam istis de rebus justius gloriabor, quam de miraculis. Horum nomine Christus nos jussit gaudere et exultare: horum nomine nos beatos vocavit. Ita Paulus collega quondam meus, cum sua jactat facinora, non commemorat urbes armis expugnatas, non legiones ferro cæsas, non orbis Principes ad bella concitados, non fastus tyrannicos; sed naufragia, vincula, flagra, pericula, insidias. Hic est triumphus vere Apostolicus, hæc est gloria Christiani ducis. Jactat ille quos genuerit Christo, quos ab impietate retraxerit, non quot ducatorum millia congesserit. Denique nos cum Christo perpetuum jam agentes triumphum laudibus prosequuntur et mali. Te nemo non execrabitur, nisi vel tui similis, vel adulator. JUL. Rem inauditam audio. PET. Credo. Nam qui tibi fuisset otium Evangelicas evolvere literas, Pauli, measque Epistolas lectitare, tot legationibus, tot foederibus, tot rationibus, tot exercitibus, tot triumphis occupato? At cæteræ quidem artes omnes animum desiderant sordidis vacuum curis: Christi vero disciplina pectus requirit ab omni contagio terrenæ sollicitudinis purgatissimum. Nec enim tantus magister e cælo descendit in terras, ut facilem aliquem aut vulgarem philosophiam traderet mortalibus. Non otiosa neque secunda professio est, esse Christianum, voluptates omnes ceu venenum aspernari, divitias, perinde ut lutum, calcare, vitam pro nihilo ducere: hæc est Christiani hominis professio. Hæc quoniam intoleranda videntur iis qui non Christi spiritu aguntur, ad inania quædam vocabula, merasque ceremonias deflectunt, et factitio capiti Christi factitium addunt corpus. JUL. Quid tandem mihi boni reliquum facis, si me nudis exuis, si regno spoliis, si nudas scenore, si voluptatibus abdicas, si vita denique privas? PET. Quin tu igitur ipsum Christum infelicem pronuncias, qui cum esset omnium summus, ludibrium factus est omnium; in paupertate, sudoribus, jejuniis, in fame vitam omnem peregit; denique morte omnium probrosissima defunctus est. JUL. Inveniet fortasse qui laudet:

det: qui ^k imitetur neminem, his sane temporibus. PET. Atqui hoc ipsum denique laudare est, imitari. Quanquam Christus non orbat suos bonis, sed pro falsis bonis, veris et æternis locupletat. At non locupletat, nisi prius omnibus hujus mundi bonis abdicatos ac repurgatos. Ut ipse totus erat cœlestis, ita corpus suum, hoc est Ecclesiam sui simillimam esse voluit, id est, a mundi contagiis alienissimam. Alioqui qui posset esse idem cum illo qui sedet in cœlis, si terrenis adhuc fœcibus immergatur? Verum ubi fuerit excussum ab omnibus hujus mundi commodis, atque etiam quod ¹ anxius est, affectibus, tum denique Christus suas explicat opes: pro relictis mellitis, imo multo alio tinctis voluptatibus, cœlestium gaudiorum gustum impertit: pro relictis opibus, longe præstantiores impertit. JUL. Quas, obsecro? PET. Ni tu vulgares opes putas, prophetiæ donum, donum scientiæ, donum miraculorum: nisi vilem putas Christum ipsum, quem quisquis habet, in ipso possidet omnia: postremo, nisi nos hic pauperem agere vitam putas. Ita quo quisque in mundo est afflictior, hoc uberius deliciatur in Christo: quo in mundo pauperior, hoc in Christo locupletior: quo in mundo dejectior, hoc in illo sublimior et honoratior: quo minus vivit in mundo, hoc magis vivit in Christo. Verum cum totum corpus suum purissimum esse voluit, tum præcipue ministros, hoc est, Episcopos: ut inter hos quisque major est, hoc sit Christo similior, et ab omnibus mundi commodis expeditior et honoratior. Nunc contra video, eum qui Christo proximus, atque adeo par haberi vult, omnium maxime rebus sordidissimis immersum, pecuniis, ditionibus, copiis, bellis, fœderibus, ut ne quid interim de vitiis dicam. Et postea cum sis alienissimus a Christo, Christi tamen titulo ad tuam abuteris superbiam; et illius prætextu, qui regnum mundi despexit, mundanum tyrannum agis; et verus Christi hostis, agis honorem Christo debitum. Benedicis aliis, ipse maledictus: aperis aliis cœlum, unde ipse procul exclusus es: consecras, execratus: excommunicas, cui nihil est cum Sanctis commune. Quid enim inter te et Turcarum ducem, nisi quod tu Christi vocabulum prætexis? Certe mens eadem, consimiles vitæ sordes, tu major orbis pestis. JUL. At ego cupiebam Ecclesiam omnibus bonis exornatam. Sed Aristotelem aiunt tres bonorum ordines constituere: quorum quædam sunt fortunæ, quædam corporis, quædam animi. Itaque nolebam bonorum ordinem invertere. A fortunæ bonis cœpi: fortasse paulatim ad animi bona venturus, nisi præmatura mors terris me eripuisset. PET. Præmatura sane, nempe septuagenarium. Quanquam quid opus erat aquam igni miscere? JUL. Atqui si desunt ista commoda, vulgus nos non pili faciet. Quin nunc quoque metuunt et oderunt. Atque ita tota respublica Christiana collaberetur, ni contra vim inimicorum sese tueri queat. PET. Imo si Christianorum vulgus conspiceret in te veras Christi dotes, nempe vitæ sanctimoniam,

^k Jerom, adjuring Pope Damasus to give him instruction in some point, says — *Ita te alius senem cingat*: So may another gird thee, &c. alluding to *John XXI. 18*. That is: *So mayst thou have the honour to die a Martyr!* ad Damasum, tom. II. p. 135. Where Erasmus notes: *Optat Hieronymus Damasum martyrium. Quid si quis ad eundem modum obtestatus fuisset Julium secundum? Quid impetrasset? crucem, opinor.*

¹ Read, *amplius*.

sacram doctrinam, charitatem flagrantem, prophetiam, virtutes, hoc te magis suspiceret, quo a mundi commodis intelligeret mundio rem. Et Christiana respublica latius floreret, si puritate vitæ, si contemptu voluptatum, divitiarum, imperii, mortis, Gentilibus esset admiranda. Nunc non solum contracta est in angustissima, verum etiam, si diligentius excutias, plerosque nomine duntaxat invenies Christianos. Quæso te, non reputabas tecum, cum esses Summus Ecclesiæ Pastor, quibus modis nata esset Ecclesia, quibus aucta, quibus constabilita? Num bellis, num opibus, num equis? Imo, patientia, sanguine Martyrum et nostro, carceribus, flagris. Tu Ecclesiam dicis auctam, cum humana ditione onerati sunt illius ministri. Ornatam vocas, cum mundi muneribus ac deliciis inquinatur. Defensam appellas, cum pro sacerdotum peculio mundus universus bellis perniciosissimis conflictatur. Florentem dicis, cum mundi voluptatibus ebria est. Tranquillam, cum, nemine reclamante, divitiis, imo vitiis fruitur. Atque his bracteatis titulis Principibus imposuisti; qui te præceptore docti, magna sua latrocinia ac furiosos conflictus, Christi defensionem vocant. JUL. Atqui ista nunquam antehac audiui. PET. Quid igitur docebant te concionatores? JUL. Ab illis quidem nihil nisi meras laudes audiebam: phaleratis verbis mea præconia detonabant; me Jovem fulmine concutientem omnia, me verum quoddam numen esse prædicabant; publicam orbis salutem; aliaque id genus permulta. PET. Nec mirum sane, nullum extitisse qui te condiret: cum tu sal esses insulsus et fatuus. Nam id proprium Apostolici viri munus, alios docere Christum, idque purissime. JUL. Non aperis igitur? PET. Cuivis potius quam tali pesti. Nam tibi quidem omnes excommunicati sumus. Sed vis consilium non malum? habes manum hominum strenuorum: habes pecuniam immensam: es ipse bonus ædificator: exstrue tibi novum aliquem paradisum, sed probe^m munitam, ne possit a cacodæmonibus expugnari. JUL. Imo, faciam quod me dignum est: operiar menses aliquot, et auctis copiis meis, vi deturbabo vos istinc, nisi in deditionem venietis. Neque enim dubito, quin brevi sint ad me e bellorum stragibus sexaginta hominum milia perventura. PET. O pestem! O miseram Ecclesiam! Sed heus, ⁿ Genie, nam tecum magis libet confabulari, quam cum isto deterrimo monstro. GEN. Quid est? PET. Sunt istiusmodi cæteri quoque Episcopi? GEN. Bona pars hujus est farinæ: verum hic omnium antesignanus. PET. Tu videlicet hominem ad tot excitaisti flagitia. GEN. Ego minime: imo adeo præcurrebat, ut ipse vix alis adjutus assequi possem. PET. Sane non miror, si huc tam pauci adveniunt, cum hujusmodi pestes Ecclesiæ gubernaculis assideant: quandoquidem vulgum utcunque sanabilem esse vel hinc conjicio, quod ob solum Pontificis titulum, tam spurcæ cloacæ defert honorem. GEN. Rem ipsam dicis. Sed jamdudum ^o nuit mihi meus imperator, et baculum movet. Itaque, vale.

^m Read *munitum*.ⁿ He should have said, *Geni*.^o Read *innuit*.

N^o. LXIII.*Some Latin Epistles of Sir Thomas More.*

IN the Leyden Edition of Erasmus, there are *one and twenty* Letters of More. I have made a collection of *seventeen*, which are not to be found there. They are not Letters of mere compliments; they are upon learned subjects; some of them are very scarce; and defences of Erasmus against his adversaries make up a great part of their contents. As they are valuable on several accounts; so, in my opinion, they have one small blemish, which is, that they are more in the style of Orations than of Epistles, and that the periods are rather too long, and embarrassed.

I.

Thom. Morus Coletio suo S. D.

* **A**MBULANTI mihi dudum in foro, et, intra aliena negotia otianti obtulit se puer tuus; quem cum primum intuerer, vehementer sum gavisus, tum quod hic ipse mihi semper charus exstitit, tum præcipue quod arbitrabar eum sine te non venisse. At ubi ab illo didici te ^p modo non rediisse, sed nec diu adhuc rediturum, dici non potest ex quanta lætitia, in quantam mœstitiā rejectus sum. Quid enim mihi potest esse molestius, quam suavissima tua consuetudine privari? cujus prudentissimo consilio frui, cujus jucundissimo convictu recreari, cujus gravissimis concionibus excitari, cujus exemplo et vita promoveri, in cujus denique vultu ipso ac nutu solebam conquiescere. Itaque ut his præsidiis vallatus aliquando me sensi roborari, ita eisdem destitutus ^q languore mihi ferme videor absolvi: et quia tua semper vestigia secutus jam pene ex ipsis Orci faucibus emerferam, nunc rursus tanquam ^r Euridice (contraria tamen lege; ^r Euridice quidem, quod illam respexit Orpheus; ego vero, quod me non respicis) in obscuras retro caligines nescio qua vi ac necessitate relabor. Nam in urbe quid est quod quenquam ad bene vivendum moveat, ac non potius suoapte ingenio nitentem in arduum virtutis callem evadere mille machinamentis revocet, illecebris mille resorbeat? Quocumque te conferas, quid aliud quam hinc fictus amor et blande adulatorum mellita venena circumsonant? hinc odia sæva et querulæ lites ac forenses strepitus obmurmurant? Quocumque tuleris oculos, quid aliud videas, quam cupedenarios, cetarios, lanios, coquos,

* From Knight's Life of Colet, p. 157. who took it from Stapleton, *De tribus Thomis.*

^p I suppose, *non modo non.* —

^q Read: *languere — ac solvi.* From Stapleton.

^r *Eurydice.*

fartores, piscatores, aucupes, qui materiam ventri ministrant, ac mundo et principi ejus Diabolo? Tecta quinetiam ipsa nescio quomodo bonam partem lucis eripiunt, nec cœlum libere sinunt intueri. Aërem itaque non ^s *ὁρίζων* ille circulus, sed domorum culmen determinat. Quo æquior tibi sum, si minime te adhuc ruris pœniteat; quippe ubi simplicem turbam vides, et urbicæ fraudis expertem; ubi quoquo versus oculos intendas, blanda telluris facies juvat, aëris grata reficit temperies, ipse te cœli delectat aspectus. Nihil ibi vides nisi benigna naturæ munera, et sancta quædam innocentiae vestigia. Nolo tamen his oblectationibus adeo capiari, quin quam primum possis, ad nos revoles. Nam si tibi displicent urbis incommoda, at Stephani rus (cujus etiam non minus debes esse sollicitus) haud minora tibi commoda suppeditabit, quam quod nunc incolis: unde etiam in urbem, ubi magna tibi merendi materia est, potes interdum tanquam in hospitium divertere. Nam ruri, quam sint homines ipsi per se aut fere innocui, aut certe non adeo magnis sceleribus irretiti, cujusque medici manus utilis esse potest: at in urbe tam propter ingentem magnitudinem, tam ob inveteratam morborum consuetudinem, medicus omnis frustra nisi peritissimus accesserit. Veniunt certe in D. Pauli suggestum aliquando, qui sanitatem pollicentur; sed quum speciose perorasse videntur, adeo vita cum verbis litigat, ut irritent, potius quam mitigent; non enim persuadere * possent hominibus, ut quum ipsi sint omnium ægrotissimi, idonei credantur quibus alienarum ægritudinum cura merito committatur. Itaque morbos suos quum ab his tractari sentiunt, quos exulceratos vident, vident indignanter ilicet, atque recalcitrant. At si, ut naturarum indagatores affirmant, is demum medicus ad sanitatem appositus est, in quo ægrotus maximam habet spem, quis dubitet quin te uno ad curandam universam urbem nemo possit esse salubrior? a quo quam æquo animo vulnera sua tractari patiantur, quantum confidant, quantum pareant, et tute antehæc satis expertus es, et nunc apud omnes tui desiderium atque incredibilis quædam expectatio declarat. Venias ergo tandem, mi Colete, vel Stephani tui gratia, qui haud secus diuturnam tui gemit absentiam, quam infantuli matris; vel patriæ tuæ causa, cujus haud minor tibi cura esse debet, quam parentum. Postremo (quamquam hoc minimum sit reducendi tui momentum) mei te respectus commoveat, qui me tibi totum dedidi, et in adventum tuum sollicitus pendeo. Interea cum Grocino, Linacro, et Lilio nostro tempus transigam; altero, ut tu scis, solo dum tu abes vitæ meæ magistro, altero studiorum præceptore, tertio charissimo rerum mearum socio. Vale, et nos, ut facis, ama. Londini, x Cal. Novembris.

s *ὁρίζων*.

t Perhaps, *quam*.

* Perhaps *possunt*.

v This Letter seems to have been written in 1509, or 1510. G.

* * Ep. I. IX, X, and XI. are from transcripts given me by Dr. Green, Dean of Lincoln.

II.

* *Thomas Morus Petro Ægidio S. D.*

¶ **P**UDET me propemodum, charissime Petre Ægidi, libellum hunc de *Utopiana Republica* post annum ferme ad te mittere, quem te, non dubito, intra sesquimenssem expectasse: quippe quum scires mihi demtum in hoc opere inveniendi laborem, neque de dispositione quicquam fuisse cogitandum, cui tantum erant ea recitanda, quæ tecum una pariter audivi narrantem Raphaëlem. Quare nec erat quod in eloquendo laboraretur; quoniam nec illius fermo potuit exquisitus esse, quum esset primum subitarius atque extemporalis, deinde hominis, ut scis, non perinde Latine docti, quam Græce; et mea oratio quanto accederet potius ad illius neglectam simplicitatem, tanto futura sit propior veritati, cui in hac re soli curam et debeo et habeo. Fateor, mi Petre, mihi adeo multum laboris his rebus paratis detractum, ut nihil fuerit relictum: alioquin hujus rei vel excogitatio vel œconomia potuisset ab ingenio neque infimo neque prorsus indocto postulare tum temporis nonnihil, tum studii. Quod si exigeretur, ut diserte etiam res, non tantum vere, scriberentur, id vero a me præstari nullo tempore, nullo studio potuisset. Nunc vero quum ablatis curis his, in quibus tantum fuit sudoris exhauriendum, restiterit tantum hoc, uti sic simpliciter scriberentur audita, nihil erat negotii. Sed huic tamen tam nihilo negotii peragendo cætera negotia mea minus fere quam nihil temporis reliquerunt; dum causas forenses assidue alias ago, alias audio, alias arbiter finio, alias judex dirimo; dum hic officii causa visitur, ille negotii; dum foris totum ferme diem aliis impertior, reliquum meis; relinquo mihi, hoc est, literis, nihil. Nempe reverso domum cum uxore fabulandum est, garriendum cum liberis, colloquendum cum ministris. Quæ ego omnia inter negotia numero, quando fieri necesse est (necesse est autem nisi velis esse domi tuæ peregrinus) et danda omnino opera est, ut quos vitæ tuæ comites aut natura providit, aut fecit casus, aut ipse delegisti, his ut te quam jucundissimum compares, modo ut ne comitate corrumpas, aut indulgentia ex ministris dominos reddas. Inter hæc quæ dixi, elabitur dies, mensis, annus. Quando ergo scribimus? Nec interim de somno quicquam sum locutus, ut nec de cibo quidem, qui multis non minus absomit temporis quam somnus ipse, qui vitæ absomit ferme dimidium. At mihi hoc solum temporis acquirō, quod somno ciboque suffuror: quod quoniam parcum est, lente, quia tamen aliquid, aliquando perfeci, atque ad te, mi Petre, transmissi Utopiam, ut legeres, et siquid effugisset nos, uti tu admoneres. Quamquam enim non hac parte penitus diffido mihi, qui utinam sic ingenio atque doctrina aliquid essem, ut memoria non usquequaque destituor, non usque adeo tamen confido, ut credam nihil mihi potuisse excidere. Nam et Joannes Clemens puer meus,

Life of Erasm. p. 182.

Prefixed to the *Utopia*.

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4 L

qui

qui adfuit, ut scis, una, ut quem a nullo patior sermone abesse, in quo aliquid esse fructus potest, quoniam ab hac herba, qua et Latinis literis et Græcis cœpit evirescere, egregiam aliquando frugem spero, in magnam me coniecit dubitationem. Siquidem quum, quantum ego recordor, Hythlodæus narraverit Amauroticum illum pontem, quo fluvius Anydrus insternitur, quingentos habere passus in longum, Joannes meus ait detrahendos esse ducentos, latitudinem fluminis haud supra trecentos ibi continere. Ego te rogo, rem ut revoces in memoriam. Nam si tu cum illo sentis, ego quoque adsentiar, et me lapsum credam: sin ipse non recolis, scribam ut feci, quod ipse recordari videor mihi: nam ut maxime curabo ne quid sit in libro falsi, ita si quid sit in ambiguo, potius mendacium dicam, quam mentiar; quod malim bonus esse, quam prudens. Quanquam facile fuerit huic mēderi morbo, si ex Raphaële ipso aut præsens fisciteris, aut per literas: quod necesse est facias, vel ob alium scrupulum, qui nobis incidit, nescio meane culpa magis, an tua, an Raphaëlis ipsius. Nam neque nobis in mentem venit quærere, neque illi dicere, qua in parte novi illius orbis Utopia sita sit. Quod non fuisse prætermisum sic, vellem profecto mediocri pecunia mea redemptum; vel quod subpudet me nescire, quo in mari sit insula, de qua tam multa recenseam; vel quod sunt apud nos unus et alter, sed unus maxime vir pius et professione Theologus, qui miro flagrat desiderio adeundæ Utopiæ, non inani et curiosa libidine collustrandi nova, sed uti religionem nostram feliciter ibi cœptam foveat atque adaugeat. Quod quo faciat rite, decrevit ante curare ut mittatur a Pontifice, atque adeo ut creetur Utopiensibus Episcopus, nihil eo scrupulo retardatus, quod hoc antistitium sit illi precibus impetrandum. Quippe sanctum ducit ambitum, quem non honoris aut quæstus ratio, sed pietatis respectus pepererit. Quamobrem te oro, mi Petre, uti aut præsens, si potes commode, aut absens per epistolam, compelles Hythlodæum, atque efficias ne quicquam huic operi meo aut insit falsi, aut veri desideretur: atque haud scio, an præstet ipsum ei librum ostendi. Nam neque alius æque sufficit, si quid est erratum, corrigere; neque is ipse aliter hoc præstare potest, quam si quæ sunt a me scripta perlegerit. Ad hæc fiet ut hoc pacto intelligas, accipiatne libenter, an gravatim ferat hoc operis a me conscribi. Nempe si suos labores decrevit ipse mandare literis, nolit fortasse me, neque ego certe velim Utopiensium per me vulgata republica, florem illi gratiamque novitatis historiæ suæ præripere. Quanquam, ut vere dicam, nec ipse mecum satis adhuc constitui, an sim omnino editurus. Etenim tam varia sunt palata mortalium, tam morosa quorundam ingenia, tam ingrati animi, tam absurda judicia, ut cum his haud paulo felicius agi videatur, qui jucundi atque hilares genio indulgent suo, quam qui semet macerant curis, ut edant aliquid quod aliis aut fastidientibus aut ingratum vel utilitati possit esse vel voluptati. Plurimi literas nesciunt, multi contemnunt: barbarus ut durum rejicit, quicquid non est plane barbarum: scioli aspernantur ut triviale, quicquid obsoletis verbis non scatet: quibusdam solum placent vetera; plerisque tantum sua. Hic tam tetricus est, ut non admittat jocos: hic tam insulsus, ut non ferat sales. Tam sumi quidam sunt, ut nasum omnem, velut aquam ab rabido morsus cane, reformident: adeo

adeo mobiles alii sunt, ut aliud sedentes probent, aliud stantes. Hi sedent in tabernis, et inter pocula de scriptorum judicant ingeniis, magnaue cum auctoritate condemnant utcunque lubitum est, suis quemque scriptis, veluti capillitio vellicantes, ipsi interim tuti, et, quod dici solet, ἔξω βέλγες, quippe tam leves et abradi undique, ut ne pilum quidem habeant boni viri, quo possint apprehendi. Sunt præterea quidam tam ingrati, ut quum impense delectentur opere, nihilo tamen magis ament auctorem; non absimiles inhumanis hospitibus, qui quum opiparo convivio prolixè sint excepti, saturi demum discedunt domum, nullis habitis gratiis ei, a quo sunt invitati. I nunc et hominibus tam delicati palati, tam varii gustus, animi præterea tam memoris et grati, tuis impensis epulum instrue. Sed tamen, mi Petre, tu illud age quod dixi cum Hythlodæo: postea tamen integrum erit hac de re consultare denuo. Quanquam si id ipsius voluntate fiat: quandoquidem scribendi labore defunctus, nunc sero sapio. Quod reliquum est, de edendo, sequar amicorum consilium, atque imprimis tuum. Vale, dulcissime Petre Ægidi, cum optima conjuge; ac me, ut soles, ama, quando ego te amo etiam plus quam soleo.

III.

Thomas Morus Germano Brixio S.

NON adeo tenere mihi met, Brixii, faveo, ut quod nemini unquam contigit mortalium, id dedigner ac doleam non contigisse mihi. Quis enim ullo seculo tam inoffense transegit vitam, ut ei nullus aliquando inimicus^b exorietur, quum haberet amicos? Quamobrem, quando illud mihi video communi mortalitatis sorte negatum, ut penitus inimico caream; gaudeo saltem fortunæ beneficio, amicos mihi perquam egregios, inimicum vero contigisse talem, quem neque amicum quisquam velit, neque inimicum curet; ut qui neque juvare benevolens, neque nocere possit iratus. Et tamen mihi certe succenserem, si vel talis merito me odisses meo. Nunc vero eo æquiore animo fero, quod non dubito quin omnibus inclarescat facile ineptum istud ac plusquam muliebri jurgium, non aliunde quam ex animi tui morbo natum. Quin eo quoque minus mihi displicet hoc certamen, quod ut nihil inde boni potest accidere, ita præter chartæ jacturam et temporis, quorum ego neutrum statui multum perdere, nihil alioqui queat alterutri nostrum magni evenire mali; quando tales uterque sumus, ut neque mihi quicquam tu nocere possis, neque tibi quisquam; quum sis ejusmodi, in quo nihil fieri detrimenti queat. Qua una fiducia te impulsam video, ut quaquaversus apud literatos omnes (si qui tamen tam nugaces nugæ dignabuntur legere) libello illo tam elegante, tam egregio indolis tuæ specimine, morumque tuorum tam gravi teste temet ipse traduceres; ut qui

^a From the London Edition of the Epistles of Erasmus.

^a Life of Erasmi. p. 237.

^b Read *exorietur*.

ante satis docuisses cujusmodi poëta sis, nunc demum edito in id libello, qualis etiam vir fies ostenderes. Ostendisti vero tam insigniter, ac temet ita depinxisti graphice, ut ego tot tantaque in te probra spargere, quam quibus tute temet totum oblinis, neque, si velim, queam; neque, si queam, velim. Et tamen ut ejusmodi laudibus te gestire doces, ea videatur una atque unica via placandi propitiandique tui, si quis in te foedis velit probris debacchari. Verum ego non usque adeo tuam amicitiam ambio, ut non ea potius mihi dicta cupiam, quæ vel uni placeant bono atque honesto viro, quam quæ trecentis Brixiiis: eoque præclaram illam ac divitem probrorum tuorum suppellectilem, qua te sic ostentas ac jactitas, haud contrectabo; neque, quoad abstinere licebit, attingam: tantum, si quid in ea fuerit jucundioris infaniæ, quod qui^c perpenderit ridere possint, odisse non debeant, eo non gravabor Lectoris levare fastidium; quod necesse est multum subeat in legendis ejusmodi rixis, ac nihil unquam profuturis jurgiis. Cætera vero, quibus te conspurcas foedius, aut prorsus valere sinam, aut sicubi cogar attingere, sic attingam leviter, ut omnibus faciam perspicuum, non minus libenter me tua probra contegere, quam tute, Brixii, detegas, ac, velut insigne, præ te feras. Nam quæ vitio vertis mihi, tam insulsæ sunt calumniæ, ut non fuisset dignatus rescribere, si non hoc unum duntaxat diluere visum esset, quod tu tam frequenter inculcas, quam nunquam probas, hujus tui jurgii auctorem esse me. At istud non dicere, Brixii, verum docere debueras. ^d Quam si eam rem satis declarare videbantur Epigrammata mea, ea saltem abs te tuo libello conveniebat adscribi; ne vel illis videreris impudens, quibus meum carmen non esset in manibus. Et fecisses, haud dubie, nisi sensisses e re non esse tua, meos versus legi. Qui si cominus conferantur tuis, etiamsi cui videantur alii, quod videntur tibi, tuorum scilicet splendorem carminum reverituri; hætenus tamen adversariorum luce fruerentur, ut res redderetur illustris, et ipsos magis objurgatos esse quam victos, et tibi non satis commodam ansam nunc demum debacchandi rursus arreptam. Quæ res quo fiat dilucidior, quando te libenter oblivisci video, præclari istius duelli caput tibi redigam in memoriam. Sed ita redigam, ut potius omittam quædam, quæ ad rem meam faciant, quam ut ob causæ commodum attingam quicquam, quod absque gentis cujusquam contumelia tangi non possit.

Quum ergo tumultus esset olim Lodovico Regi vestro, cum Romano Pontifice, ac Princeps noster invictus Henricus, ejus nominis octavus, ab illa sacrosancta sede rogatus, labantibus Ecclesiæ rebus ferre statuisset auxilium, naves aliquot emisit in mare, quæ classem perquam potentem, quam Lodovicus adornarat, arcerent atque compescerent. Quæ quum sibi mutuo occurrissent, reliquis omnibus utrinque bona fortuna servatis, duæ tantum, quæ primo congressu protinus, injectis harpagonibus ita sunt colligatæ, ut tabulatis igne correptis dirimi non potuerint, triste belli præludium, perierunt. Hanc navalem pugnam quum tu ita descripsisses versibus, non ut vera falsis involveres, sed ut rem ferme totam meris mendaciis fingeres, atque

^c Read *perpenderit*.^d Read *Quod*.

ex arbitrio tuo concinnares novam; quum Regis nostri pietatem nomine depravares invidiæ, Angliamque totam, velut foedifragam atque perjuram, maledictis falsis perquam petulanter incefferes; quum Herveum plusquam Herculeum mendaciis plusquam poëticis in mare deduceres; quum nostras naves, quibus æquor intraveras, una tu in vectus *Chordigera*, parva comitante caterva, fretus Herveo bellipotente disjiceres, ac, velut muscas quocunque tibi libebat abigeres, plerasque vero fluctibus, homo crudelis, immergeres, quas paulo tamen postea Neptunus misericors incolumes dimisit domum; quum *Regentem* nostram, lepusculi more fugientem tu generosus canis insequeris *Chordigerâ*; quum *Chordigeram*, cui remigii nullus usus erat, validis remigum lacertis impelleres, ne tibi periret operosum illud hemistichium, *Validis impulsa lacertis*; quum Hervei clamoso flatu proflares vela; quum navis adversæ ducem, virum magni nominis et loci præterires tacitum, idque ex arte videlicet; quum Herveum ferme factitium caneres non fortiter modo, verum etiam prodigiose pugnantem; quum eum in *Regentem*, in qua nunquam pedem posuit, in medios hostes imperterritum intruderet; quum *Regentem*, occupatis ejus speculis, horrenda edita strage, victam vinctamque traheres; quum e victa nave non satis observatus in victricem jaceres ardentis flammæ bolidem, quæ res fuisset victis vinctisque difficilis; quum Herveum adhuc in *Regente* relictum memoria lapsus, quæ res mentientibus facile solet obrepere, subito, velut bicorpore, in conflagrante *Chordigera*, mediis in flammis, faceres longis logis concionantem, non in aliud, opinor, mortem differens, quam ut interea te videlicet alumnum Phœbi suis aliquando fatis vatem vaticinaretur futurum; quum heroës universos in cinerem decoqueres, qui maluerunt exuri quam in *Regentem* sese transferre quam ceperant, quam victam vinctamque trahebant, passisque ad sidera palmis; quum Herveum describeres suis superstitem fociis, jam jamque evoluturum ad superos, nimirum quicquid mortale gerebat excocto flammis, maximeque mortalium perniciosis affectibus, cujuscumque sunt i cum primis et odium, tum demum ita purgatum, Divi, opinor, Laurentii, ad cujus exemplar fortissimi viri pectus effinxeras, exemplo provocatum, captam navem fingeres et tot egregia deditorum corpora, per invidiam atque vindictæ libidinem, nullo suo fructu concremantem secum; quum demum non homines tantum ac naves usque adeo devorares ignibus, ut ne Deus quispiam e machina, quod fieri solet in tragœdiis, unum saltem servarit incolumem, qui te rei quam decantas ordinem doceret, verum etiam flammis illis corripere

Sidera cum cœlo, cumque ipsis piscibus æquor;

nec illud brevi hyperbole, sed pluribus versiculis accuratissime stolidis, pulchre videlicet æmulatus Ovidium, hoc etiam vincens, quod quum ille ab Solis equis absque rectore deerrantibus orbis finxerit incendium, tu perquam scite scilicet, cœlum, terras, ac mare comburas a conflagrante navicula; quum sic victo Nasone ferox, Maronem quoque lacefferes; et quoniam is effinxerat demissam a Jove pluviam, quæ flagrantem *Æneæ* classem respergeret atque servaret, tu perditis jam atque consumtis incendio navibus, imbrem e cœlo copiose deplueres, ne, velut aqua perennis e pumice scaturit,
sic

fic ignis ex aqua jugiter eructatus flammam ejacularetur in cœlum : Hæc ita cum tractares, ipse casu tuum nactus librum, haud scio an etiam tum excusum typis, quum tam immania portenta viderem, tam fœda, tam pudenda mendacia, fictiones tam absurdas, purpureos aliorum pannos hinc atque inde infutos illi tuo crassissimo bardocucullo, quibus ne locus non esset, habitum totum in eam compositum formam, quam

Non sani esse hominis non sanus juret Orestes,

uno atque altero Epigrammate me significavi in narratione tua fidem rerum, in poëmâ desiderare consilium, tum plures abs te congestos, quam pro horrei tui modulo alieni farris acervos. Eodem tempore Epigramma luseram in nostratem quendam, qui ut parum tempestive, sic non admodum feliciter affectabat Gallicitatem. Quo in Epigrammate, si quid est mordacius, id in ridiculum incidit affectatorem, non in Gallos ; de quibus, ut maxime torqueas epigramma, non aliud excuties dictum, quam quod heri sitis in ministros paulo duriusculi. Quod nec vos, opinor, admodum diffitemini, et ego sicut non insector in vobis, ita quum sui cuique genti sint mores, in illo nostrate displicuit, quod apud nos, præter consuetudinem nostram, durius tractaret vestratem. Hæc ego quum illa tempestate scriberem, qua belli fremitu flagrabant omnia, etiamsi quid asperius mihi venisset in mentem, non credidissem certe, nec tam iniquum quenquam, nec ipsum te tam improbe faventem tibi, ut libris in nos debacchati, tamen exigeretis a nobis uti ne versiculo quidem vicissim tangeremini. Quamobrem si ego prior in te scripsi, provocasse convincar ; si tu prius in nos, quid habes quod isti tam inhonesto facto possis honeste prætexere, cum ipse librum epigrammate rependerim, tu rursus epigramma jocosum retaliaris mirum quam virulento volumine ? Ad hæc, cum ego statim illa mea rebus nondum pacatis luserim, tu nunc tot annis postea, in summa pace, arctissima necessitate conjunctis regibus, mira concordia conglutinatis populis, post sancitam sanctissimis utrinque cæremoniis saluberrimam * * * * * nunc exoriris denique qui sopitas atque oblitteratas simultates renoves, coalescentia divellas vulnera, et obductas cicatrices refrices, qui nobis in os ingeras fœdas nostrorum fugas, dispersas et obrutas classes, invidiam, fœdifraga perjuria, quas res ipse fœde confingis. Atqui hæc abs te omnia videri vis concinne fieri, quod me strenuus videlicet nunc aggredieris, qui tecum sim olim aliquando luctatus. At cui non perspicuum est, quam ridicule sit facturus athleta, qui prodiens in palæstram, semelque universos provocans, quum forte sit dejectus a quopiam, tandem soluto cœtu, dimissoque ludo, aliquot post annis redeat denique, atque rebus animisque omnium immutatis, et in quidlibet potius quam ejusmodi certamina versis, inopinus affiliens, antagonistam, cum quo olim luctatus est, derepente corripit medium, provocatum etiamnum sese clamitans quasi vel provocet qui provocanti respondeat, vel initum semel certamen duraret æternum ? Quam ridicule sit, inquam, ejusmodi facturus athleta, cui non est perspicuum, etiamsi fors congressu fuerit superior ? Quod si sic infiliens, cum huc atque illuc verterit sese, brachiaque jactans ac tibias,

* Perhaps, tranquillitatem.

alios ejectis pugnīs, alios calcibus feriat, atque in his fortassis etiam prioris ludi
 agonotheas, denique ubi diu frustra se torserit, quum prosternere non possit
 adversarium, ne frustra processisse videatur, in vultum conspuat, crapula-
 que ac sanie totum ebrio ejecta stomacho convomat, itaque gestiens, tanquam
 re præclare gesta discedat, egregium scilicet triumphum in ganeis ac popi-
 nis acturus; hiccine palæstrita coronandus? An dignus potius fuerit, cui ta-
 los aliquis et crura perfringat? Jam quis non videt, Brixi, quam tu sis huic
 athletæ similis? Quamquam hoc fortasse dissimilis, quod non athletico cer-
 tamine totam gentem nostram, sed hostilibus provocasti conviciis; nisi forte
 contendas perjurium non habendum pro contumelia, quod simile est, ac si
 disputes, asinum non habendum pro quadrupede. Qua in provocatione,
 quom ego tecum uno atque altero telo, sed exarmato, non tam dimicarem
 quam luderem, nam is videbare quem non esset operæ pretium lædere, ta-
 men nescio quo pacto, ut facile penetratur pustula, tanto cum dolore ictum
 recepisti, ut nunc demum tot elapsis annis, toties facta firmataque pace,
 tam multis modis constabilita concordia, tam necessaria junctis affinitate
 Principibus, quæ res una debuit inter utriusque populos pristinas omnes si-
 multates tollere, tu tamen, tanquam neque prior provocasses, et adhuc du-
 raret bellum, in me repente rursus insurgas, et omnibus in amorem, amici-
 tiam, societatem, ac jam quoque hospitalitatem mutuam intentis, hostilibus
 armis invadas; et telis non acutis admodum, sed, quod amplius est quam
 inter homines non omnino barbaros ac silvestres belli jura permiserint, im-
 petas venenatis; non stupide minus quam improbe clamitans interim, te
 prodire provocatum, tanquam responsurus esses ad ea, quæ nos in te dum
 tibi responderemus injecimus; quæ certe fuerunt ejusmodi, ut ea respon-
 dendo non possis, quantumlibet sudaris, effugere. Quod quum verum esse
 sensisses, sic instituisti libellum tuum, ut tuam defensionem timide, ac velut
 obiter attingens, totus in me confodiendum convertereris; qua in re quum
 quicquid tibi virium fuerit intenderis, quid aliud effecisti denique quam ut
 effutitis infacetis facetiis, evomito furiali veneno, me tandem, quum non
 potuisti lædere, ne nihil egeris, perspuisti, atque ita demum discessisti victor
 ac triumphator egregius? Verum in me quam lepide dicax fueris mox vi-
 debimus. Interea pensitemus isto tam operoso libello, in quo elaborando
 plures perdidisti dies, quam liber habet versiculos, quanto cum artificio quæ
 tibi sunt objecta dilueris. Ego igitur quum in te taxassem alia furto subrep-
 ta veteribus, alia perabsurde tractata, omnia denique sic abs te narrata, ut
 neque in rebus veritas esset, neque in verbis fides, ad primum sic respondes,
 tanquam ego sim criminatus quod tui versiculi nimis redoleant antiquitatem,
 a quo ego crimine, ne quid excusando te torqueas, facile te absolvo. Nam
 quod idem crimen alibi rursus attingens obiter, rursus dissimulas objectum
 furtum, rursus velut objectam æmulationem defendis, ac non contentus si
 reprehensione careas, laudem etiam ab re tam illaudata vendices, quod ita
 videlicet veteres æmulatus sis, quod eorum assidue vestigiis inhæseris, quod
 Herculi denique clavam e manibus eripueris, non potui, hercle, sine risu
 legere, e facto tam pudendo tam magnifice vendicatam gloriam. Nam
 quum omnia pessime sis imitatus, quum aliorum vel hemistichia vel integros
 versus,

versus, uno interdum verbulo male commutato, interdum ne commutato quidem, passim usurpes pro tuis, hoc non est, opinor, æmulari, Brixii, sed contaminare, fœdare, polluere; hoc non est Herculi clavam vi eripere, sed repositam furto subripere: quanquam negare non possum quin hoc sit veterum inhærere vestigiis. Verum enimvero, Brixii, nimis inhæres ^f importunæ, quum sic inhæres vestigiis, ut eorum decutias calceos, quibus tuos pedes haud quaquam æquales obvestias. Nec tibi satis patrocinii fuerit, si quid tale de se dixit Virgilius, quale tu de temet jactas, neque enim cujusque est Corinthum petere: ille de se dixit, quod abunde præstitit; tu de te gloriaris in eo quod præstare non sufficis, nisi simile putes esse pereuntes Ennii versiculos Virgilii poematis æternum victuris inferere, et æternos Virgilii versus tuis infulcire pereuntibus; illum aliorum carmina interclusisse melioribus, te splendidissima quæque vetustiorum sordibus immiscuisse tuis; illum sic certare cum Græcis ut ubique sese parem probet, plerumque etiam superet, te cum Latinis congressum non hoc agere, ut æmuleris aut certes, sed ut ex insidiis aliquid auferas, quod in tuam supellectilem conferas integrum, si clam fore furtum speres, alioqui, velut equi furtivi caudam atque aurículas amputes, ut vel deformato possis uti potius quam careas. Qua in re adeo te industrium præbes ac plane frugi furem, ut frequenter ne vel hemistichio alieno contineas manum, si quod tibi videatur eximie bellum, mire absurda commenta, fictiones ineptissimas, quas locus aut res neque petit neque patitur, a cœlo ad terras usque, sed quæ neque cœlum, quod aiunt, neque terram attingant, accersas. ^g Quam si in explicanda pugna, in tempestate repræsentanda, vel si quid aliud erit ejusmodi, Veterum quempiam proponas æmulandum tibi, sic illius verba pleraque, sic versus plerumque totos in versus inculcas tuos, sic quicquid variarum immutas in deterius, ut si quis partes conferat seorsum, hinc nihil illi similis, hinc ille ipse videaris. Sin utrinque simul contempletur totum, tum vero videri possit, ira quapiam Superorum, mira metamorphosi pulcherrimus heros quispiam in ridiculum commutatus simium.

Ergo quum objecta tibi tua furta, ratione tam elegante, nempe dissimulatione, diluisses, ad tam pudenda mendacia, quibus *Chordigera* tua non aliter scætet quam cadaver vermibus, velut Ajacis clypeum aut Palladis Ægida, poëtices opponis privilegium, quo videlicet historica lege tradendæ veritatis eximitur. At ego profecto, Brixii, ut poëticen, augustam sane et perquam liberam divam, non adeo angustis limitibus obsepserim, quin ut verborum, ita rerum quoque fingendarum detur licentia, modo sumpta pudenter; ita plane non patiar, ut quidlibet impudenter ementiens, idemque tractans absurde, totam rerum seriem, atque adeo summam invertat atque demutet. Quam si alioqui statueris, omnibus prorsus Historiæ legibus tam absolute liberam, ut et debellasse cantitet, qui non conflixerint, ut vicisse pronunciet, qui victi sint, hostesque fugasse, qui fugerint; jam non Didonis tantum miseranda fata, quæ tu pro fictis affers, irriserimus, quæ nescio an satis confutata, certe trahuntur in dubium non sat indubitatae ^h fidei autoribus, verum etiam falsa

^f Read *importune*.^g Read *Quod*.^h *fidei*.

esse bella omnia, falsa fictaque conjugia, aut Æneam certe a Turno, Turnum a Pallante superatum, omnia denique contra gesta, quam sunt a Marone tradita, crediderimus; de Virgilio videlicet accedentes tibi; de Homero vero Dioni, homini tam infenso Poëticæ, ut totum Trojanum bellum contenderit, atque ipsam propemodum Trojam, figmentum esse Homericum, idque obstinate contenderit, infinitis victus argumentis. Quod non alio consilio fecisse videtur, quam ut id ipsum infensus ageret, quod agis nunc ipse propitius; hoc tantum diversus, quod quam rem ille studio conabatur, ut nemo poëtas haberet in pretio, hoc tu procures imprudens, non faber fabro invidens, sed arti prorsus ipsi suam invidens gloriam, ipsique adeo tibi tuam, si quantus ⁱ habere postulas, tantus vere vates esses, cui annon præcipuam gratiam decusseris, si nemo sua facta dignabitur poëticis versibus commendari memoriæ? Nemo certe dignabitur, qui mentem habeat, qui quidem habeat persuasum habenda pro fictis omnia, quæcunque Poëta cecinerit; idque eo fatente ipso ^k cecinit.

Cæterum hac in parte, ut vere tecum loquar ac libere, non unus es, qui res nobiscum gestas a vobis, si non falso recenseas, nam id dicere apud tam teneras aures religio est, at certe ^l nimirum recenseas libere. Prodiit opusculum *Pillei Turonensis* satis canoris versibus. Nam reliqua libens prætereo, ne is quoque se provocatum clamitet; cujus in libello tamen quisquis adverterit in re narranda quam passim utatur Brixiana poëtica, quam honoratis titulis nostram exornet Angliam, quam venerandis epithetis inclytas honestet Hispanias, is, opinor, certe judicabit, si quis Pilleum aut Hispanus aut Anglus non tantum epigrammate remorderet, nihil habiturum causæ Pilleum, cur se queratur laceffitum esse, quum prior læserit. Quod si quis tam iniquus esset usquam, ut contra sentiat, non dubitarem vel ipse eam subiisse calumniam, si liber olim mihi venisset in manus. Nunc vero non est consilium antiquatis amicitia nova simultatibus tumultuari de integro. Quamobrem omisso libro, titulum tantum proponam; cum ut ex ungue liceat æstimare leonem, tum ut si cui libeat legere, nomen habeat saltem, quo vestiget librum. Is ita inscriptus est: *De Anglorum e Galliis fuga, et Hispanorum e Navarra expulsionem*. Quis non vel absque cribro divinet facile, cujus farinae reliquus fiet liber, quum istiusmodi furfuris legat titulum, qui cum reliquo libro tam concinne concinit, quam ab historia tota discordat? Nam quis non rideat, quod Anglos prælio jactat e Galliis esse fugatos? Quos, opinor, satis constat, ut nihil amplius dicam, certe non fugatos e Galliis; quod si fugatos sentit ab Aquitanis, quomodo fugari ^m poterat ab iis cum quibus nec eo ventum est, ut liceret congredi? At istud multo adhuc magis insigniter est ridiculum, quod Hispanos buccinet Navarræ possessione depullos, qui Navarram tum ingressi, perpetuo post possederint, hodieque possideant. Sed donentur ista poëtica, qua Pillei Musa, quod ad fictiones attinet, ita belle refert tuam, ut nusquam terrarum sit simia simiæ similior. Quin et is, opinor, hanc obtundet poëticem, per quem haud ita pridem Parisiis excusus est fasciculus temporum, vere comburendus fasciculus, ut in

ⁱ Read *haberi*.^k Read *ipso* qui cecinit.^l Read *nimum*.^m Read *poterant*.

quem congesta sint ligna quædam, quæ nisi noster Princeps tam bene sibi conscius esset, ut se suaque facta non dubitet clarius latiusque testata, quam ut sint obnoxia latratibus invidorum, potuissent aliquem fortassis ignem inter duos populos accendere. Nam ei libello cum alia quædam nuper indita sunt seditiosa mendacia, tum coronis adjecta multo seditiosissima, qua legitur Princeps vester jam abhinc biennio fuisse moturus adversus Turcas, nisi ei fuisset infidelitas Regis Angli suspecta. Quis hæc ferat, qui norit neque de tali expeditione tum fuisse cogitatum vobis, neque quenquam aut minus fuisse suspectum Principi vestro quam nostrum, aut qui minus commiserit quare suspectari debuerit? Jam quid illo scriptore vel dici vel fingi potuit impudentius, qui vestra lingua perscripsit Jacobum Scotorum Regem, interea dum Rex noster in armis esset in Gallia, Britanniam ingressum, rebus feliciter gestis, ingente cum gloria sese recepisse domum? Nec reveritus est scriptor improbus totius orbis conscientiam, qua satis superque cognitum omnibus sciret esse mortalibus, fusos fugatosque Scotos, ipsum Regem cum tota fere nobilitate peremtum, corpusque ejus quod moreretur Christianæ communionis expers, insepultum, jubente Pontifice, tot annos adservatum.

Hæc atque alia quædam ejusmodi, quum huc subinde proficiscantur istinc, tamen postquam tam alta pax coaluit, maluimus conticescere, patique potius ingestas indies contumelias, quam cum aliqua animorum offensione regerere; simul sperantes fore, ut Paulus Æmilius, tam sanctus et incorruptus enarrator historiæ, ut jurejurando putes obstrictum, tam elegans, ut nisi recentiora ⁿ rescriberet, videri possit haud infimus antiquorum, res utriusque populi, quas quidem inter se gessere, sincera fide sit aliquando traditurus posteris. At tuus liber, quando mihi jam tum in ipso rerum tumultu fuit oblatus. haudquaquam existimavi majoribus victimis expiandum piaculum, si librum eum, qui et tam acerbus esset et impudenter mendax, Epigrammate saltem per ludum jocumque perstringerem. Et tu tamen, qui, ut es undique mire facetus, ludis in dominationem meam, nisi qui te attigerim me vicissim tangi paterer, quum totam gentem meam et conviciis improbis et mendaciis impudentibus prior exagitasses, tam indigne tulisti vel joco contra tangi sacrosanctam majestatem tuam, ut annos aliquot in hoc unum totus perdius ac pernox incubueris, ut aliquando posses accurato volumine cum epigrammate plusquam extemporali configere. Qua in re quum duo tibi proposueris, primum ut tua defenderes, deinde ut invehereris in mea; alteram tam præclare præstitisti, ut ex his quæ tibi objecta sunt, alia dissimularis, alia non intellexeris; illud vero quod magis erat, quam ut præterire; notius, quam ut dissimulare; verius, quam ut evitare potueris; tamen definitione declinasti commode; ut quicquid ego te mentitum argueram, tu non mentitum quidem te, sed finxisse contenderes. Quamobrem quum hoc congressu sentiam tam acutum esse te, ut Tenedia bipenni fictum a falso disseces, hoc est, ita temet erroneo mendacio explices, ut implices ultroneo, haud amplius tibi molestus fuero, quin hac sane parte perviceris; modo hoc unum inter nos conveniat, quod alioqui

ⁿ Perhaps, *describeret.*

juratis evincam testibus, qui abs te exusti, adhuc supersunt tamen, tuasque fictiones arguunt, atque derident; conveniat, inquam, excepto duntaxat hoc uno, quod unum poteras uno clausisse versiculo, nempe quod duæ naves incensæ sunt; cætera quæ volumen tuum tanto decantat hiatu, abs te esse ficta omnia. Nunc igitur a tuis castris ita rejectus atque depulsus, impellor ad mea tutanda refugere. In quibus horreo, ne tam acrem hostem, tam indigne provocatum, tam capitaliter offensum, tam recente victoria ferocientem, ab suis usque munitionibus a me tam ignaviter oppugnatis, ab illo defensis tam fortiter, ad mea usque castra me persequentem, quæ ego tam effusa fuga repetiverim, nequeam sustinere. Quod quo magis exhorream, machinæ illæ tuæ me commovent, quibus in me tam valide non ista torques minutula, quæ, quum conjicerentur in te, ne declinare quidem ferme dignatus es, veterum compilatos versus canoris nugis insertos, ingenii stuporem tenuibus verborum bracteis, per quas pellucet totus, obductum, et, quod laudi quoque ducis tibi, modo vocetur fictio, mendacissimam petulantiam; sed barbarissimos ac solæcismos, et non satis consistentes syllabas, res, bone Deus! quam atroces! quam impias! quam, si cum illis conferantur, ° inanes! Nam quæ re objectas ista sunt, cæterum verbis et conviciis meris, stultum, insanum, furem vocas, idque plusquam centies; sed ea convicia sunt Mopsopii sales tui, in hoc adhibiti, ut insulsum per se libellum tali condimento reddas insulsiorem. At syllabis illis et solæcis omnino me fortiter oppugnās ac stringis. Sed est adhuc, Brixii, quiddam, quo me constringis durius: verum tu profecto præter æquum ac bonum durior, qui non oppugnasse contentus, postules præterea, quo me armorum genere defendam, ipse præscribere; ita pro imperio jubes, ne quid ex iis quæ tu impingis mihi, rejiciam in Frobenium. Qua in re vide quam sis incivilis, atque adeo injustus etiam, qui quum scires opus impressum esse Basileæ, quum ipse morarer in Anglia, nec dubitare possis, quin eo tempore fuerim occupatior, quam ut mihi liceret e Londino Basileam quotidie bis transcurrere, quicquid errati tamen inveneris in opusculo, potius quam excusori quicquam imputes, omnia impropere malis auctori.

Enimvero si legem, quam in me tulisti, ferre debes et ipse, futurum non dubito, quin si quid tuorum posthac excudatur uspiam, ubi tibi non sit accessus ad impressorum prælum, satis in te nobis hujusmodi ministrabis telorum, qualia nunc in nos tanquam unoquoque plane transfixurus intorques. Cujus rei satis insigne documentum hic ipse quoque libellus exhibet, quo mihi tam ferociter aliena impingis errata, ut interdum etiam impingas tua, qui quum excuderentur adistente te, et subinde raptas e prælo formas reformante, tamen absoluto volumine, si non aut tute librarii lapsus emendasses, aut alius quispiam tuos, futurum fuerat, ut errores neque pauciores, neque minus ferendos tuus haberet liber, quam quibus nunc insulse sic insultas in meo. Quanquam ne nunc quidem ita repurgasti tuum, quin hinc atque inde nævos aliquot quovis fœdiores polypo reliqueris.

° Perhaps *immanes*.

At ego hac in re sic causam meam tutari possum, ut nec in Frobenium quidem ullam culpam derivem, etiamsi ipse literis ad me datis, a suis cessatum operis fatetur, ac pollicetur sese diligentius excusurum denuo. At ego certe quicquid esset, etiamsi corrupta quædam sine mea culpa videbam, illi tamen protinus imputare non poteram, conscius exemplar a me nullum quod sequeretur accepisse Frobenium: neque enim eorum ego carminum, præter ea quibus Regis auspicia veneratus sum, eaque quibus in te luseram, vel edidi fere quicquam, vel edere adhuc decreveram. Quod si vel amici mei, vel pueri sibi describere libellum, aut apud me servatum negligentius, aut apud quempiam fortasse, cui non in hoc credideram, atque ita contigerit, ut quibus liber adriserit, putarint evulgandum; neque miri quicquam est, si aliquid mendarum subtruxerit scriptor, aliquid adstruxerit typographus, exemplari videlicet usus et corrupto nonnihil, et fortasse perplexo; neque æquum ipse feceris, si vitio veritas mihi quicquid alienus uspiam vel error vel incuria perverterit, atque ex aliena imperitia me condemnes inscitiae; nisi protinus pronuncies illiteratum, et doctis prorsus omnibus explodendum, si quis indiligentius occluserit literarum suarum capfulas.

Quod si dubitari non potest, quin alienis mendis infectus sit liber, utpote et excusus typis, et ante non ab uno transcriptus, haud facile adducor, ut credam, ^p quin et ipse me tacitus absolvat apud te, de quibus apud alios tam aperta calumnia traducis: sin tibi penitus infederit fixa atque affirmata sententia, quicquid inemendatum reperisti, vitio prorsus id contigisse meo, quid aliud quam laterem lavem, si tibi me purgare contendero. Vide ergo quam civiliter agam tecum. Etenim quanquam, ut vides, possim apud æquos obtinere iudices, ut quæ mihi impingis, eorum pleraque deriventur in alios (nisi quæ res nulli unquam libro contigit, nusquam ut typographus, nusquam scriptor erraverit, id nunc demum contigisse videatur meo) tu quanquam in quibus ut certissimis exultas maxime, in his te vel calumniari maxime, vel certe maxime falli, certissimis mihi liceat argumentis evincere, partim productis auctorum testimoniis, quibus erit perspicuum recta esse plurima quæ reprehendis, partim prolatis illis ipsis chartulis, quibus olim edidimus pauca illa quæ diximus, quibus liquido constiterit, aliter a me composita quædam et edita, aliter post excusa Frobenio; siue id exemplaris cuiusdam perplexitate contigit, siue evenit incuria, siue a meo describenti libro placuit scriptori quidpiam quod ipse interlito versu mutaveram: quis enim satis divinare possit quam multis casibus irrepam mendum, aut qua fortuna propemodum omnibus obtingat authoribus, ut vetustis etiam collatis exemplaribus lectio nonnunquam variet? Quanquam hæc, ut dixi, possum; ego tamen, Brixi, quandoquidem tu ^q jam civiliter temet in te tuendo gessisti, ut in eam rem nihil fere prorsus attuleris, quod quidem ad rem pertineat, seu te ingenuus quidam sic obstupescit pudor, ut non posses cogitata proloqui; seu festinatione præpeditus es oburgandi mei, statui tecum simili contra civilitate contendere, et quod ad er-

^p Ill expressed.

^q Read *tam*.

rata pertinet, hujusmodi defensionem meam in præsente prætermittere, utpote cum erga te inutilem, cui nullo posset unquam pacto satisfieri, tum erga cæteros omnes minime necessariam, quorum ego neminem fore suspicor, cui tu persuaseris ea mihi prorsus imputanda quæ taxas : sed Lector æquus haud dubito quin quidvis potius comminiscatur ex sese, quam ut me præsumat tam insigniter inscium, ut neque positionem in carmine, neque solœcismum in sermone cognoscam. Quod si mei lapsus esse vincerentur maxime, tamen quando ipse librum non edidi, quæ res manifestior est, quam ut liceat tergiversari vel tibi, quo jure possis objicere, si quid adhuc meditati subductum est atque vulgatum ei, qui dicere possit illud Ovidii :

Emendaturus, si licuisset, eram?

Quo mihi versu, si cuiquam alii, meritissime licet uti : nam ego totum librum, præter ea quæ jam olim edideram, pressurus eram perpetuo ; ut qui nec illa ipsa fueram editurus, nisi literatioribus quam ipse sum, magis adriffissent quam mihi, cui nihil meorum unquam falsum visum est admodum, nisi quod nunc ex tua bile sentio aliquid habuisse salis, quo frictus es. Quod si librum aliquando publicare statuissem, certe quædam immutasssem, non quod errorem syllabæ tam valde magni penderem, [†] quod essent aliqua minus aliquanto severa quam vellem. In syllabis vero si quid hallucinatus essem, quamquam non fuisssem gravatus emendare ; tamen in una fortassis et altera non nimis anxie me torissem, præsertim sicubi commode mutare sine sententiæ damno non possem ; quandoquidem non eos duntaxat auctores, qui tanto te doctrina superant, quanto tu illos superbe despicias ; verum vetustissimos quoque non usquequaque servasse reperio eodem tenore semper easdem syllabas, qua ex re natus est nimirum acervus ille communium. Postremo vel eo minus hæc me remordet cura, ne quis ea putet mea esse omnia, quæ tu carpsisti, quod in his ipsis videam nonnihil ejusmodi, ut quanquam non sit meum, tamen pro meo me non puderet agnoscere. Neque quicquam dubito quin cuique inter legendum succurrant exempla, quibus eorum pleraque quæ tu pro solœcismis in nos adnotasti, reperiantur pure puteque Latina. Porro futurum denique, ut si quid reprehendisti rectius, id in me tamen certe non possis impingere, qui nec aderam castigationi, nec exemplar unde excuderetur exhibui, nec librum prorsus edidi. Contra vero in quibus ipse aut deciperis aut calumniaris ultro, quæ sunt haud dubie supra dimidium, temet ipse traduxeris vel ignorantia, vel sycophantia, utrobique certe insignis impudentia, qui tam superbe, tam nulla causa, tam longo tibi expensa tempore, ad eum scribens, quem jam secundo provoces, atque ad inquirendum in te quoque arrogans ac securus excites ; tamen tam multa quæ recta sunt, vel imprudens per inscitiam, vel per invidiam prudens reprehendas. At tu quum hunc ad modum strenue mea omnia velut uno deflavisti spiritu, de te securus, et meras efflans glorias ; jubes ut excutiam vicissim tua, nimirum certus ita tibi pulchre instructa omnia, ut ne Momus quidem vel syllabam possit invenire quam vellicet.

[†] Read *quam quod* : or, *sed quod*.

Ego

Ego profecto, Brixii, multo velim libentius eos libros excutere, e quibus aliquid excuti possit boni. Quanquam et hunc tuum, etiamsi nihil inde frugis vel exspectavi vel reperi, tamen quoniam in me scriptus est, eo legi studiosius, quod quæ mutari conveniat, quæ vel amicis interdum commendat amor, vel ne quod offendant, obticent, ea plerumque solet inimicus iratus effundere. Itaque sic attentus legi, ut quo tu me vocas (nempe uti in syllabis excutiendis essem curiosus) eo nusquam respexerim; si quid vero inesset rerum, id certe non indiligenter expenderim. Et tamen quantumvis abhorream ab eo, ut otiosus occuper aucupio syllabarum, certe monosyllaba illa mens, quam in *Chordigera* desideraveram, in *Antimoro* quoque sedulo quæsitâ, nec mihi tantum quæsitâ, sed multis, adeo nusquam inventa est, ut libelli titulus, etiamsi brevis, tamen videatur omnibus dimidio longior esse quam debet; opusque tuum non *Antimoron* appellandum, sed *Moron*; eoque justius, quo tu insulsius in meum nomen affectas haberi falsus, quasi non in *Hermolaum Barbarum* fortuna dederit hoc scurrandi genus, vel impense^s barbarus, et in *Thomæ Mori* nomen *Germano Brixio*, qui vere germaneque *Moro* sit vere germaneque germanus. Eum ego librum quum perquam attentus inspicerem, nihil aliud vidi quam delira convicia; quæ vel recte scripta reprehenderent, vel mihi alienos lapsus objicerent, vel tuum caput recta repeterent. Porro multa tam belle competeabant in me, ut potius quadrare videantur in quemlibet. Latratus audio plusquam caninos, sed elatratos inaniter; morsus plusquam rabidos, sed qui temet unum mordeant; virus plusquam vipereum, sed uni tibi noxium. Quæ quum sint ejusmodi, non miror admodum vereri te, ne forte non sustineam legere, quæ nemo certe durare queat ut perlegat, nisi hæc omnia (qui Brixii^t leporem) amœnis condulcarentur deliriis. Quæ mihi tam vehementer in *Morico* isto adrident *Antimoro*, ut quum primum mihi dabitur otium, sim curaturus, ut accuratius aliquanto quam nunc excusus est, excudatur denuo, fortassis et illustretur commentariis; tantum abest ut isti gloriæ tuæ invideam, qua tibi factus videre Deus, si *Mori*^u dispuibile tibi nomen exhibiles, ac venerabile nomen *Brixii* libro isto tam elimato, tam erudito, tam lepido, tam festivo, tam sacro denique æternæ consecraris infamiæ. Cujus libri dotes admirandæ ne quid oscitantem forte Lectorem lateant, nos exempli causa quasdam indicabimus, ut his, veluti stimulis excitatus, penitus in librum penetret; atque advertat attentius, quam lepidi joci, sales, deliciae, mel et saccharum, ac plane lacteum suadelæ flumen ex amne Gallo scaturiat. Exordiar igitur unde tu exorsus es, ab hendecasyllabis illis quos scripsisti Macrino. In quibus tanquam in operis frontispicio insignem stuporis tui titulum præscripsisti. Nam quum initio Macrinum *Stentorem* tibi fecisses Homericum, eundem etiam *Nestorem*, olim poëtam optimum, jam vero et oratorem derepente prodeuntem, tam venustum, tam vehementem, ut sua suada, cui tot charites, tot lepores Venus afflaverat, ita quolibet tuum propelleret animum, ut illi reluctari non possis flagitanti uti quam primum exiret *Antimorus*, eoque ipsius auspiciis volumen emiseris, cujus hortatibus non valuisti resistere; paulo post oblitus tui, negas eum unquam flagitando atque orando extorquere po-

^s Perhaps *barbaro*.^t Read *lepores*.^u A word of his own coining, from *dispuo*.
tuisse,

tuisse, ut elephantis ille præclarus partus ederetur ante completum novennium. Verum ne Venus inventi tui deperiret tibi, libellum tam venustum supprimenti * diutile, quando scommata, nisi statim retorta, non habent gratiam, coactus es properare, et quo libellus adversus epigramma posset subito paucis annis exire, necesse tibi fuit, singulis fere biduis singulos versus absolvere. In quibus quum ne tantulum quidem tibi suffragetur ingenium ut vel primam paginam potueris eo tenore progredi, quin tibi statim tam insigniter excideres, ac memoria lapsus, ipse sic pugnares tecum, ut quem tam potentem oratorem feceras, qui te in suam sententiam impulerit, eundem proximo fere versu diceres nihil persuasisse; cujus impulsu librum te scripseras edere, quando videlicet non potuisti tam mellitæ suadelæ resistere, eum protinus affirmares, nunquam tam commode potuisse dicere, ut librum tibi y possit elicere. Quum igitur, quod dicebam, Bixi, in ipsis offendas foribus, et tam diu limatis ac relimatis versibus, tam longo labore non alia scribas deliria, quam quæ subito solent effutire moriones; quis non assentiat illis versiculis, quibus lectorem tibi velut voluptatis illecebra concilians, promittis ei parvo e carmine sedulo legenti magnam demum voluptatem fore? Erit haud dubie, nisi quis adeo sit agelastos, ut ne ad id quidem rideat, quo uno fere movent risum hi, quibus natura negavit ingenium; nempe nihil ut dicant quod consistat secum, sed diversa omnia atque pignantia, tanquam vigilantes somnient. Quamquam non dissimulabo esse quidem, qui putent non esse stultum istud, sed nasutum, tanquam lepide volueris irridere Macrinum, quem tam dulcem oratorem, tam vehementem facias, ita denique tibi vim adferentem sua suaviloquentia, ut quod unum tibi venusta illa Suada suadeat, persuadere non possit. Ego certe non ita suspicor: nam et is videtur Macrinus esse, qui tuo sit amore dignior, quam quem ridere debeas; et reliquus liber ad diversam longe virtutem propius, quam ad ejusmodi vafri-
cies accedit, eoque causa non erat cur arte sic laborares tegere, quamdiu tibi tuus liber hæsit in manibus; nam ut scommatibus gratiam deterit mora, sic istius generis omnia, tempus et labor commendant admodum: nam si quid dicas insigniter stolide, id quo majore conatu parturieris, eo pepereris gratius.

Quin mire facetum et illud, quod veritatem quoque tuis mendaciis asseris iterato mendacio, dum rursus Herveum servantem facis patriam, rursus victorem tua tuba buccinas, rursus nostras rates agitantem vexantemque decantas, quæ tam vera sunt omnia quam tu. Jam vero probatio quam adfers mirifica est: ais enim ea quæ narras Anglorum testata funeribus. Si aliorum funera loqueris, quam qui in *Regente* perierunt, tam vera sunt illa funera, quam vera fuit illa victoria: sin eos exprobras peremptos, quos *Regentis* incendium absumsit, non adeo stultus sum (quantumvis tu me stultum voces) quin tuum istud acumen sentiam pistillo quovis obtusius, quo sic nobis exprobras exustam navem, quasi dum arderet nostra, vestra interim alserit: aut quasi eo victorem probes Herveum, quod etiam prior arserit. Hoc Brixianum acumen est: hæc est Brixiana victoria! Sed operæ pretium est videre, quanto

* Read diutule.

y. Perhaps posset.

cum

cum artificio tractes eum locum, in quo ego inter Principis nostri laudes commemoro restitutam ab illo reformatamque rempublicam quorundam ante sceleribus, avaritia, rapinis, delatione, calumniis deformatam. Ergo quum statuisses nihil meorum relinquere ab ineptis intactum calumniis, in hunc locum præcipue tumultuaris ineptissime. Hunc miris merisque sycophantiis exagitas. In hunc præclaras omnes atque admirabiles effundis ingenii tui virulentias. Hic temerarius tibi visus sum, qui rem tantam meis viribus tam longe imparem sim ausus aggredi. Quasi mihi Principis enarrandas laudes omnes desumserim, * at non potius, quod erga Superos quoque, citra culpam pro suo quisque facit affectu, id ipse fecerim in venerandis Principibus, ut tam felicia principatus auspicia, primo statim die tam salutaria, quum idem certatim facerent omnes, ego quoque pro mea virili qualicunque poteram carmine concelebrarem. Qua in re, ut nihil dubito quin et uberius laudari potuissent a peritioribus, et dignius a præstantioribus; ita neque meo satisfacisset officio, quod fecissent alii; neque mea carmina cuiquam obstiterunt, quo minus et alii fecerint, et quibus facere libuisset, licuerit. Denique quisquis jusserit a nullo nostrum laudari Principem, nisi qui parem præstare sese tantæ rerum moli possit, is admirationis prætextu, Regis virtutibus invidet; quas quum omnes prædicare debent, omnes semel jubet conticescere. At hic Apellem nobis, si Superis placet, revocas ab inferis, quod quidem tibi facile est, si quemadmodum scribis, tam familiares habeas infernales Furias; ipse tam egregius pictor interim, ut quum istud in primis ei sit curandum, quisquis os cujusquam pingendo velit exprimere, uti eas partes, eum respiciat situm, qui ita sit cuique proprius, ut is repræsentatus faciem reddat maxime cognobilem; tu sic depingi Regem postules, ut amabile decus reverendi vultus, idque adeo tam rarum, ipsique suum, quoque uno maxime possit agnosci, delere prorsus e pictura jubeas. Nam tibi cæco prorsus pictori videor vel stipite plane stupidior, qui non præviderim, eas fuisse laudes omittendas, quas fere solas, vel publicâ causâ, vel suâ Principem referebat audire; utpote tales, quas ut fateor non fuisse Brixiano more poëticas, qui nihil poëticum censet nisi fictum; ita nemo fuit Anglorum, qui non suo bono senserit esse veras; nec quisquam adeo sine sensu vivit, ut non sentiat esse vere regias, nisi tu nobis aliud invenias magis regium, quam regnum ab omni parte fatiscens reficere, prosperumque rursus ac felix reddere. At nec præsentis honor Principis quicquam decessori detrahit, cujus adversa valetudo fuit in causa, ne annis aliquot ante mortem proximis, vel publicis rebus posset, vel domesticis sufficere: eoque nec mirandum, nec ipsi certe imputandum, si quorundam perfidia, quibus ille nimis credidit, sit labefactata respublica, quam filius ejus fere collabentem feliciter exortus erexit, idque tam celeriter, ut correptis coercitisque repente maleficis, quorum scelere calamitas illata fuerat, omnia reformarit ilico, priusquam se pateretur insigniri diademate. Nec sibi visus est neque sano certe cuiquam contumeliosus in patrem, quod illius valetudine, aliorum malitia labentem erigeret patriam, aut quod severe animadverteret in eos, quorum perfidia in patriæ perniciem fefellerat patrem; aut quum quædam etiam patris instituta quanquam non incommoda populo, majore tamen

* Rather *ac.*

commodo rescinderet, bonumque mutaret in melius. Et tibi videtur immanis impietas, si quod patris felicitati negavit morbus, hoc filii statim regia virtus effecit, si patriæ compilatores, deceptores patris, eversores legum, in patriæ bonum, in legum robur, in patris honorem coercuit; aut si quid denique prudentissimo patre prudentior filius, in administranda republica vidit acutius? Quæ quum Princeps ageret non ad præsentem tantum rerum statum feliciter, verum in futurum quoque tam salutare sanciret exemplum, ut facile declararet sese principalium esse artium omnium Principem, non fuisset profecto deterritus, quominus ea laudassem, etiamsi culpa quæpiam recidisset in patrem; nec a nobis unquam tantum patris impetrasset pudor, ut ejus facti laudem subriperet filio, quo facto nullo unquam seculo Princeps ullus quicquam fecit laudatius, aut quod magis publicæ interesset rei, commendari memoriæ. Nec fortunæ unquam tribuisssem tantum, ac ne naturæ quidem, uti vanum alterutrius fulgorem tam inclytæ virtutis veræ præferrem gloriæ. Quibus enim parentibus nascamur, illis in manu est: virtus una vere commendat bonos.

*Nam genus, et proavos, et quæ non fecimus ipsi,
Vix ea nostra voco.*

Qua Nasonis sententia neque Maro quicquam, neque Homerus, quos opponis mihi, aut verius unquam dixit, aut salubrius. Quorum etiamsi utrumque valde suspicio, nunquam tamen hætenus apud me valebunt, ut ambobus hac in parte tribuam, quantum uni tribuam Platoni; qui optabile quidem censet, quantaque potest cautione curandum, ut filii nascantur honestis parentibus, quod velut seminarium quoddam indolis atque virtutis indatur occulte nascentibus: et tamen, ut fortunatiores aliquanto censet bonos prognatos bonis; ita multo laudatiorem judicat mali patris bonum filium, idque adeo merito. Nam si sit eo turpior quo magis claro patre degeneret, an non vicissim convenit, eo plus cuique laudis esse, quo magis in diversum tractus improbi parentis exemplo, sua ipse virtute benefactisque clauerit? Hæc igitur quum senserit, haud dubie non alium poetam exturbare sua debuit urbe Plato, quam tui palponem similem, qui vel a fortunæ jubes, vel a naturæ commodis adulari Principibus, a virtute² laudare non sustines; quæ, vel cum dispendio popularis auræ laudanda sit, et contra vulgi receptos sensus, cui fere placent pessima, mellitis numeris essent opinioniones bonæ sensim^a inferendæ pectoribus.

Quamobrem, ego quod dixi, etiam si qua culpæ pars hæssisset in patre, non reticuissem tamen filii laudes, quæ tum fuissent eo certe ipso cumulatior, quod paternum errorem emendare potius quam imitari delegisset: atque id ita fecissem, rationi uni parens atque obtemperans, etiamsi poetæ omnes, si vulgus universum sentirem longe sentire diversa; tantum abest ut nunc ea non obticuisse poeniteat, quorum reprehensio ad eos pertinet, qui patris fide ad suum quæstum, et malum publicum sunt abusi; gloria vero et immensa et æterna pertingit ad filium, qui tam celeriter affectis poena nocentibus, ac restituta republica, patrem simul et patriam pius in utrumque

² Perhaps *laudari*.

^a Perhaps *inferendæ*.

vindicavit. At tu laudator egregius, quæ potissima regiæ laudis portio sit, quam et privatim et publice, velut omnium laudum principem, et ei Principi in primis propriam totus agnoscit populus, quæ adeo patri nihil detrahit, ut præcipuum ei decus adjiciat, quod pater sit ejus Principis, qui regnum vere regiis administret artibus, eam censoria virgula jubes expungi, non ob aliud, opinor, quam quod vera sit: adeo nihil tibi placet, nisi poëticum tuum, ex ficto falsoque conflatum totum. Nam poësis tua, testante temet, *Id si sustuleris, nulla poësis erit.* At Princeps quum ea faceret, non in tenebris occulte, quasi benefacti puderet, sed in clarissima luce, in oculis tractaret omnium, in privatis, ^b publicis judiciis, in comitiis, in amplissimo totius regni conventu, cum plebe, cum proceribus, quum omnis ætas, ordo, sexus, rem tam illustrem videret, tam salubrem sentiret, tam egregiam laudibus in cælum veheret; ego videlicet, quod potissimum prædicare debebam, solum solus omitterem; ut quod nunc dictum incescit Brixius, id indictum ^c rident etiam pueri, quibus ipsis vel stupidissimus, si non sensissem; vel improbissimus, si non probassem; vel invidissimus, si non laudassem, merito videri poteram. Et tamen hunc locum tu nescio ineptius exagites, an invidiosius; adeo cæco præceps impetu, ut te non sentias inscitiae propemodum notare Principem nostrum; atque adeo, quum ei parem facias, paris inscitiae notare etiam tuum. Nec interea tamen, quod tibi certe perpetuum est, quicquam consistis tecum. Nam primum ita curam ei tribuis Camœnæ Latiae, ut tamen leges ignoret carminis; mox adeo facis inscium, ut ne quid verba quidem sibi velint, sciat: et tamen tuum Regem cum eo copulas, ut ex æquo sint, *Ambo Cecropiæ numine plena Deæ.* Numnam hæc pulchre cohærent? Sed non est istud novum ut altero quoque versu excidas tibi. At me condum laudatorem vocas, et parcum, ipse laudator adeo non profusus, ut eam laudem quam Virgilius tribuit pastoribus, tu quum velles applicare Principibus, aliquid tamen tanquam nimis sumtuosa foret abraferis, atque in deterius, quod semper imitando soles, immutaris. Nam quum illius versus sic habeat in pastores duos, *ambo florentes ætatibus*, tuus habet in duos Reges, *ambo pares ætate*: atque ita Virgilius in illis exprimet ætatis florem, tua laudatio quum his aptetur Principibus, qui vere florent ætate, tamen sic est anceps, ut duobus possit convenire decrepitis ac ^d filicernis senibus. Porro, quam de virtute quoque subjungis, non admodum prodiga laus; quandoquidem ita virtutem utrique tribuis, ut tibi relinquas liberum, utrique simul ac ^e libebat adimere. Nam quum pronuncias *pares virtutibus ambos*, neutri tamen affirmas inesse: sunt enim pares, si nescis, tam qui pariter carent, quam qui pariter habent. Nec tamen istud eo dico, quod in eam partem te sensisse censeam; sed ut ostendam, si quis ad eum modum tuas excutiat laudationes, quo tu calumniaris meas, quam facile locus reperitur obnoxius. Nec ego tamen huc Apelles atque Alexandros evoco, non Chærilos, pugnos, exfilia, neque tales tibi moveo tragœdias, quales tu mihi cies. Quod si et res minus esset illustris, et Princeps noster tam esset inscius, quam tu eum facis, in quantum fors periculi conjecisses me, quum vix fieri

^b Perhaps, in publicis. ^c Read, rideant, or, riderent. ^d Read, filicerniis. ^e Read, libeat. possit,

possit, ut qui versatur in publicis negotiis non aliquem habeat aliquando, qui libenter optet calumniari, si vel res pateretur, vel ignoratione Principis liceret abuti; præsertim si qui sint, qui rursus cupiant rerum statum in deterius trahi; ut quem nunc ægre ferant magis in summam prosperare publice, quam seorsum sibi. Verum hi, si qui sint hujusmodi, sic rem viderunt ipsi non clanculariis machinis, sed actam et tractatam publicitus, sic in suis artibus sentiunt præstare Principem, qui iterum atque iterum prorepentes vyperas, ac velut post hiemem novo sole apricantes sese, et calumniæ vetus virus denuo tentantes effundere, denuo retudit, compressit, elisit, ut facile sentiant noxiis votis suis nullam relictam spem. At tu quum istiusmodi scribas, Brixi, quæ sint non absurda modo atque inepta, verum scelestæ quoque, et, quoad per te fieri potest, perniciose; tamen Deloinum, Budæum, Lascarem, viros literarum et virtutis gratia toti commendatos orbi, quorum nominibus major debebatur honor, quam ut libello contaminares istiusmodi, tanquam gemmas collocares in luto, nominas, eosque tecum velut in partes attrahis: quos et castigatores prædicas et consultores adhibitos inconsultissimis consiliis. At ego, quanquam de syllabis illis ac solæcismis, quos objectas mihi, non possum spondere * quod sentiant, quorum, ubi me audierint, nec in illis quidem detrectabo iudicium; certe tales esse eos persuasum habeo, et philosophicæ rei scientia, et rerum prudentia publicarum, ut si tu cujusquam eorum calculum hac sane parte possis extundere, quo se, quod ad regias laudes attinet, sentire testetur tecum, ego tibi et in reliquis concedam omnibus, et laudem ultro deferam, qui nunc aliud suspicari non possum, quam quod videtur omnibus, illas inferni Furias, quas scribenti tibi fateris adfuisse, tale tibi inspirasse consilium, quod seu furorem spectes seu virulentiam, haud obscure Tartaream refert originem. At aliquando tandem, velut per antrum Trophonium emergens ab inferis, exhilaratus, in jocum solveris, et risu canis irritati meam subsannas epistolam, qua libelli § delationem conféro in pictorem, cujus podagra fecerat, uti serius aliquanto, quam statueram, veniret ad Regem. Hæc tibi causa non placet: homo superstitiosè poëticus ferre non potest, ut dicantur vera; et civilitate plusquam aulica deridet, si quis apud Principem de re nihil obscœna, verbis utatur iisdem quibus utitur populus. Quis ita ridentem non rideat?

Porro quid illud sibi scommma velit, non intelligo; videtur enim sapere nescio quid falis reconditi, quo significas meis officere studiis curam rei domesticæ; quo dicto nescio an tuis arte vendices prærogativam, quali tibi nulla sit domus, sed liber et expers curarum alienas paropsides velut parasitus obambules; eoque necesse sit tuum poëma præcellere, quod otium et cibus excolat alienus. Ego certe de te sentiebam honestius, hodieque sentio; quanquam libellus tuus, ut vere dicam, et *Pyrgopolynicen* refert et *Artotrogon*. Neque video quid ad rem pertineat exprobrare mihi quod habeam domum, nisi tu domum non habeas: nam alioqui jocus ille festivus, et, ut Plautinus ait parasitus, dictum de dictis melioribus in te recideret. Certe quemadmodum te persuadeo mihi non esse plane parasitum, quantumvis istud liber præ se ferat tuus, ita vere te suspicor Cynicæ Sectæ philosophum,

* Perhaps quid.

§ Read dilationem.

non a latratu tantum, verum etiam quod ubique te video ad divitias ludere, ubique ad mendicitatem, ubique ad famem applaudere. Nam ita ludis in liberos meos, ut eorum describas miseriam, si tantum versus meos hæreditate, ac non etiam nummos essent habituri; quasi tui sint futuri solis paternis versibus felices. Atego liberis tuis, si quos aut habes aut habiturus es unquam, longe laqueos, longe mendicitatem deprecor, quæ mala tu facete scilicet ominaris meis; atque ex animo precor, ut uberior eis affulgeat alicunde fortuna, quam ex versiculis tuis, quorum ego neminem esse usquam tam insanum censeo, qui trecenta millia redimat teruncio; quæ quidem hujus generis sint, cujus effutivisti hætenus.

Ejusdem salis et illud est, quod lupo temet assimilas famelico, tanquam nisi meo bono Reges duo sanxissent pacem, me miserum agnellum semel devorasses integrum: nunc vero nefas ducis facta pace litigare, eoque libellum istum nunc demum edidisti blandulum. Sed illud demum divinum fuit inventum, quod diras omnes, ac bellas illas Charites infernorum Furias, tam formosulas amicas adfinxisti tibi, quibuscum lusites atque otium oblectes tuum, imitatus videlicet quosdam non imperite ridiculos, qui quum esse sibi quædam vel corpore deformia, vel moribus fœda sentiant, quæ vel obnoxia dicteriiis sint vel criminationibus, homines scurrandi solertes in sua vitia ludunt ipsi, ut quando evitare non possint opprobrium, ansam saltem carpendi præripiant æmulis, ipsique potius de se triumphum ducant. Ita quum tu videres *Antimoron* tuam non *Moriam* modo, sed *Maniam* quoque spirare, quando nemini futurum videbas ambiguum, unde sit ille furor emissus, maluisti in tuas furias ipse præludere, quasi eas ultro sese offerentes tibi amico videlicet tam necessario et juratissimo mystæ fueris emissurus in me.

Illud, opinor, nemo leget unquam, qui non insignem ingenii tui notam judicabit, et plane Brixianam facetiam, quod quum te dignis versibus, ad tuam ipsius me pinxisses effigiem, veritus ne nondum satis expressisses te, *rabulam* adnotasti in margine, quod talem me diceres esse in patria. Ego, Brixii, qualis domi sim non dico, ne similis tibi sim; cujus gloriam, sive quam ipse tibi tribuis, non mereor, sive quam tribuunt alii, non affecto. Tu vero qualis domi sis, effecisti tandem foris ut cognosci possis: quem, quum te videri velis a secretis esse Reginae, non pudet ejusmodi rabia rabire in Consiliarium Regis, qua nec in rabulam quidem quisquam rabit nisi rabula.

Et tu quum hunc in modum toto te libello gesseris, operæ pretium est videre quomodo sumta scilicet * auguriis persona, divines fore, ut me pro hoc tam amico in me officio, sis habiturus inimicum, cujus tu pudendos lapsus pia cura tollas in auctoris honorem, relaturus tamen ab ingrato malam gratiam; atque ita tractas istud admirabile atque ex intimis rhetorices penetrabilibus depromptum schema, ut fere concionantis quoque personam induas, et injecta frequentius mentione Christiani, atque identidem peccatoris nomen inculcans, tanquam animæ res agatur, propemodum solœcismorum velis agam pœnitentiam, quod appropinquet, credo, regnum cœlorum. Ego certe, Brixii, tuum illud augurium de me non dubitabo fallere; qui nunquam tibi statui inimicus esse. Neque usque adeo sum inhumanus, ut tam amicum

* Read *auguris*.

in me officium non agnoscam, hominis tam officiosi in famam meam, ut editis atque excusis in me famosis libellis, aliena errata pro meis mihi insurset in aurem; tam indulgentis in honorem meum, ut potius quam me non impetat falsis calumniis, suum ipse nomen veris inhonestet opprobriis; tam propensi in salutem meam, ut Principem meum vel impietatis infimulet vel inscitiae, ni me prorsus exterminet. Nec usque adeo sum stupidus, ut non sentiam quanto pretio redimendus sit ejus viri favor, qui sit tam prudens, ut altero quoque versu obliviscatur sui, tanquam Lethæum poculum interbiberit; tam generosa palma, ut non erigat modo se adversus maledicta aliorum, verum ipse quoque sese oneret suis; Tam fortis et invictus pugil, ut Herculi surrepta clava, perpetuo pugnet secum; Tam oculatus ac Lynceus, ut non videat sua in se redire scommata; Tam urbanus, ut insanum, stultum, furiosum, canem, rabulam, habeat in facetiis; Tam placabilis ac tranquillæ indolis, ut ^f fidefragos, perfidos, et perjuros inclamans, tamen abstineat conyiciis; Tantus adsertor poëtices, ut eam contemni postulet, præmonens, ne quis ambiat ab ea laudari, quæ sibi vetat credi; Tam vehementis orator, ut defendat eum provocare, qui responderit; provocatum vero, qui prior læserit; Tam pulchre olivam mediis gerens in armis, ut in media pace de bello litiget; Tam æquus, ut insaniat, quod ipsius liber vere sit taxatus mendacii ab illo, cujus totam gentem eodem libro falsus infimularat ante perjurii; Tam fructuosus encomiastes, ut Principes a corporis dotibus laudari postulet, a fortunæ muneribus ferat; a virtute non finat, nisi si quid dicatur in genere, sic ut dici possit in quemlibet: si quid vero factum sit ejusmodi, ut id viri, mulieres, pueri, lapides prope collaudent, ejus rei Pythagoricum indicat silentium; Tantus Apelles, ut, nisi tabula ejus cum favore spectetur, duos videatur Principes ex eadem propemodum denigrare fidelia; Tam anxie Christianus, ut nisi mihi duo Reges ab illo, precibus, opinor, impetrassent veniam, nunquam potuisset obtinere Christus, quin acerbe olim debacchatus in nos, quoniam uno sit percussus verbulo, me misellum agniculum homo plus ullo lupo famelicus totum deglutiret; Tam lepidus denique, tam festivus, tam solers, et undique tam consummata sapientiæ, ut sibi ipse familiares esse fateatur infernales Furias. Eas ergo quum habeas, Brixii, domesticas, ut sis fortassis ambiendus aliis, sicubi sint, quibus cum ejusmodi sodalibus libeat ludere, ego te profecto nec inimicum horreo, nec amicum expeto. Nam hostem tuum nihil timendum est, ne, quod tu minaris, unquam invadant Furiae, nempe trabalibus clavis arctius ferruminatae tibi, quam ut a tam charo capite queant avelli quoquam. Amicis vero ac familiaribus ejusmodi pestis possit nocere contagium. Contra, inimicus ipse tibi non ero: neque enim eum odisse possum, cujus sic obsessi misereor; imo adamarem certe, ni vereretur ne me redamaret mutuo, ut qui frequenter audierim, quam sit molestus ac noxius amor ejuscemodi spectrorum. Proinde quoad licet, erga te sic neutro memet affectu geram, ut nec dignaturus unquam sim albusne sis an ater inquirere. Quanquam nec opus est istud inquirere; tam atrum enim tuum te atramentum reddidit,

^f Perhaps *fædisfragos*; because *perfidos* follows.

quam

quam carbo est. Tantum ne tam grati officii prorsus oblitus videar, quo meorum versuum mendas adnotasti sedulo, nec eas cujusquam pateris errores haberi quam meos, diris interim tute ac furiis, si vera fateris, obnoxius, utrique nostrum supplex quod sit salubre comprecor; uti Superi mihi tibi que tam propitii sint, amborum vitia ut corrigant, ac mihi solœcam orationem castigent, tibi perpurgent solœcismos ingenii; mihi barbara verba velint e sermone tollere, tibi barbaros istos mores e pectore; denique benigni largiantur et mihi sanos pedes in carmine, et tibi sanum caput in corpore.

IV.

Thomas Morus Des. Erasmo.

Ecquid vidisti, &c.

This Letter is already inserted in the Appendix, N°. XXIV.

V.

Thomas Morus Edvardo Leo S. P. D.

ACCCEPI, mi charissime Lee, binas e fratre tuo * Golfrido, et optimo simul et humanissimo adolescente literas, utrasque Lovanii scriptas, alteras quidem decimo, alteras vero vicesimo Aprilis die. In superioribus tria potissimum hæc continentur. Primum videlicet tibi esse allatum, ac jam etiam per Erasmos quosdam passim esse sparsum, me non parum iniquo animo tulisse, te contra Erasmus nonnihil esse molitum, atque ob id usque adeo me abs te alienatum, ut non modo ex amicorum numero eximerim, sed quippiam etiam adversus te mali machiner. Quam rem si exploratam haberes, aut tecum libere, si quidem posset animus ferre, decerneres ut ne flocci quidem talem amicum faceres, aut si tibi imperare id non posses, quippe qui nihil æque dolenter atque ingratitudinem feras, habenas dolori permitteres, ut cui ipsa mors, quam tanti amici jactura foret optatior, quem non vulgariter amaveris, ac pro virili semper in astra laudibus vexeris. Quominus mirum sit, si tibi jam videatur non ferenda molestia, si ipse contra tam ingratus atque adeo iniquus sim, ut contra amicum velim, necdum auditum, præposteram ferre sententiam. Quare id a me esse factum nec posse te scribis, nec velle credere, quantumvis id constanter Erasmi confirmet, antequam ejus rei ex meis ipsius literis fias certior. Secundo loco conatus apud me probare, nihil in toto isto negotio tua culpa commissum, sed totam istam tragœdiam Erasmo deberi, fusius explicatiusque rem omnem ab origine repetens, totius litis et ortæ simul et auctæ semina declaras. Primum quod istam annotandi operam nunquam fueras obiturus, nisi et amore et precibus ejus pertinacibus superatus. Deinde quod ille

* Ep. V, VI, VII. from the Letters against Lee. See Appendix, N°. XXII. *Golfrido.

tuas annotationes ut minutias ac nugamenta rejecerit, ac nihilo minus a scriba tuo clanculum sibi curaverit exscribendas, indeque excerptisse, si quid forte in secunda editione mutavit in melius. Nec tamen his contentus, tuum nomen per Europam totam infame reddiderit, quasi minuta collegeris, quasque eadem neotericorum decretis munieris, negaverisque ipsi facere videndi copiam, quo vel errata corrigat, vel defendat sese. Tertio subjicis, quod cum annotationes tuas in ejus dedecus emittere licuisset, eas tamen haecenus suppresseris, nihil adhuc in eo negotio ultra progredi decernens, nisi prius eas ad Reverendum in Christo Patrem Episcopum Roffensem expendendas excutiendasque dedisses, qui, si id cuperem, mihi quoque videnti faceret potestatem. Hic oras ut rem æqua lance examinem, perspecturus, si id fecero, quam simpliciter cum eo agas, quam citra fucum, citra lenocinium, citra morsum, tantum annotans, quid ille scribat, quidque ipse contra sentias. Quod si qua tamen eum acrius liberiusque taxas, rogas ut æque id quoque perpendam, videlicet an sic ille mereatur. Jam fore asseris, nisi longe te tua fallat opinio, ut et graviter eum et foede lapsum esse comperiam. Hæc, ut arbitror, superioris epistolæ tuæ summa est. Jam ad secundas literas, quæ decimo post priores die scriptæ, te totum subito mutatum indicant. In his enim scribis jam adesse tempus quo me declarem, quem tu semper apud animum tuum præsumseris, hoc est, æquum, et cui nullus unquam affectus, ut tuis verbis utar, imposuerit. Nam cum male ab Erasmo habitus, communibus tamen amicis rem integram componendam, donec famæ tuæ consultum esse posset permisisses, libellumque jam tum Reverendo Patri Roffensi, cujus tu judicio standum censueras transmisisses, cui rei etiam Erasmus ipse, cum id ei significasses, subscripserat, is tamen longe aliter quam præ se ferebat, cogitans, intra paucos quibus hæc pactus esset dies, repente in sua contra Latomum Apologia temere et loco alieno, tum nec abs te læsus, plusquam insana vomuerit, cujus etsi nomine abstinebat, non ita tamen id tecte, quin statim clamarent omnes illud telum in tuum caput esse contortum. Itaque etsi nec tuum nomen ibi legebatur, neque res quicquam in tuos mores competeret, tamen cum tota Europa sic interpretaretur, perinde ac palam te nominatimque designatum accipis, maxime quod is tuo rogatu apologia quapiam hac te suspicione liberare noluerit. Quare cum ille hoc pacto se gesserit, atque negotium ipsum tam longe jam evectum sit, injuriam mihi te facturum putas, nisi me tam æquum existimares, ut non modo sinam, verum etiam suadeam id, ut agas sedulo, quo fama tua in tuto collocetur, cui cum nullo alio modo quam editis annotationibus consulere possis, hac tibi necessario esse grassandum. Denique hoc tam infixum animo tuo, persuasumque esse, ut neque bonum quemquam neque prudentem putes dissuasurum. Qua in re me ut amicus perstem, quemadmodum tu mihi semper fueris, semperque futurus sis, etiam atque etiam oras. Tametsi, mi Lee, tuarum literarum materia * jam varia sit ac multiplex, ut brevibus respondere non possim, respondebo tamen quam brevissime possum, quando neque tui temporis multum libet occupare, nec mei tantum superest, ut inde multum liceat decerpere, quod in scribendas hujusmodi literas impartiar. Quod ipsum alioquin, ut nunc res habet, videri possum nullo cum

* Perhaps tam.

fructu facturum, quandoquidem tute tecum quid sequi velis, tanquam jurata Styge, sanxisti, neque moratus quicquam reditum fratris, et præcisis omnibus omnium amicorum consiliis. Qui quid nunc dicturi sint, haud scio. Sequentur fortasse quidam vetus illud consilium :

Feras, non culpes, quod mutari non potest.

Verum istud ausim affirmare maxime, si eos ante consulere maluisses quam ipse constituere, perquam, hercle, paucos reperisses hic, qui non annotationes istas tibi abdendas potius perpetuo, quam edendas esse unquam censuissent, quos ipsos tamen dejerare liquet, quod te quoque, mi Lee, certe credo credere, non minus ex animo vereque esse tuos, aliquot item, quod spero, non minus sapientes, qui te ab isto fatagant proposito retinere, quam sit istorum quisquis est istic prudentissimus, qui te in editionem istam tam importune protrudunt atque præcipitant. Certe, quod ad me attinet, quemadmodum literis ac prudentia cuique fere tuorum cesserim ; sic benevolentia et fide nullum non fidenter provocaverim, ne tu me putes ea parte superari, qua sic amari me abs te atque honorifice scribis prædicari. Qua in re vicem retulisse me, cum summates aliquot viros testes habeo, tum quos neque potes rejicere, neque ab iisdem potes jam sæpe non audisse, fratrem utrumque charissimum. Quanquam ne fratribus quidem tuis tametsi fratres sint, istud concesserim, tibi ut magis ex animo bene velint, quam ipse cupiam. Erasmus, fateor, vehementer diligo, nec id ob aliam ferme causam, quam eam de qua totus eum Christianus orbis amplectitur : nempe, quod inexhaustis ejus unius laboribus omnes undique bonarum studiosi literarum, quantum non alterius fere cujusquam aliquot ante seculis eruditione, cum profanum etiam sacra promoverint. Qua de re non mihi tamen tam charus debet esse quam tibi, qui, quod tuæ luculenter ostendunt literæ, haudquaquam paulo plus fructus ab illo retulisti. Contra non unam esse causam video quæ seorsum tibi, mi Lee, me studio non vulgari devinciat, vel ipsius, ut reliquas omittam, patriæ communis gratia, vel parentum inter se nostrorum tam amica tam diuturna conjunctio, quæ res effecerunt ut ego te olim puerulum certe scitissimum annis ipse decem provectior exosculatus, jam illam inde perpetuo deamarim indolem. Sed amicus magis interim quam familiaris, futurus profecto quoad per me liceret familiarissimus, nisi nos diversa vitæ conditio atque institutum longe disjunxisset ; nec tam longe tamen disjunxit unquam, ut non ob oculos interim versaretur meos eximium illud tam probe eductum atque educatum ad literas ingenium, doctrinæ sitis inextincta, tam fervens in disciplinas impetus, tam inflans et indefessa contentio. Quæ me res in se libenter intentum magis indies magisque in amorem tui rapiabant, vel ea spe maxime, quod magno cum gaudio pollicebar mihi tempus aliquando fore, quum nostra hæc Britannia totum per orbem reliquum tua celebraretur industria. Ego quidem hætenus erga te non aliter ac dixi sum affectus, qui ne nunc quidem aut amorem retraho, aut spem abjicio ; tantum abest ut machiner aut miner male. Sed tamen profecto, mi Lee, quo te vehementius adamavi, quo majorem de te nobis promisi gloriam, eo nunc uror impensius, quum ea te videam animo tam obfirmato moliri, unde non solus animo prælagiam, neque tibi commodum, neque patriæ nostræ decus accessurum,

cessurum, quando res invidiosa videbitur, unum te potissimum opus illud tam hostiliter oppugnare, quod alius haud absque magno fortunæ salutisque suæ dispendio communibus mortalium omnium commodis elaboravit. Quin periculum est, si quo cœpisti perrexeris, ne animo te omnes communiter in se hostili esse potius quam in Erasum judicent, quorum commoda studeas corrumpere, quum hujus avertere commoda non possis, quippe qui suo nequit præmio fraudari apud benefactorum remuneratorem Deum, etiam si apud mortales opus ejus vel rejiceretur, vel penitus interiret, quorum vel invidia vel incuria jam ante numerosa perierunt, et perquam fructuosa volumina, quorum nihilo minus auctores fructum quem in terris afferre studuerunt, ipsi retulerunt in cœlo. Verum hic mihi video respondendum esse ad eam epistolæ tuæ particulam, qua tibi cum ingratus esse videar, tum injurius, si de labore tuo quem nondum perlegi, tam præceps ac maligne præjudicem. Ego profecto, mi Lee, dejectionis animi sum, quam ut mihi de cujusquam operibus judicium arrogem, satis esse semper ratus ad arcendam temeritatis calumniam, si aliorum accessissem calculis, præsertim talium quorum nec virtus obscura sit, nec ^b indubitata doctrina. Quam apud classem, quum velut uno ⁱ celeumate sensissem plus huic uni, cui tu reclamas operi succlamatum, quam reliquis ejus ipsius operibus omnibus, cujus nulli mirifice non applauditur, mihi certe videbar nec præcipitis accusandus judicii, nec ingrati erga te animi censendus, si ne lecto quidem ullo tui libelli versiculo tamen illis putarem omnibus magis fidendum esse quam tibi. Cui si tam æquus esse debuissem, ut te versionem Erasmi damnasse non nisi exacto et irrefragabili judicio præsumerem, in illos necesse est omnes gravissimam atque iniquissimam censuram exercuissem, quos aut tam socordes existimassem, ut rem tantam quantam tu hanc vis videri neglexerint, aut tam stupidos, ut quod tibi fuit tam obvium non intellexerint, aut denique, tam impios, ut pro Christo recusarint ei resistere, cui tu, velut David, contra Goliath pro Israël opposuisti temet, in ea demum re quam recta scirent in magnam Ecclesiæ perniciem, sic enim scribis, tendere. Dabis hanc mihi, mi Lee, veniam, si tuo malui judicio timidius aliquanto credere, quam apud animum meum cogerer acerbè condemnare tam multos eosdemque tantos, ut tibi sat scio, videretur abunde magnum consecutus honorem, quisquis viros ejusmodi virtute putetur ac literis aliquanto propius, quanquam ad aliquot adhuc parasangas distet, accedere. Quod si contra doctos esse dicas, qui tecum sentiant, ea res mihi fraudi esse non debet, quum ipse vix unum audiam aut alterum, qui non sit indoctissimus, quos si tu hic audires suas oblatrantes ineptias, puderet te certe, mi Lee, scio, talibus te lixis potius quam militibus ducem deligi, nisi te, quod non spero, Cæsareus ille spiritus afflaverit, ut malis primus esse Mutinæ, nisi nomen excidit, quam secundus Romæ. Quanquam ut est eruditorum civilitas, et indoctorum superbia, primum tibi locum, opinor, citius cedant illi, quam hi vel secundum vel tertium. Quod si tibi forte quidam animum faciunt istic, sunt nimirum hi propter quos minus audeo hac in re credere tibi, cui haud paulo plus credidissem soli, si non hujusmodi testes accessissent. Non quod illis eruditionem

^b He meant to say *dubitata*.

ⁱ *celeusmate*.

aut auferam magnopere vel tribuam (nam sunt, opinor, ex his qui adhuc alibi sint an atri nescimus) sed quod in Erasmus nimis quam feruntur iniqui, sive eos, ut homines sumus omnes, humana titillet æmulatio, sive, quod opinor verius, dæmon aliquis ejus pestis parens excitavit, ut quem nullis ipse rerum damnis, nullis corpusculi vel morbis vel periculis potuit a bonis unquam studiis et toti terrarum profuturis orbi revellere, eum nunc submissis ac subornatis suis istis satellitibus abducatur, qui ^k personati sanctimonia Christi negotium prætexentes, Christi negotium ^l prædicant, dum ei qui Christi negotium vere agit, suis sycophantiis moleste negotium exhibent, atque a Sacrarum tractatu Literarum (unde velut inexhausto promptuario profectui studiosorum quotidie fere depromebat aliquid) nunc ad Apologias non perinde nobis utiles atque ipsi necessarias in transversum agunt. Hi semper, ut fertur, adornant aliquos, qui inter te atque Erasmus cursitent, et consutis utrinque mendaciis dum tibi ab illo falsa, atque illi vicissim abs te referunt, vos scelerate committant, ut tuo periculo suis obsequantur affectibus, ipsi multo dignissimi qui illud potius odium subeant, quod perquam ægre vitaverit quisquis id instituet quod illi jam suadent tibi, non ut unum atque alterum decerpas locum, in quibus aut illum labi, quod fieri potest, ostendas, aut hallucinari te, quod et ipsum possit accidere, sed in totum opus adeo contorqueas machinam, ut verti potius non debuisse contendas; neque si quid a Latinis Græci discrepent codices, ejus nos admoneri; vel si maxime deceat id fieri, tamen illum minime idoneum esse qui faceret; contra vel hic vel ibi sentientibus non omnibus tantum undecunque doctis, sed ipso quoque doctorum omnium calculis anteponendo Pontifice non maximo solum, sed etiam optimo, cujus ad pium suum Erasmus eum laborem obedienter aggressus rem bis jam feliciter, adjuvante Deo, perfecit, bis a Pontifice, quod ejus declarant veneranda diplomata, gratiam laudemque non vulgarem promeruit. Quamobrem si de libro, qui Christi continet doctrinam, Christi vicario credidi, qui eum librum bis jam pronunciavit utilem, huic, inquam, si, te reclamante, credidi, qui librum scribis esse perniciosum, neque temere me fecisse, neque te injuria affecisse judico, etiamsi mihi liber tuus omnino esset ignotus. At nec is tam prorsus est ignotus mihi, ut non aliquid inde saltem degustarim, ex quo reliqua liceat conjicere. Nam etsi ad me non pervenerat, pervenit tamen ad quosdam, amica tuorum sollicitudine, aliorum judicia, ne nimium tibi fideres, explorantium; qui cum legissent ac perpendissent secum, tum de re tota sic judicassent, ut his a quibus acceperant librum, suaderent uti ad te scriberent, si tuo vellent honori consultum, huic labori supersederes. Quam rem non dubito, quin iidem amici tui pro sua in te fide significarint. Mihi quoque velut speciminis loco indicarunt quædam, sed non nisi præcipua, quibus potissimum videbaris tibi spondere victoriam. Non mihi, mi Lee, quod dixi, tantum sumo, ut in Theologicarum rerum controversiis feram sententiam, ne quis illud mihi merito possit ingerere, Ne futor ultra crepidam: sed tamen profecto quas mihi communicabant, quas certe tanquam primarias communicabant, pleræque omnes

^k Rather personata.

^l Read, *præpediant*, as in the other Edition.

erant ejusmodi, quas ipse quoque videor mihi sine magno posse negotio dissolvere. Quamobrem ex præcipuis quum pleraque reperissem tales, merito videbar ex illis reliquas quoque velut ex ungue, quod aiunt, leonem posse existimare. Nam cujus ungues non læserint, ejus non est quod pilos valde pertimescas. Certe illa contentio de vocabulo *proprii*, quam literis tuis ad nos inferuisti, quæ tam firma videtur tibi, ut non unis literis mirari testeris Erasmi impudentiam, quem non pudeat in re tam aperta suam tueri partem, non mihi modo, sed reliquis quoque ad quos eadem de re scripsisti, tam tenuis videtur argutia, ut contra valde miremur sustinuisse te ut eam rem ei vitio verteres. Nam si mortales omnes tam adamantinis vinculis ad Porphyrii constringas *εἰσαγωγὴν*, ut quando ille proprium id definiat, quod ita sit meum, ut nulli sit mecum commune, fas idcirco non sit eodem vocabulo sic uti, quomodo publicitus omnes ubique gentes utuntur, piaculum profecto sit si quis posthac propriam dicat patriam in qua natus est, aut propriam vocet parochiam in qua versatur, aut denique patrem a quo genitus est appellet proprium, si modo fratres habeat quibus sit pater cum illo communis. Quanquam nec Porphyrius tam difficilis est hac in parte quam tu, qui plures tradit modos citra vitium ejus usurpandi vocabuli. De quo vocabulo nihil ego in præsentiarum fuero dicturus omnino, nisi quod in epistolis istud tuis ipse commemorasti, quandoquidem de re tota quid haberem animi cum fratribus tuis, tum amicorum tuorum penitissimis olim judicavi, per quos jamdiu ad te, id quod volebam, pervenisse scio, ne nunc primum esset opus id rumore demum te per Erasmeos disperfo didicisse. Venio nunc ad expositionem tuam, qua rem a principio repetis, id videlicet agens ut ostendas Erasmi tandem culpa totam hanc et natam et alitam esse tragoediam. Quanquam hac in parte profecto operæ pretium est videre ut id quod unum sic Erasmo tribuis, ut præterea nihil ipse tibi desumas, et rhetoris hic agas partes, res videlicet per se exiles cumulatim verbis exaggerans. Quorum tamen si quis detracta mole nudas in unum res collegerit, opinor, non inveniet cur tibi videri debeas ab illo tam capitaliter offensus, ut dum illum contingat lædere, ne communibus quidem omnium bonis evertendis abstineas manum. Etenim si quis omnia congerat, quæ in tuis literis vel ad me vel ad alium quempiam memorasti, quibus illius in te contumelias amplificas, summa tamen huc rerum redit tandem, quod tuas annotationes neglexerit. Quæ, ut tibi verum fatear, non satis vehemens causa multis visa est, cur homo Christiana modestia tam hostiliter opus illud impeteres, quod alioqui te fateris fuisse promoturum, si laus videlicet, nam sic accipiunt, expectationi respondisset tuæ, quæ nunc maligna videbatur, quod se tam paucis in locis a te fatebatur edoctum; quum tamen contra videri debuerat honorificum, si vel unum quippiam sese vir omnibus in literis tantus a te didicisse fateretur, sive illud vere, sive civilitatis causa fassus, cui tu tamen parum civiliter, mirum est quod ad sacras attinet literas, quam nihil omnino tribuas, quum tibi tamen sumas tantum, ut aperte prædices in secunda quoque editione (in qua denuo tantum studii ac laboris, collatis etiam tot codicibus, evolutis tot autoribus, tot præterea consultis literatissimis viris exhaustis) errores tamen eum multos magnosque reliquisse, si non ad tuas annota-

tiones correxerit, quasi quæ tu deprehenderis, ille neque sua videlicet, neque alterius cujusquam opera pervestigare potuerit, quam solius tua. Ego, mi Lee, ingenium ac doctrinam tuam tam valde probo, quam quisquis probat maxime, nec de te raro glorior. Cæterum quando non dubito, quin satis tuo tributum ingenio censeas, si quis illud Erasmo tantum conferat, nec exspectes, opinor, ut præferat : industria vero atque assiduitate studendi Erasmus a puero semper fuisse constat insuperabili, magnifice profecto de te sentire videor mihi, si te posthac aliquando talem, qualis nunc est Erasmus, non desperem futurum, sed tum videlicet demum, quum ad annos hos, quos nunc habet ille, perveneris ; nec jure tibi videbor injurius, si te interim ab illo censeam eruditione tantum a tergo relinqui, quantum te annis ille præcesserit, quos in unam Theologiam profecto non pauciores insumsit, ^m quantum omnes pene quas a puero didicisti literas. Nec tamen quisquam longius ab ea distat arrogantia quam objicis. Quis enim aut parcius definit, aut affirmat timidius ? Quod plerique nimis faciunt fortiter. Ille tantum quid habeant libri commonet, suo quemque judicio relinquens, non ut sibi stetur postulat ; qui sicubi dum animum aperit suum, attingat eos a quibus ipse dissentiat, quid facit aliud quam quod omnibus ætatum omnium scriptoribus et usitatum est et concessum ? Et se tamen ubique submittit Ecclesiæ judicio, subinde fassus hominem esse se, quem in eo possint opere multa subterfugere ; quo in opere tu tamen, qui desideras in illo modestiam, magna cum autoritate profiteris perfecisse te, quod quidem ad Theologiam attinet (nam ea est, opinor, quam vocas arenam tuam) ne quis illic possit quicquam invenire postea jure quod queat impetere, modo correxerit Erasmus quicquid tu annotasti. Qua professione plus uni sumisti tibi, quam aut Erasmi pudor ultro delatum admiserit, aut ego ambobus certe vobis etiam conjunctis tribuerim, quum tibi tamen tribuam plurimum, illi omnes propemodum tribuant omnia. Qui quum is sit qui omnium minime egeat admonitu, nemo tamen magis gaudet admoneri, quæ res liquet ex ipsis Epistolis quas ille tum in Angliam, tum alio quaquaversus emisit ad eos, quorum judicio potissimum confidebat, quorum nonnulli quid sibi videretur ostenderunt. Omnibus egit gratias, quorundam admisit monitus, quidam errasse se ipso rescribente senserunt, ejusque rei gratia, et ipsi egerunt gratias, quod cum docere conarentur, didicissent. Certe nullius recordor, qui tragœdias moverit quod non omnia consilia sua vel Evangeliorum vice suscepta sint. Nam quid illud sibi velit non intelligo, quod eum scribis ne Morum quidem monitorem ferre. Neque enim unquam me pro tanto viro gessi, a quo vel in aliquo literarum genere, vel in rerum perpensione communium Erasmus admonendus esse videretur. Jam quod Dorpium scribis ab illo male dum admoneret acceptum, ego num quid occultæ similitatis intercesserit haud intelligo : certe in ea Apologia qua Dorpio respondit, palam quamquam ab eo provocatus ac propemodum objurgatus aspere, tamen adeo modeste respondit, imo reverenter potius, ut non aliud unquam quicquid tantundem honoris conciliarit Dorpio, quam quod tantum autoritatis Erasmus ei præsertim laceffit attribuit. Quæ res una facit ne facile

^m Read quam tu in omnes.

adducar

adducar ut credam ejus beneficii oblitum Dorpium amicum in se tam candidum denuo velle laceffere. Qua in sententia vel eo confirmor, quod illam Epistolam quam calore quodam dictarat acerbius, defervescente impetu, consilio censuit consultiore supprimendam; qua de re ego quoque vicissim pressi meam, qui contentiones hujusmodi quibus ut nihil fructus, ita multum damni possit oriri, sopire atque obruere libentius quam fovere studeam: qui ab eo tempore sic amavi Dorpium, ac magni semper feci, ut tibi quoque Lovanium petitulo suaferim eum præcipue ex Lovaniensibus omnibus esse adjungendum, quod nunquam certe fecissem, nisi eum plane apud animum meum præsumissem talem, a quo tu, quem, ut vere, mi Lee, dicam, etiam olim non admodum æquum in Erasmus cognovimus, in Erasmi pelliceris amorem, quum sit Erasmus illius amantissimus, natura certe tam placabilis, ut nescio an unquam possis invenire quenquam, qui tam multas ac tam insignes in se contumelias tam patienter tulerit, qui quidem potens sit tam valide retorquere, nec dolori suo morem interim regestis in maledictos maledictis gesserit. Nempe qui nec ⁿ eos, qui locis aliquot ex opusculis ejus ad calumniam delectis, ne dubitari possit quem impeterent, quidlibet in famam ejus impudenter evomuerint, convicia ipsis digna regesserit, sed eorum dissimulata malitia satis habuit si sua tueretur scripta, eorum honori adeo indulgenter parcens, ut non modo nihil inde detriverit, verum etiam nonnihil adstruxerit. Quanquam hæc illius tam ^o immodesta modestia maxime profecto fuit in causa, cur tot amputatis hujus hydræ capitibus nova subinde repullulent: alioqui non dubito quin aliquot eum minus petulanter incessissent, si tui similes vidissent durius aliquanto rejectos. Venio nunc ad prioris epistolæ calcem, quo te significas, Erasmo quoque vel adsentiente vel simulante, litem hanc totam Reverendi Patris Episcopi Rossensis permisisse judicio, atque ad eum tuarum annotationum transmisisse volumen. Quod factum certe sive utriusque vestrum, sive unius tuum, mirifice laudant omnes, cum quod animos adjeceritis ad pacem, tum quod eum delegeritis pacificatorem, qui non modo propter eruditionem singularem, cujus nunc mundum testem habet, maxime sit idoneus qui judicet, verum etiam propter eximiam pietatem non sit passurus quicquid in alterutro boni sit interire: porro qui sic amet utrumque, ut toto pectore sit ad concordiam incubiturus, homo tam solers et dexter, ut viam inveniat facile, qua sibi censeat uterque satisfactum. Verum enim vero, ut posteriores tandem literas attingam, hoc tam salubre propositum, seu vestrum fuit, sive, quod scribis, tuum, quo sanctius excogitatum est, eo nimirum magis est incusandus, utriusque culpa contigit, ut deficeretur effectum. Ego hanc in culpam neutrum vel impingo, vel eximo. Cæterum quid aliis videatur exponam, qui primum id considerant, quod ut solus videri vis Episcopi delegisse judicium, ita primus videris denuo declinasse, atque ita primus, ut propemodum etiam solus. Nam Erasmus ne adhuc quidem constat rejecisse, ut qui prior miserit librum, et nullis literis appellavit a iudice: quem nec potuit iudicem refugere, qui edito libro omnes fecerat iudices. Tu contra, cum librum

ⁿ Read *nec* in *eos*, &c.

^o *immodesta*, that is, *immodica*.

huc ad alios jam olim transmiseris clanculum, Episcopum rem celesti maxime, nunc vero demum paterno quodam affectu consulentem tibi, ne huic te operi immisceas, videlicet statuis judicem. Sed ita statuis, ut non ante sibi tributum hunc magistratum, quam rursus ademtum cognoverit. Nam neque liber tuus ad eum venit, neque literæ quæ judicem illum facerent, nisi simul traditis alteris, ^p qui judicandi munus eriperent, ac denunciarent editionem tecum te nullius exspectato judicio decrevisse. Hæc atque alia conferentibus, oboritur certe suspicio nunquam istud sincere tibi de judice deligendo cogitatum. Quam suspicionem præter alia confirmat tua certe, quæ multis videtur perquam infirma defensio, qua te videri vis eo loco ex Apologia notatum, quem locum non quisquam censet quicquam ad te pertinere. Nam neque nomen tuum ibi legis, neque mores qui describuntur agnoscis, et alii sunt qui de illo male sunt meriti, iidemque magis Latomo familiares. Porro quidam non multo melioribus ab his depicti coloribus, qui istinc huc indies commigrant, quam eo loco, quisquis est ille, describitur. Quamobrem ut nulla præbetur ansa, qua locus hæreat in te, sic non desunt fortasse vestigia, quibus ad eorum quempiam perveniat, qui callide rem dissimulant, et tua credulitate freti, quo longius ab sese vertant, ea te persona volentem ornant, atque ita producunt in proscenium, suoque plausu traducunt publice, miserantibus amicis tuis, inimicis ridentibus, maxime sibi placentibus his, qui te circumventum suis versutiis vicarium sibi histrionem gaudent supposuisse. Sed teneo, inquis, manifestarium. Nam cum per fratrem expostulassem de injuria, atque is negasset ea scripsisse de me, tamen recusavit, me petente, aliqua saltem illud apologia testari. Rem profecto, mi Lee, neque illi facilem, neque tibi utilem flagitasti. Nam ad hunc modum, alio super alium idem postulante, aut illi necesse fuisset aliquem negando prodere, atque ex occulta simultate aperte bellum in se recipere, aut cum suæ causæ præjudicio quempiam laudare publice, quem paulo fortasse post palam cogeretur incessere. Tibi vero censes honeste consulturum, si scripto testetur se non illorum quæ scripsit, quicquam scripsisse de te, quasi ea videri possint alioqui in te competere. Annon belle te purgasset, scilicet, si protinus ei loco subjunxisset, Monitos omnes volo, ne quis nimium suspicax hæc me suspicetur vel dicere, vel cogitare de Leo? Quanto tibi fuisset consultius, eam rem quæ nihil ad te attinebat, in te non admittere, et si quis in te torquere niteretur, velut malum atque invidum interpretem rejicere, quam sic rem tibi sumere, ut vel quæ scripta sunt, videaris agnoscere, vel quod possis expostulare non habeas. Ego profecto, mi Lee, quanquam te viam video sententiæ meæ præcludere, quum aut famæ tuæ parum faventem censeas, aut certe non satis providentem, quisquis tibi non suaserit annotationes istas protinus emittendas, tamen non dubitabo committere, ut utrobique apud te existimationis meæ pericliter, potius quam, ut quæ tuæ putem conductura non consulam, id est, in primis, ut ab hujus editione voluminis abstineas, quod tibi nihil boni, multum conciliabit invidiæ. Nam quod nunc tute tecum reputas fore, ut omnes cognoscant, vel tibi deberi gratiam, si quid er-

rati correxerit, vel suæ dandum pertinaciæ, si nec monitus quidem correxerit, id ut video pro confesso sumis, cujus fidem ægre fortassis obtineas, ut tuis videlicet corruptis ⁹ scribis, ex te quicquid est erratum credatur didicisse. Nam ejus ipsius quod affers fidem, ipse nimirum vel hoc argumento minuis, quod nec visa adhuc secunda ejus editione, librum tuum tamen statuas edere. Quod multi credant nunquam te fuisse facturum, nisi spem concepisses aliquam fieri, ut ignoratione tuarum annotationum aliquot adhuc errata sua non deprehenderit. Nam si cogitares tuas annotationes omnes ei factas esse palam, non posses profecto dubitare quin aut omnes ille locos emendaverit, aut certe viderit quo pacto queat defendere, qui si hoc videat, non est quod magnam posses exspectare gloriam; sin illud fecerit, appetitæ perperam gloriæ vix declinares infamiam, quasi præpostero laudis aucupio, nullo jam fructu sis admoniturus, non quid nunc vitiosum sit, sed quid olim fuerit. At famam, inquis, purgare debeo, quam ille depopulatus est, qui non minuta modo me annotasse clamat, sed et neotericorum decretis ea communire. Hic interim non video, mi Lee, qui tecum constes, qui tanquam facinus capitale objicis Erasmo, quod parum neotericis tribuit, quibus ille certe tribuit satis, quum nescio an iisdem quisquam plus ademerit, quam tute, qui tibi ducis infamiæ, si neotericorum decretis tua dicaris annotationamenta munire. Verum si fama tibi sic esset aspersa maculis, ut necessario purganda sit, nec alia via possit perlui, quam si confestim liber ille tuus edatur, quanquam vel nominis potius aliquam jacturam sustinere deceat quam ut dum nostro bono nimium studemus, multorum bonis cogamur officere, tamen, ut nunc sunt mores, ignoscam facile, si tibi bene malis esse, quam alteri. Sed mihi neque famæ tuæ tam valde detractum videtur, et si maxime detractum sit, hac editione tamen minime posse restitui. Nam locus ille ex Apologia nihil ad te quicquam prorsus pertinet; tum si quas huc scripsit epistolas, nihil minus vel egisse videtur, vel cogitasse, quam ut tuo noceret nomini, contra vero annum hic fere totum de tuis in eum scriptis susurratum est: quum nec interim bonorum quenquam viderim tuo gaudere proposito, nec animi erga te offensi ullum ab illo signum deprehenderim, nisi quod modo visus est aliquid de tuo contra se facto conqueri, de te tamen ipso scribens multo certe, quam tu de illo temperantius. Quorum si quis utriusque narrationem perpendat, vereor profecto, ne te potius condemnet injuriæ, nisi quis ea credat esse mendacia quæ sunt ad illum delata de te, quod ego certe tam libenter credo, quam tu quoque debes libenter vana credere, quæ iidem rumigeruli de illo detulerunt ad te, quos si mendaces esse credes, ut si vis absolvi credes, illum pariter ab hac injuria, cujus nunc accusas, absolves. Sed nescio quas literas loqueris, quibus ille te sit graviter infectatus, quales an proferre possis haud scio. Verum hoc unum scio exstare, mi Lee, tuas, et quo minus inficiari possis, *αὐτογράφες*, e quibus conjici potest ad istas annotationes longe alio animo et accessisse te et processisse, quam nunc toties in testem citata conscientia præ te feras, tum sic accessisse ut præjudicium domo, quod aiunt, attuleris tecum, quo sementem totam, cujus adhuc nec herbam

⁹ scribis: i. e. amanuensibus.

videras, damnandam esse præsumeres, quum inde passim omnes boni, qui quidem nossent agricolam, optimam et pulcherrimam sibi messē promitterent. Verum quod cœpi dicere, si maxime famam tuam purgari oporteat hac editione, tamen censeo minime posse procedere, qua dum eam depurgare laboras, vereor ne limo densius lutoque permisceas. Nam primum in quibusdam video te plane falli, nec ab simile veri est idem tibi in aliquot æque locis, quos ipse non vidi, contingere. Jam quædam sunt, quod nec ipse diffiteris, non admodum magni momenti; quædam ^r certe, ut non aperte contra te militent, ita pro te non valde multum faciunt: jam pars bona diu controversa, de quibus adhuc sub iudice lis, quæ si de summa subduxeris, reliquum rationis erit pauxillulum, nec sane satis dignum, unde tu novas conficias tabulas. Ut præteream interim, quod alii non prætereunt, qui perquam intempestivum censent de mendis admonere jam emendatis. Atque is quidem tuæ rei status fuerit, etiamsi mutum nactus esses adversarium, qualem non esse tuum tute probe pernocti. Nunc vero cum contra te rem tractabit cujusvis tractandæ rei mirificus artifex, tum qui hanc in rem unam plus propemodum laboris ac studii, quam in reliquas quas unquam egit omnes impenderit; certe, mi Lee, non credas quam multa sis quæ nunquam credidisses auditurus, quæ si posses animo jam ante concipere, dubio procul abstinendum duceres ab inauspicatis istis laboribus, quos utinam tantum possis perdere. Nam ille quicquid annotasti minutulum, prorsus in nihil comminuet; quicquid te nunc parum juvat, sic tractabit ut etiam noceat; quod hætenus videbatur ambiguum, id contra te reddet dilucidum; tum si quid mutavit in melius, ejus non modo nullam tibi habebit gratiam, sed reum etiam aget insolentiæ, ejusque rei valde ridiculæ, tanquam non glorie modo, velut Ἐπιμνηθεὺς μὲν τὰ πρᾶγματα, eorum nos admonere quorum tempus præteriit, dum salebras mones ac lacunas esse vitandas, quæ jam sint complanatæ, sed alienæ præterea laudem captes industriæ, qui quicquid aut ipsum notavisse comperies, aut alios, id in tuas totum annotationes referens, aliorum partus edas pro tuis, quorum adhuc quidam belli videntur tibi, quos qui genuerant, velut informes ac monstrosos fœtus abjecerint. Jam quum ad ea venerit, quibus errare te manifeste coarguat, non est quod exspectes illam, qua semper hætenus pepercit aliis humanitatem; qua quia multorum in se audaciam videt provocasse sese, vertet haud dubie vela, atque ita, vereor, tractabit te, aliis ut sis exemplo, ne quis ei negotium denuo solitæ spe civilitatis exhibeat. Qua in re veniam, vel temet iudice, debet obtinere. Qui si tibi putes causam esse cur illum invadas acriter, vel quod tacere nefas ducis, si quid adhuc reliquit incorrectum, vel si nihil reliquit, tamen ut tuam repares ac farcias famam, quæ tibi tota funditus interierit, si toti credaris Europæ, nam id populus curat scilicet, annotasse minutias; quanto æquius illi debes ignoscere, si tuam in se libertatem pari libertate retaliet? Sive ut nunc est ejus opus recognitum, nihil eorum retineat, quæ tu reprehenderis, sive tu velut errata redarguas, quæ sua sibi conscientia dicet esse rectissima, qui sibi non minus certe quam tibi citra ul-

^r Perhaps *quæ certe*, or *quædam certe*, *quæ*.

Iam potest arrogantiae culpam fidere; ut non illud addam interim, quod totus iste tumultus tuus huc tendit denique, ne per illum putareri reculas quaspiam vel parum recte vel paulo minus magnas annotasse: quum illi contra te sit enitendum, ne si tu recte magna notaveris, ipse magna carere nota non possit, quasi, quod nefas nemo non ducit, sancta parum sancte tractaverit. Hæc quum ita sese habeant, non est, mihi crede, quod speres, quin si illum editis istis annotationibus attingas, suetæ sibi suæ lenitatis oblitus, suum jus summa vi persequatur. Itaque vehementer metuo, ne famam tuam, quantum ego video adhuc per illum integram, tute videri possis importuna purgatione polluere, quod quibusdam ante video contigisse, qui an minus tuti fuerint quam tu, id quidem necesse est eventus judicet, certe non minus fuerant securi quam tu, quoad ille quid respondisset audivissent. Tum vero demum senserunt suæ cœnæ sumtus absque hospite, quod aiunt, frustra sese secum deputasse, quod qui faciunt denuo oportet computent, quum hospes plerumque in rationem adferat, quod illi vel non recordabantur, vel sibi parcentes omiserant. Quam ob rem, mi charissime Lee, etiam te atque etiam rogo, ne tecum statuas nimium tuæ spei fidere: qui quum me sis obtestatus per sanctissimum mihi nomen amicitiae, ut me hac in re tibi æquum præbeam; sic mihi, mi Lee, contingat te ut perpetuum amicum habeam, ut ego nullo mihi pacto videor in te futurus æquior, quam si te contra, quod obnixe facio, per si quid est in amicitia sanctius obtester, ut odiosis hujusmodi excussis jurgiis, in amicitiam cum Erasmo redeas, quod illum non recusaturum ausim profecto meam tibi fidem obstringere; neu velis eam provinciam suscipere, quam semel ingressus nunquam possis deponere, in qua perpetuo tumultu, rixa, contentione, molestiis tunica molesta molestioribus, ætatem reliquam, cujus adhuc spero tibi multum supra mediam superest, arsurus, mi Lee, sis verius quam victurus. Quin tu Christianæ te charitati restituens, animo serenato, lætus hanc vitam et tranquillus exige, contemptaque unius inauspicati libelli jactura, qui futuris etiam foetibus tuis nonnihil offundat invidiæ, feliciorum aliquam materiam tibi circumspice quam eleganter expolias; quæ cum prodierit aliquando, profit et probetur omnibus; quæ tuam famam et præsentibus reddat amabilem, et magno cum favore transmittat posteris; quæ denique sit ejusmodi ut ejus præmium potissimum sperare possis a Deo, quod genus mercedis multo est omnibus mortalium bonis uberius. In qua ego materia non veto, si quid fors inciderit, in quo vel Erasmus aliquid, vel quisquis alius quicquam scripsit unquam, sit ita lapsus insigniter, ut admonendus magnopere videatur orbis, ad eundem ne quis rursus impingat lapidem, non, inquam, veto quo minus tu quoque denuncies quæ declinari^s profuerint offendicula. Nec id abs te fieri æquus quicquam potest inique ferre, modo res tractetur ea modestia, quæ fidem faciat oblatam potius monendi necessitatem, quam carpendi ansam esse quæsitam; a quo limite quis non videt sulcus iste quam longe deliret, quum ex professo liber cum libro velut hostis cum hoste committitur. Quod ne tu velis committere, rursus, mi Lee, te per tuam famam, mea mihi propemodum cha-

riorem; per meas de te spes, qui de nullo nostratum unquam concepi grandiores; et per charitatem patriæ, cui debitum ex te splendorem nubecula pergis obducere; per amicorum tuorum sollicitudinem, qui mecum trepidi suas quisque preces adjungunt, obsecro te atque obtestor quam possum maxime, ut et tibi parcas et patriæ, ne vel Leus dicatur vel Anglus augecentibus orbis Christiani commodis invidere. Sin tibi penitus infederit tam generosus ardor gloriæ, ut potius quam cum illo non dimices, malis genuinum frangere, tuam quidem vicem amplius quam dolere non possum; patriæ certe pro mea virili connitar ut hoc tuum factum, quod tantis bonorum doctorumque omnium odiis exponi video, Britanni potius esse quam Britannia censeatur, salva mihi tecum semper, quoad per te licebit, amicitia. Vale. 20 die Maii, Anno MDXIX.

VI.

Thomas Morus Eduardo Leo S. D.

NEMINEM esse mortaliū, arbitror, charissime Lee, cui sua consilia perpetuo constant; mihi certe (neque enim vel constantior affecto, vel prudentior videri quam sum) sæpe sic usu venit, ut quod alias impense placet, alias impense displiceat. Nec istud unquam tamen verius validiusve mihi contigisse memini, quam in hoc tuo negotio, in quo minime omnium putassem eam animi mei mutationem accidere potuisse, non ideo tantum quod mihi videbar ipse pulchris rationibus esse confirmatus, nam mea mihi semper suspecta sunt; sed quod tam multos habere me videbam, eosque ex prima classe prudentium qui meæ sententiæ non modo suffragarentur atque subscriberent, verum auctores quoque profiterentur sese. Quos quum nunc videam universos sui poenitere suffragii, quod meum una calculum, quem revocare non possum, testari cogor, in urnam etsi fideliter, parum tamen caute conjectum, vel tantorum certe virorum societate memet, vel communi sorte mortaliū, quibus nihil satis provisum est undique, consolabor. Nam quis non putasset id quod tam multi, tam docti, tam amici tibi putaverunt utiliter me suasurum, ut inter te atque Erasmus rediretur in gratiam, libellusque quem nunc edidisti premeretur perpetuo? At nunc res indicat id ipsum consilium non satis consulte consultum. Fuisset enim, quandoquidem premi non potuit, quod quo minus potuerit neque judico neque disputo per utrum steterit, fuisset, inquam, etiamsi non satis commodum, at certe minus incommodum, si liber esset olim, priusquam ad cætera mala, tantus iste rixarum cumulus, et conviciorum immensa moles accessisset, quorum nescio an vos adhuc pigeat, cæteros certe omnes jamdudum pudet. Uter in causa fuerit in præsentem non excutio. Literis meis olim declaravi tibi quid mihi partim, partim aliis ad eum usque diem de utriusque facto videretur. Post eum vero diem quo pacto res tractata sit inter vos, nec satis certe comperio, nec de re parum comperta pronuncio. Verum postquam

¹ Perhaps, *olim editus priusquam*. See the next Letter.

tu significaras, meo te suafu perpetuo pressurum librum, quievistis paululum. Cæterum haud multo post Erasmus huc scripsit ad nos, te quum aperte præ te ferres concordiam, occultis quotidie cuniculis plusquam hostilia moliri. Tu contra negabas, et contendeabas illum falsis duci opinionibus. Iterum ergo illum, iterum te admonuimus utrique cavendum esse, ne pravis aliorum dolis inter vos committeremini. Ille postea sæpe velut novis ac novis abs te læsus technis querebatur, cui ego semper eadem respondebam, aliorum malitiam vestræ invidere quieti, quibus studium fuerit ex duello vestro voluptatem capere. Te vero, a quo nihil accipiebam literarum, nolui nostris obtundere, præsertim quæ non aliam cantilenam possent, quam toties ante cantatam occinere. Nunc tandem libellus annotationum tuarum (qui jam ante quoque cœperat a quibusdam apud nos adservari negligentius, et permitti pluribus) offertur excusus typis: sed non nisi unum volumen aut alterum. Hic et a frontispicio conspicio, et a postico magis virulenta convicia, quam quæ modestiorum ferant aures. Quorum omnium initia causasque cum in Erasmus conjicias, ut te non refello, ita nec illum adhuc inauditum condemno. Hoc unum, mi Lee, scio, quod quum idoneis argumentis docere possim, dissimulare non debeo, literas illas quibus te commonebat ab impotentibus Germanorum animis tibi cavendum esse, quas literas velut minaces videris in odium trahere, ab animo in te sincero et de tua salute sollicito profectas. Cætera quo pacto gesta sunt, tum demum expendam, quum illum quoque audiero. Quæ tamen seu vera sunt, ut dicis, omnia, seu te nonnunquam imago quædam veri deceperit, seu tua conjectura, ut est animus in sua cuique re suspicax, longius interdum sese quam quo ducebatur evexerit, non adeo immemor sum humanæ fortis, ut non connivendum putem, si quis interdum dolori suo, seu veris e causis orto, seu creditis indulgeat. Sed optassem tamen, mi Lee charissime, pro meo in te amore, quo non est in te cujusquam sincerior, optassem, inquam, ita tibi temperatum esse, ut modestiæ potius laudem, quam acerbitalis veniam consequerere. Verum hæc fera querela est. Nunc quod reliquum est, oro te, mi Lee, ut redire properes ad nos, a quibus utinam nunquam fuisses digressus. Etenim five tu vera narras, ab ipso te impulsus Erasmo, five ille recte suspicatur incitatum te a suis æmulis, nunquam hic tumultus inter vos exortus esset, si tu perpetuo mansisses in patria, in qua ut brevi te reducem videam salvum atque incolumem precor. Interea vale, ! Grennici, 27 die Februarii.

! sic.

VII.

Thomas Morus Eduardo Leo S. D.

NUDIUS tertius ad te, mi Lee charissime, literas dedi statim ab allatis huc paucissimis annotationum tuarum voluminibus, quæ nescio quis e Parisiis scholasticus huc festinarat mittere, ut amicis quibusdam primo flore gratificaretur. Heri mihi redditus est abs te libellus una cum literis, quibus auguraris me non boni consulturum, quod librum ad me mittas excusum typis. Ego certe quod mihi donas, habeo gratiam; quod nunc excusum curasti, quanquam perpetuo maluissem premi, tamen ut res habet, non tam tuum factum, qui nunc edideris, quam meum damno consilium, per quem effectum est, ne tum esset editus, quum minore utriusque damno potuisset, dum adhuc minus acribus odiis utrinque laborabatur. Sed quoniam scripsi tam nuper hac de re, non erit opus eadem repetere. Unum præterire non debeo, quod ais longa me et prope minaci epistola tecum egisse ut premeres. Profecto, mi Lee, ut fateor esse longiusculam, ita quantum recordor, minarum nihil habebat epistola. Certe nihil habebat animus, aut habebit unquam, neque enim natura sum torvus. Memini scripsisse me pro mea virili conaturum, ut ista taxatio translationis Erasmicæ, tuum potius factum quam patriæ nostræ videretur, salva mihi semper tecum, quoad per te liceret, amicitia: quæ verba nolim te, qui mihi videris interdum plus æquo suspicax, ad minas trahere, quibus ego nihil aliud sensi, quam quoad possem effecturum me, ut innotesceret exteris, factum illud tuum apud nos, ut quibusdam fortasse placeat, certe non omnibus placere. Si nihil aliud possem, illa ipsa epistola saltem testaturum, non placere mihi, ut labores Erasmi in communem studiorum usum tanto cum studio collocati, tuo libello tradicerentur, atque hæc me vel ideo facturum obnixius, quod verebar si ab Anglo impeteretur opus omnibus tam charum gentibus, ne nostra patria traheretur apud eruditos omnes undique in invidiam. Nec uno pilo minus hanc invidiam pertimescebam, quod illic sentiebam opus a nonnullis, vel invidis, vel imperitis infamari. Quum augurer atque præfagiam, aut evictis hostibus aut desistentibus, Erasmi labores æternum esse victuros. Nec tamen omnes vel invidiæ damno, vel imperitiæ, quibus fortassis opus displicebit; liberum erit per me suum cuique iudicium, et poterit interdum zeli fervor etiam peritis imponere: hoc certe fidenter pronuncio, neque sanctiores adhuc, neque doctiores, ab adversa parte quam ab Erasmo perstitisse, ut nihil interim dicam de Summo Pontifice, cujus in hanc partem suffragium idemque bis jam honorifice præbitum, quamvis mihi videatur irrefragabile, nescio tamen quanti ponderis sit istic apud quosdam, quos ego, si modo vera audio, sane vehementer admiror tam levem ipsos eam auctoritatem ducere, pro qua adversus alios ferro flammaque depugnant. Certe si potestatem illam tam rigide ab se defensam, tam facile cum libet negligunt, cui non fidem faciant, non pro Pontifice sese, sed pro suis potius affectibus dimicare? Nam quod audio jactare quosdam, propediem se facturos, ut Pontifex revocet calculum,

calculus, dispeream ni cupiam suavium hominum miram illam audire facundiam, qua sic Pontifici demulceant aures, ut persuadeant ei ex honore esse pontificiæ majestatis, ut in malorum gratiam, bonorum detrahat commodis, et opus jam tandem reprobet, quod bis jam ex intervallo probavit, et toti se declaret orbi, cujus curam habet, Christi negotium, cujus vicem gerit, tam negligenter agere, ut dominicum gregem pro quo rationem redditurus est, semel atque iterum pastoralis voce dimiserit in perniciofa pascua. Certe Lutherus ipse præ istis videri potest pius in sacrosanctam Romanam sedem, ut cui aliquo saltem modo tribuit universam potestatem, quam isti ut verbis sublevant, ita re videntur tollere, si judicium ejus in approbandis scriptorum operibus adeo ducunt leve. Atque ut illud ad sedem pertinet, sic istud pertinet ad Pontificem, de quo scelerate sentiunt, si censent eum per incuriam id operis bis jam accurate commendasse fidelibus, quod haberi legique sine fidei detrimento non potest. Jam quod tu ais nescire te an Pontifex approbaverit, ut ad Græcam fidem excutiantur Latini codices, certe non probasse saltem exemplar Erasmicum, quod ipsum probetur esse mendosum, ut primam partem prorsus abjicio, ita secunda delector, ut belle atque acute excogitata per te; neque enim illorum quenquam audivi hætenus, qui tantum sibi invenerit suffugii, qua totum opus impune liceret impetere, quod approbasset Pontifex. Itaque non conabor tibi hoc jumentum tollere. Cupio profecto aliquod tibi effugium patere, quo quod facis, fecisse possis inoffenso Pontifice. Verum misere metuo, ne ex hoc asylo quoque te deturbet Erasmus, qui etiamsi per se tanto bonorum consensu satis in tuto sit, non feret tamen unquam tantam ignominiam, ut clypeus ei Pontificius, velut ancile de cælo datum, excuti videatur e manibus. Quod si censeas agrum in summa frugiferum, aliquot adhuc tamen continere frutices, qui manum desiderent agricolæ, nec auctoritati Pontificis obsistis, non me modo, sed ipsum etiam Erasmus habebis adstipulatorem, qui non eam ambit laudem, ut quod nemini unquam contigit, nempe ut nusquam in longo dormitet opere, id illi deferatur uni: atque utinam sic aperte modereris tuam, mi Lee, sententiam, quod videri potes alicubi sensisse, utpote cum fateris non omnia damnare te in quibus ab Erasmo dissentis. Id si quo forte loco, nam totum librum non legi, abs te sit aperte factum, nihil erit tibi negotii cum quoquam, nisi ut de solis annotationibus * disputentur, e quibus ut rejicientur, haud dubie, multæ, ita quædam fortasse consisterent, quibus utilis videretur liber, quæ nunc alioquin in idem recident periculum, quod intentant; nempe quoniam malæ sunt quædam, damnari ut debeant omnes, vel eo justius id subituræ discriminis, quod legem ferant ipsæ qua pereant. At cum dicis periculum esse, ne quis in posterum lædatur ab his quæ tu reprehendis in illo, divinatio quidem est ista. Atque in diem est, quem tibi fingis timor, etiamsi vera metueres, et cui multis modis possit occurri. Etenim qui malam ab illo stabilierit opinionem, hætenus nullum vidi: at quotidie video passim studiosos, qui se laboribus ejus mire jam nunc fatentur adjutos in campo Scripturarum. Nec hac in parte dubito, quin

* Read *disputetur*.

mecum, mi Lee, sentias, et sis aliquando fassurus. Habes hominem doctissimum atque integerrimum, florem ipsum Theologicæ scholæ Dorpium, utriusque vice prævium tibi ducem, ut qui et tuam sententiam diu tenuerit, et post^y excusam diligentius reliquerit; qua veritatis agnitione immane quanto plus veræ peperit gloriæ, quam ulla unquam victoria potuisset. Et mihi plane polliceor, quemadmodum literis illum refers, et eidem succedis in certamen, ita non ullo pudore cunctaturum quin aliquando quod verum videris, quod visurum non dubito, ingenue sis agniturus. Cujus bonitatis mihi spem facit, quod idem jam nunc uno atque altero loco fecisse te, non sine laude video; idemque ut Erasmus faciat, ex animo certe consulam. Quod vero me, mi Lee, rogas, ne quid amoris erga te mei minuam, confide, mi Lee, mihi, etiamsi in hac causa æquior in eam partem sum quæ oppugnatur, at sic ut optem ab urbe salva salvas abduci copias, te tamen amabo semper, et amorem abs te meum tanti fieri gaudeo, nec in tuam rem sicubi causa postulet incumbam segnius, quam in hanc inclino, usque adeo ut cum quid edideris aliquando tuum, nam editurum certe multa, non dubito, si vel Erasmus in alienum opus curiosos injecerit oculos, atque opus totum opposito conetur opusculo demoliri, quanquam aliquanto meliore loco videretur, quod non nisi retaliaret injuriam; ipse tamen tecum, quantumvis infirmis viribus, firmissima voluntate perstabo. Vale, mi Lee charissime, ac, si nos amas, ad nos advola. Grennici, ultima Februarii, Anno^z MDII.

VIII.

Epistola Domini Thomæ Mori, Equitis Aurati, ad Academiam Oxoniensem, contra Scholasticos illos Academiae dictæ, qui se *Trojanos* appellantes, omnes artes liberales, præcipue Græcas literas, odio habendas, earumque cultores conculcandos dicteriiisque proscindendos esse palam prædicabant.

^a *Thomas Morus Reverendissimis Patribus, Commissario, Procuratoribus, ac reliquo Senatui Scholasticorum Oxon. Salutem.*

DUBITAVI nonnihil, eruditissimi viri, liceretne mihi de quibus nunc decrevi rebus ad vos scribere; nec usque adeo styli respectu mei dubitavi (quanquam eum ipsum quoque pudet in cœtum prodire virorum tam eloquentium) quam ne videri nimium superbus possim, si homuncio non magna prudentia, minore rerum usu, doctrina vero minus quam mediocri, tantum mihi arrogem, ut ulla in re, sed præcipue in literaria consilium dare unus audeam vobis omnibus, quorum quivis ob eximiam eruditionem prudentiamque sit idoneus, qui multis hominum millibus consulat. Verum contra, venerandi patres, singularis ista sapientia vestra quantum me primo

^y Read *excussam*.

^z It should be MDXX.

^a From the Edition printed at Oxford by John Lichfield, Anno 1633. 4to.

conspectu deterruit, tantum me penitus inspectu recreavit, quum subiit animum, sicut istulta atque arrogans inscitia neminem dignatur audire, ita quo quisque est sapientior doctiorque, eo minus sibi ipse confidere, aut cujusquam aspernari solet consilium. Sed et hoc me vehementer animavit, quod nemini unquam fraudi fuit apud æquos iudices, quales vos imprimis estis, etsi si quis in consulendo non satis prospexisse videatur; sed laudem semper gratiamque meruisse consilium, quod quanquam non prudentissimum, fidum tamen fuerit, et amico profectum pectore. Postremo, cum apud me considero, quod hanc quantulamcumque doctrinam meam, secundum Deum, vestræ isti Academiæ acceptam ferre debeo, unde ejus initia retuli, videtur a me officium meum fidesque in vos exigere, ne quidquam silentio transeam, quod vos audire utile esse censeam. Quamobrem quum in scribendo totum periculum in eo viderem situm, si me quidam nimis arrogantem dicerent, contraque intelligerem silentium meum a multis damnari ingratitude posse, malui omnes ut me mortales audaculum prædicarent, quam quisquam judicaret ingratum, in vestram præsertim scholam, cujus honori tuendo vehementer ipse me devinctum sentiam; maxime quum res sit tanta quanta profecto, ut mea fert opinio, nulla multis jam annis obtigit, quæ, si honori commodoque gymnasii vestri bene consultum vultis, exactius fuerit vestræ gravitati animadvertenda. Ea res cujusmodi sit accipite. Ego cum Londini essem, audiivi jam nuper sæpius quosdam Scholasticos Academiæ vestræ, sive Græcarum odio literarum, seu pravo quopiam aliarum studio, seu, quod opinor verius, improba ludendi nugandique libidine, de composito conspirasse inter sese ut se *Trojanos* appellent. Eorum quidam, senior, ut ferunt, quam sapientior, Priami sibi nomen adoptavit, Hectoris alius, alius item Paridis, aut aliorum cujusquam veterum Trojanorum, cæterique ad eundem modum, non alio consilio, quam uti per ludum jocumque, veluti factio Græcis adversa, Græcarum literum studiosis illuderent. Itaque hac ratione factum aiunt, ne quisquam ejus linguæ quidquam qui degustasset aut domi suæ aut in publico possit consistere, quin digito notetur, cachinnis rideatur, et appetatur scommatibus, ab aliquo Trojanorum illorum ridiculorum, qui nihil rident aliud nisi quod * solas nesciunt omnes bonas literas: usque adeo in Trojanos istos aptissime quadrare videatur vetus illud adagium: Sero sapiunt Phryges. Hac de re quum assidue multos audirem multa referentes, quanquam et displiceret omnibus, et mihi imprimis esset acerbum scholasticos esse aliquos apud vos, qui talibus ineptiis et otio abuterentur suo, et bonis aliorum studiis essent molesti, tamen quoniam videbam nunquam undique sic posse prospici, ut e tanta hominum turba omnes et saperent, et frugi modestique essent, coeperam apud me rem pro levi ducere. Cæterum posteaquam huc Abingdoniam invictissimum Regem sum comitatus, accepi rursus ineptias illas in rabiem demum coepisse procedere; nempe nescio quem e Trojanis illis hominem, ut ipse sentit, sapientem, ut fautores ejus excusant, hilarem atque dicaculum, ut alii judicant, qui facta ejus considerant, insanum, hoc sacro jejunii tempore concionibus publicis non modo contra Græcas literas, et Latinam politiem, sed valde liberaliter adversus omnes liberales artes blaterasse. Tum quo sive tota res congrueret, neu

* Perhaps *soli*.

tam stolidum sermonis corpus uteretur sano capite, neque integrum ullum Scripturæ caput tractavit, quæ res in usu fuit veteribus, neque dictum aliquod brevius e Sacris Literis, qui mos apud nuperos inolevit, sed thematum loco delegit Britannica quædam anilia proverbialia. Itaque non dubito sermonem illum tam nugacem vehementer offendisse eos qui intererant, quum videam omnes tam iniquis auribus rem accipere, qui vel frustatim inde quidquam audiant. Quorum quotusquisque est, qui modo vel scintillam habet Christianæ mentis in pectore, qui non lamentatur majestatem sacrosancti Concionatoris officii, quod mundum Christo lucrificet, nunc ab his violari potissimum, quorum officio potissimum incumbit ejus muneris ^b auctoritate tueri? In quod concionandi officium quæ potuit excogitari contumelia insignior, quam sic qui concionatoris nomen profitetur, in sacratissimo totius anni tempore, magna Christianorum frequentia, in ipso Dei templo, in altissimo pulpito, velut ipsius Christi solio, in venerabilis Christi corporis conspectu, quadragesimalem sermonem in Bacchanales convertisse nœnias? Quo vultu credimus auditores ejus stetisse, quum illum a quo spirituales sapientiam venerant audituri, gesticulantem et ridentem, cachinnosque edentem e pulpito simii in morem cernerent, et quum pia mente verba vitæ expectassent, abeuntes nihil audisse recordarentur præter oppugnatas literas, et prædicandi officium ineptia prædicatoris infamatum? Atque quod seculares disciplinas omnes infectatur, si bonus ille vir mundo se procul subducens diu vitam traduxisset in eremo, atque inde repente prodiens isthac oratione uteretur, insistendum esse vigiliis, orationi, jejuniis, hac via gradiendum, si, qui cælum petant, cætera nugæ esse; quin ipsarum etiam studium literarum compedum vice esse, rusticos atque indoctos expeditius ad cælum provolare, ferri utcunque fortassis hæc oratio a tali persona posset, et veniam mereretur simplicitas, quam qui audirent benigne, interpretarentur sanctimoniam, qui vero gravissime, piam saltem atque devotam justitiam. At nunc quum vident in suggestum scandere hominem penulatum, humeros instratum velleribus, habitu qui profiteatur literatum, atque inde in medio Academiæ, quo nemo nisi literarum causa venit, palam contra omnes fere literas debacchari, istud profecto nemo videt, qui non cæcam putet atque insignem malitiam, superbamque adversus meliores artes invidiam. Quin demirantur multi vehementer, quid homini in mentem venerit, cur putaret sibi prædicandum aut de Latina lingua, de qua non multum intelligit, aut de scientiis liberalibus, e quibus adhuc minus intelligit, aut postremo de Græca lingua, cujus ^c *γὰρ* intelligit; quum ei tam uberem suppeditare potuissent materiam septem peccata mortalia, res nimirum concionibus idonea, tum cujus creditur ipse neutiquam imperitus; qui quum sic institutus sit, uti quicquid nescit id reprehendere malit quam discere, quid est, si hæc inertia non est? Ad hæc quum palam infamat quoscunque scire quidquam deprehenderit, quod ipse quo minus addiscat, segnitie aut ingenii desperatio prohibet, annon hæc invidia est? Denique quum nullum scientiæ genus in pretio vellet esse, nisi quod ipse scire falso sibi persuaserit, atque ab ignorantia majorem sibi laudem

^b Read auctoritatem.

^c arrogat

arrogat quam ab scientia, sicut quorundam fert modestia, nonne hæc suprema est superbia? Itaque quod ad seculares literas pertinet, quanquam nemo negat saluum esse quenquam sine literis, non illis modo, sed prorsus ullis posse, doctrina tamen etiam secularis, ut ille vocat, animum ad virtutem præparat. Quæ res ut ut sese habeat, nemo saltem dubitat literas unam prope atque unicam esse rem propter quam frequentatur Oxonia; quandoquidem rudem illam et illiteratam virtutem quævis bona mulier liberos suos ipsa docere non pessime posset domi. Præterea quisquis ad vos venit, non protinus ad perdiscendum Theologiam venit: oportet sint qui et leges perdiscant; noscenda est et rerum humanarum prudentia, res adeo non inutilis Theologo, ut absque hac sibi fortassis intus non insuaviter posset canere, at certe ad populum inepte sit cantaturus. Quæ peritia haud scio an aliunde uberius quam a poëtis, oratoribus, atque historicis hauriatur. Quin sunt nonnulli, qui cognitionem rerum naturalium velut viam sibi qua transcendunt in supernam contemplationem præstruant, iterque per philosophiam et liberales artes, quas omnes iste secularis nomine literaturæ damnat, faciunt ad Theologiam, spoliatis videlicet Ægypti mulieribus in Reginæ cultum; quam Theologiam, quoniam hanc solam videatur admittere, si vel hanc admittat, non video tamen quo pacto possit attingere citra linguæ peritiam vel Hebrææ, vel Græcæ, vel Latinæ, nisi forte sibi persuaserit homo suavis satis in id librorum scriptum esse Britannice, aut totam prorsus Theologiam putat intra septum illum claudi quæstionum de quibus tam assidue disputant, in quas pernoscendas pars exigua fateor linguæ Latinæ suffecerit. Verum enimvero, intra has angustias Augustam illam coeli reginam Theologiam hic coërceri pernego, ut non præterea Sacras incolat atque inhabitet Scripturas, indeque per omnes sanctissimorum Patrum cellas peregrinetur, Augustini dico, Hieronymi, Ambrosii, Cypriani, Chrysostomi, Gregorii, Basilii, atque id genus aliorum, quibus ut nunc contemtim vocant, positiva scribentibus Theologiæ studium stetit a Christo passo plus annis mille, priusquam argutæ istæ nascerentur, quæ jam prope solæ ventilantur, quæstiunculæ. Quorum opera Patrum quisquis a se jactat intelligi sine suæ cujusque eorum linguæ non vulgari peritia, diu id jactabit imperitus priusquam ei periti credant. At si nunc velamen ineptiæ concionator ille prætexat, non seculares ab se damnatas literas, sed immoderata earum studia, non video in eam partem tam passim peccari ut opus fuerit publica concione corrigi, ac revocari velut in præceps ruentem populum. Neque enim valde multos audio in hoc literarum genere eo usque pervasisse, quin paulo adhuc progressi longius, aliquanto tamen citra medium subsisterent. Cæterum bonus ille vir ut facile declararet quam longe ab ea sermonis moderatione abesset, quicunque Græcas adpeterent literas aperte vocavit hæreticos, ad hæc lectores earum diabolos maximos denotavit, auditores vero diabolos etiam illos, sed modestius, et, ut ipsi videbatur facete, minutulos. Itaque hoc impetu, imo ista furia sanctus iste vir diaboli vocabulo notavit virum quendam, quem omnes talem esse sciunt qualem is qui vere Diabolus est perquam ægre ferret concionatorem fieri. Quanquam haud nominatim citavit hominem, verum tam aperte tamen hominem designavit, ut omnes tam intelligerent quem notaret,

notaret, quam ipsum qui sic notasset notarent amentiae. Haud ita, viri literatissimi, desipio, ut in me fumam Græcarum literarum patrociniū apud prudentias vestras, quibus facile intelligo ^y eam utilitatem perspectam esse prorsus et cognitam. Etenim cui non perspicuum est cum in cæteris artibus omnibus, tum in ipsa quoque Theologia, qui vel optima quæque invenere, vel inventa tradiderunt accuratissime, fuisse Græcos? Nani in philosophia, exceptis duntaxat his quæ Cicero reliquit et Seneca, nihil habent Latinorum scholæ nisi vel Græcum, vel quod e Græca lingua traductum est. Taceo Novum Testamentum atque peritissimos Sacrarum Literarum interpretes fuisse Græcos, Græceque scripsisse. Hoc certe non sine eruditorum omnium consensu dicam; Quanquam jam olim quædam translata sunt, et multa jam nuper melius, tamen neque dimidium Græcorum voluminum Latio adhuc donatum est, neque quicquam fere sic a quoquam versum, ut non idem adhuc in sua lingua legatur aut emendatius aut certe efficacius. Eamque ob causam veterum quisque Doctorum Latinæ Ecclesiæ, Hieronymus, Augustinus, Beda, multique itidem alii sedulo se dederunt perdiscendo Græcorum sermonem, idque pluribus libris jam tum traductis, quam multi nunc, qui sibi impendio videntur eruditi, solent legere, nec didicere solum, sed posteris consuluerunt etiam, his imprimis qui vellent esse Theologi, idem ipsi ut facerent. Quamobrem non est, ut dixi, consilium apud prudentias vestras Græcæ linguæ studium defendere, sed pro meo in vos officio potius inhortari, ne quenquam permittatis aut publicis concionibus aut privatis ineptiis a Græcarum studio literarum deterreri apud Academiam vestram, quam linguam universa sanxit Ecclesia in omni schola docendam esse. Itaque pro prudentia vestra facile videtis, non omnes prorsus esse stupidos, qui ex vestris Græcæ sese linguæ dediderunt; verum aliquot ex his esse ejusmodi, ut vestra schola non in hoc regno tantum, sed per exterarum etiam gentes eorum fama doctrinæ multum veræ gloriæ sit consecuta. Præterea multos jam cœpisse videtis, quorum exempla sequentur alii, multum boni vestro conferre Gymnasio, quo et omnigenam literaturam promoveant et modo nominatim Græcam. Quorum nunc fervidus in vos affectus mirum ni frigescat, si tam piū propositum summo ludibrio isthinc haberi sentiant. Præsertim quum Cantabrigiæ, cui vos prælucere semper consuevistis, illi quoque qui non discunt Græce, ^z tam communi suæ scholæ studio ducti, in stipendium ejus qui aliis Græca prælegit viritim perquam honeste contribuunt. Hæc, inquam, vos videtis, multaque item alia quibus inveniendis ingenioli mei parvitas non sufficit, cui propositum est potius eorum vos commonefacere quæ alii dicunt ac sentiunt, quam quid vos facere deceat consulere, qui multo acutius quam ego facio perspicitis, nisi tales improbe suborientes factiones mature comprimatis, fore ut pluribus paulatim contagione infectis pejor pars in majorem tandem possit excrescere, atque ita futurum alii ut cogantur in vestrum, qui boni ac sapientes estis, auxilium manus apponere. Nam ego certe neminem esse reor qui ullo tempore unquam fuit e vobis, quin Academiæ vestræ statum tam ad se pertinere ducat, quam ad ipsos vos qui nunc

y Perhaps earum.

z Read tamen.

vivitis

vivitis ibi. Neque dubitandum est quin Reverendissimus in Christo Pater Cantuariensis Antistes, qui et Cleri totius nostri Primas est et vester Cancellarius, non erit hac in re ulla ex parte remissus, idque vel Cleri causa vel vestra, quorum utrisque valde sentit interesse ne studia adhuc intercidant. Intercident autem si contentionibus laborante Gymnasio, a stultis passim atque inertibus artes bonæ permittantur impune derideri. Quid autem Reverendissimus in Christo Pater Cardinalis Eboracensis, qui et literarum promotor et ipse literatissimus Antistes est? An is bonarum artium et linguarum studium impune apud vos ludibrio haberi patienter ferat, ac non potius adversus sciolos istos contemtores earum et doctrinæ, et virtutis, et auctoritatis suæ aculeos est exserturus? Denique Christianissimus Princeps noster, cujus sacra Majestas bonas artes omnes tanto favore prosequitur quanto Principum unquam quisquam, et qui præterea tantum habet eruditionis ac judicii quantum hactenus habuit Principum nemo, nunquam haud dubie pro immensa prudentia sua tantaque in Deum pietate patietur bonarum artium studia malorum atque inertium studiis in eo dilabi loco, in quo majores ejus clarissimi clarissimum Gymnasium statuerunt, quod non solum sit ex vetustissimis, unde multi tanta eruditione exorti sint, ut non Angliam solum sed et totam etiam illustrarint Ecclesiam, verum etiam quod pluribus Collegiis ornatum est, quibus perpetui proventus assignantur ad alendos studiosos, quam ut sit extra suum regnum Academia ulla quæ cum isto Gymnasio vestro in ea una re conferri possit, quorum omnium Collegiorum hic scopus est, et tantum isthic apud vos proventuum non aliam ob causam collatum est, quam ut magnus Scholasticorum numerus liber a parandi victus sollicitudine bonas ibi artes perdisceret. Verum ego nihil dubito prudentias vestras facile rationem inituras, qua contentiones istas et ineptissimas factiones ipsi compescatis, curaturasque ut omne genus bonarum literarum non modo vacet irrisione atque ludibrio, sed in pretio quoque et honore habeatur. Qua vestra diligentia et multum bonis studiis apud vos proderitis, et Illustrissimum Principem nostrum, dictosque Reverendissimos in Christo Patres vix dici potest quantum demerebimini. Me vero ipsum, qui hæc omnia ob ingentem amorem meum erga vos hoc tempore hac manu mea scribenda esse duxi, mirabiliter profecto devincietis: cujus studium et operam in vestram utilitatem paratissima non universi modo sed singuli quoque vestrum præsto sibi fore intelligent. Deus clarissimam istam Academiam vestram servet incolumem, reddatque indies magis magisque bonis literis omnibus et virtute florentem.

Thomas Morus.

Abingdoniæ 4to Kal. Aprilis.

THIS Epistle is called by the Editor, Richard James: *Epistola posthuma*. He hath added to it: *Poëmata in mortem Roberti Cottoni, et Thomæ Alleni*. See Wood, vol. I. c. 616. who says that More's Epistle was written Anno 1519.

ANGLIA duas habet Academias. — In utraque traduntur Græcæ literæ, sed Cantabrigiæ tranquille, quod ejus Scholæ princeps sit Joannes Fischerus,

^a The construction is defective in this long-winded sentence.

4 Q 2

Epil.

Episcopus Roffensis, non eruditione tantum sed et vita Theologica. Verum Oxoniæ cum juvenis quidam, non vulgariter doctus, satis feliciter Græce profiteretur, barbarus quispiam in populari concione, magnis et atrocibus conviciis debacchari coepit in Græcas literas. At Rex, ut non indoctus ipse, ita bonis literis favens, qui tum forte in propinquo erat, re per Morum et Pacæum cognita, denunciavit ut volentes ac lubentes Græcanicam literaturam amplecterentur. Ita rabulis impositum est silentium. *Erasmus*, Epist. 380.

IX.

Morus Dorpio suo S. D.

PRÆDIVINABAM facile aliter aliquando sensurum te quam sentiebas. Verum enimvero ut non resipisceres modo, sed edita quoque in id ornatissima oratione mutatum esse temet testareris; idque tam ingenue, tam citra fucum ullum, tam nullis prorsus ambagibus, hoc verum quum expectationem meam, tum omnem omnium spem ac ferme vota superavit; adeo res videbatur et incredibilis esse probitatis et absolutæ modestiæ. Nam ut nihil est tritius quam uti iisdem de rebus aliis aliter sententiis, ita nihil est unquam rarius, quam ubi sententiam semel declararis, deinde asseveratione firmaris, postremo contentione defenderis, tum vela rursus agnita veritate vertere, atque in portum unde solvisti, velut frustra navigasses, remigrare denuo. Crede, mi Dorpi, mihi, quod tu modestissime fecisti, id ab istis frustra, quos hodie mundus pro modestissimis habet, exegisses. Ita sunt plerique omnes præpostero quodam pudore stupidi, ut esse potius sese stultos indicent, quam fuisse unquam olim fateantur. Quanto tu, mi Dorpi, sanctius, cui quum illud acumen ingenii fuerit, ea doctrinæ copia, ea dicendi vis, ut siquid tueri liberet tibi, quod vel parum probabile videretur, vel omnino paradoxum, potens esses tamen approbare lectoribus; maluisti certe veritatis quam fuci cupidior omnibus declarare mortalibus falsum aliquando fuisse te potius quam perpetuo falleres. Quid quod eximiam hanc modestiam alia rursus modestia superasti, qui quod ingenii tui felicitate contigit, ut verum quod esset ipse perspiceres, id aliorum tribuas rationibus, etiam meis. Ita quum primus tibi sapientiæ gradus et debeat et omnium deferatur calculis, ipse temet solus in secundum detrudis; eruditorum certe vel cubitis retrudendus in primum. Etenim quum meam illam epistolam, verbis magis quam rebus uberem, cum oratione tua tam eloquenti, tam densis, tam efficacibus argumentis referta confero, satis, mi Dorpi, satis meo cum rubore video, quam nihil illa momenti ad te mutandum attulerit, cui nunc vel civilitatis causa vel modestiæ tuam laudem cedis; sed quæ te rursus quo magis fugitur, magis, haud dubie, sequitur.

Itaque, mi charissime Dorpi, hoc tuum factum quo rarioris exempli est, eo plus tibi cogites veræ peperisse gloriæ, nec ullo unquam sæculo in-

^b He commends Dorpius, for retracting, and yielding to Erasmus.

termo

termorituræ Certe si qua^e coeperunt gnaviter intendant via bonas ut literas opprimant atque extrudant e scholis, miram exspecto mutationem brevi, nempe ut ubilibet potius emergant eruditi, tum ut qui versantur in Gymnasiis publicis, quemadmodum actus indifferentes esse decernunt, sic ipsi tandem decernantur inter doctos et indoctos medii. Piget me, mi Dorpi, de rebus istis illorum quadam miseratione cogitare, qui paucorum factione pertinacium in partem invidiæ nihil merentes veniunt. De tua vero laude quam illorum opprobrio multo magis libenter cogito

X.

Morus Budæo S. D.

NESCIO, mi Budæe, quæ valde cordi charaque sunt, an præstet unquam possidere, nisi possis retinere. Nam ego me putavi plane felicem fore, si Budæum contingeret, cujus effigiem^{*} pulcherrima lectio mihi delinearat, coram aliquando cernere; et postquam voti sum factus compos, visus sum mihi ipsa felicitate felicior. Verum quum neque per utriusque negotia licuerit tam sæpe congregari, ut meum illud desiderium colloquendi tecum posset expleri, et intra paucos dies, avocantibus regis ditiorum negotiis, nostra illa consuetudo vix jam coepta simul abrupta sit, ros quos necesse erat suum quemque principem comitari, in diversa distracti sumus, haud scio an unquam revisuri mutuo; quanto lætior occurus fuerat, tanto nimirum mihi ex hoc digressu major est obortus mœror. Quem ita demum nonnihil potes levare, si te digneris interim literis præsentem reddere, quas tamen, nisi vehementior me cupiditas urgeret, non auderem petere

XI.

Morus Budæo.

CUM omnium tuorum nihil obiter legam, sed inter solida et primaria collocem studia; *Assensum* vero tuum sic attente perdisco, quomodo non quemlibet veterum. Nam ne transeunter intelligi possit, ipse delectis verbis, exquisitis sententiis, elaborata sermonis gravitate, postremo pondere et difficultate rerum tam alte petitarum peneque jam evanidarum vetustate, providisti; quibus tamen si quis intendat oculos, contineatque atque infigat pressius, eam adfudisti lucem, sic propemodum deleta refecisti, ut tua verba dum versat, omnibus interim præteritis seculis interversari videatur, et omnium regum, tyrannorum, gentium collustrare, numerare, velutque manu contrectare divitias; quod fere majus est quam quibuslibet avaris contingat in suis. Vix profecto numerare possum quam multis te nominibus, mi Bu-

^e Lovanienses, nempe;

^{*} Perhaps *pulcherrimam*.

dæe, complectar, vel quod mihi tam impense faves, vel quod nemo mihi valde diligitur, quin bona sit fortuna factum idem quoque ut vehementer ametur abs te; vel quod tam multas, tam egregias tibi virtutes inesse conspicio, vel quod animum tuum auguror prorsus haud abhorrentem a meo, vel quod hic tam utilis labor in literis omnes tibi mortales obstringit, vel quod tam incomparabilis eruditio, quæ peculiaris olim cleri gloria fuerat, tibi feliciter obtigit uxorato. Nam λαϊκὸν appellare non sustineo, tam multis, tam egregiis dotibus, tam alte subvectum supra λαὸν

XII.

^d *Epistola clarissimi viri Thomæ Mori, qua refellit rabiosam maledicentiam Monachi cujusdam juxta indocti atque arrogantis.*

PERLATÆ sunt ad me literæ tuæ, frater in Christo charissime, longæ quidem illæ, et mira quædam signa præ se ferentes amoris erga me tui. Quis enim possit affectus esse vehementior quam qui te tam impense reddit de mea salute sollicitum, ut etiam tuta pertimeas? Times enim ne sic Erasmus diligam, ut ejus contagio corrumpar, ne sic hominis adamem literas, ^e ne nova ejus peregrinaque doctrina, sic enim scribis, inficiar. Quod ne accadat, postquam aliquot paginis in hominis eruditionem et mores totis, quod aiunt, habenis inVectus es, oras tandem atque obsecras perquam sancte scilicet, ac per Dei misericordiam tantum non adjuras ut diligenter ab illo caveam. Nam primum juxta Apostolum inquis: *Corrumpunt bonos mores consortia prava.* Deinde citas ex illius Proverbiis, quod *Qui juxta claudum habitat, discet subclaudicare.* Denique adfers e poëta quoque testimonium, ut facias, opinor, triadem:

Dum spectant oculi lesos, læduntur et ipsi.

His atque aliis hujusmodi, quanquam nihil est ejus periculi quod tu pertimescis, sedulo tamen abs te curatum est, ut ego ab eo loco in quo tu periculum esse putas, si modo putas, averterer. Quam ob rem nisi tam grati erga me animi gratia gratias immensas agerem, merito viderer ingratus, ingrator adhuc futurus, si posteaquam tu me gradientem videns in planitie, fervido quodam amoris æstu pertinuisti ne caderem, ego te per præcipitia currentem intrepidus ac securus aspiciam, neque ad te clamitem, ut tibi caute prospicias, sensimque inde ac circumspecte referas pedem, unde sit periculum ne corruas. Itaque primo collustrabo locum, in quo versor ipse, in quo quum tuta omnia esse docuero, tum denique commonstrabo tibi arcem istam tuam, e qua Erasmus nostrum, velut e sublimi tutoque despicias, periculose nutare. Nam primum quid mihi periculi est, si Erasmus credam in Novo Testamento multa rectius vertisse quam Interpretem veterem, si credam Græcis et Latinis literis Erasmus illo peritior? Id quod non credo tantum, sed etiam plane video scioque. Nec potest id cuiquam esse ambi-

^d From the Letters against Lee. See Appendix, No. XXII.

^e Perhaps ut.

guum, cui vel exigua fuerit utriusque linguæ notitia. Quid periculi est si eorum librorum lectione delecter, quos doctissimi quique maximeque pii velut una voce collaudant? Quos Pontifex Maximus pariter et Optimus bis jam pronunciavit utiles esse studiosis? Quomodo tam periculosa possim illo docente discere, qui nihil ipse definit, qui vel aliena vel sua sic proponit in medium, ut iudicium reservet integrum Lectori? Qui si maxime falsa assereret, non tamen usque adeo sum stupidus, ut non olfaciam quid veræ fidei, quid morum probitati congruat, nec sic in cuiusquam verba juratus, ut non libere ab illo, sicubi subsit causa, dissentiam. Quamobrem ab illo, quod dixi, nihil discriminis imminet mihi, etiam si, quod tu scribis, quædam forent parum sana quæ scriberet. At tibi contra, quod doleo, nescio qua mala sorte contigisse video, ut cum illa tam numerosa volumina, tam plena non eruditionis modo, sed veræ quoque pietatis ediderit, quam non alius quisquam multis jam retro seculis, tu nobis in periculum venias, ut quod aliis salubre sit remedium, id tibi præstigiator aliquis verterit in venenum. Non potui, mihi crede, pro meo in te amore, sine gravi dolore legere quæ nescio quo tu calore scripsisti, quum in hominem nihil male meritum de te, publice vero de omnibus meritum bene, convicia velut e plauistro tam intemperanter evomeres. Dum eruditioni detrahis, debaccharis in vitam, vagabundum dicis et pseudotheologum, sycophantam clamitas, hæreseos crimen impingis ac schismatis, eo usque progressus petulantia, ut præconem etiam voces Antichristi, etiamsi eam rem videlicet perbelle permollias, quod quum id improbissime dixeris, dicas te nolle dicere. Quis versipellis et callidus Dæmon, amice jamdiu charissime, strophas huiusmodi veteratoriasque verfutias in tuum pectus tam simplex olim vereque candidum, quum adhuc profanus esses, nunc tandem tot annos Monachi, quodque multo sanctius esse debet, etiam sacerdotis invexit? Ut dicas: *Hæreticum non voco; sed ea facit, quæ qui fecerit est hæreticus: Non appello schismaticum; sed ea facit, quæ qui fecerit, schismaticus est: Antichristi præconem ego non nomino; sed quid si Deus hoc ipsum de Erasmo asseruerit? Parco tamen, ne forte existimes aliquid de me supra id quod vides aut audis in me.* Proh Deum atque hominum fidem! quid ego de te audio? Testor hoc in loco tuam conscientiam, non erubescis, non totus intremiscis, dum rem tam impiam talibus adornas prodigiis, dum quod homuncio quispiam scelerate mentitur, id tu tam sancte nobis velut e cœlesti vaticinio decantas, dum alienæ famæ detractionem, opus plane Diaboli, ad Deum refers auctorem? Nam quod tanquam modestiæ causa parcere te dicis, ne magnum aliquid de te existimem, ita Deum precor, uterque nostrum de se sentiat humiliter, ut ego de te nihil existimassem sublimius, etiamsi id aperte narrasses tibi revelatum ipsi, etiamsi nomen expressisses Angeli vel Dæmonis, qui hoc ad te detulisset. Quippe quam rem ne jurato quidem credidissem, sed suasissem potius ne omni spiritui crederes, præsertim ei qui quantumvis falsa luce præfulserit, Angelum tamen tenebrarum sese, detractionis, et calumniæ, susurro peculiari Satanæ signo prodidisset. Maluissem tibi occinere illud Pauli: *In novissimis temporibus discedent quidam a fide, attendentes spiritibus erroris, et doctrinis Dæmonum in hypocrisi loquentium mendacium, et cauteriatam habentium conscientiam.* ^f Idem illud

^f Perhaps Item.

eiusdem:

eiusdem: *Nemo vos seducat, volens in humilitate et religione Angelorum, quæ non vidit ambulans, frustra inflatus sensu suæ carnis.* Hæc nimirum magis congruebant, quam illud quod tu tibi stulte applicas ex Apostolo. Nunc vero quando significas non revelatum tibi, sed alii nescio cui, multo etiam minus commoveor. Etenim quanquam non dubitem Deum interdum quædam revelare mortalibus, non tamen usque adeo stulte sum credulus, ut trepidus expavescam quicquid aut delirus quispiam somniet, aut confingat impostor, aut energumeno malus inspiret Genius. Non dubito quin similibus afflatus sit orgiis is etiam quem scribis his verbis admonuisse te: *Noveris pro certo quod Erasmus iste, quem tanta sequitur pompa verborum, non recte sentit de fide Catholica aut Sacra Scriptura; hoc multoties ostendit, ubi secretam possit habere audientiam: expertus sum quod dico, et hoc sæpius.* Hactenus illius boni viri de Erasmo apud te præconium, quem dicis etiam quisquis est, egregiam excogitasse adversus Erasmus Apologiam, quem tamen admones ne suspicer esse Leum. Noli vereri, non suspicor; nam de Leo satis persuasum habeo, quanquam nescio quo impetu eo sit ingressus unde nunc pudet regredi, ea tamen virtutis indole præditum, his artibus adformatum ingenium esse, ut etiam si de literis obstrepat, non sit prorupturus in convicia; tuum vero hunc prædicant quidam longe Leo dissimilem. Nam quem tu fide dignum dicis virum, & plene gravem, atque, ut tuis utar flosculis, *morigeratum secundum seculi dignitatem honorabilem, nec minus integritate vitæ quam præclara eruditione conspicuum*, eum qui novere penitus, longe depingunt aliter, non dignum fide, non valde moratis moribus, vere morosum, honoratum tamen alicubi magis quam honorabilem. Eruditionem vero Apologia quam laudas ostendit, quam qui videre quidam et non indocti, et qui bene consultum cupiunt homini, eoque suaserunt, ut vel exureret, vel abderet perpetuo, constanter asserunt hominem ferme ad insaniam usque delirum, nisi quod quibusdam gaudet lucidis intervallis. Quem quum talem delinearent, impetrare non potui uti quis esset edicerent, ne per ipsos nominatim traduci posset, priusquam egregium ingenii ac doctrinæ specimen in lucem prodians præclara illa Apologia prodidisset. Sed excutiamus, obsecro, paululum, quam fide dignus sit iste perfidus, cui tu fidem habes Erasmus non recte sentire de fide; qua de re ne fidem infido non habeas, ait Erasmus id sæpius ostendere ubi secretam possit habere audientiam: seque ipsum id non expertum tantum, sed etiam sæpius expertum, ut non ab aliis sed ab ipso Erasmo istud eum frequenter audisse intelligeres. Ut semper veritas exferit sese, ut concinnantes mendacia vel casus aliquis arguit, vel rei natura destituit, vel ipsi sese tanquam sorices produnt! Quid enim veri possit esse similius, quam si de fide perperam sentiebat Erasmus, homo tam stupidus, ut non sentiret simul quid ex ea re discriminis esset futurum, quid, inquam, veri fuerit similius, quam aliquos ambire semper solitum, ac precibus impetrare, ut sibi liceret apud eos narrare secreto sese esse hæreticum? Nec enim requirebat aliud, ut ait iste tuus fide dignus testis, quam secretam audientiam. At quamdiu vixit apud Coletum, quamdiu apud Reverendum Patrem Rossen-

& Perhaps plane.

fem

fem Episcopum, quamdiu apud Reverendissimum Cantuariensis Ecclesiae Pontificem, ut omittam interim Montjoium, Tunstallum, Pacæum, Grocinum, quibuscum sæpe diuque versatus est, de quorum virorum laudibus si quid conarer exponere, merito viderer ineptus, quum horum nemo sit quem non omnes intelligant a nemine satis laudari posse? Quis istorum non centies cum illo collocutus est secretissime? Quis eorum vel semel audivit aliquid unde vel suspicio possit oboriri non illum rectissime sentire de fide? Nam si quid tale fuissent vel subodorati, meliores certe sunt quam ut rem tam atrocem dissimulare potuerint. At quis est eorum omnium, qui non ita perpetuo dilexit illum, ut, quo diutius eum noverit, ac pernoverit intimius, eo semper magis magisque deamarit? Sed illis, opinor, non ausus est credere, talium virorum veritus pietatem. Recte sane, quærebat ergo aliquem, cujus neque conscientiam vereretur, neque prodicionem metueret. Nempe quem ex vultu, verbis, vita prope perpendisset ejusdem sacri * mysterii. Talis igitur necesse est fuerit ille tibi tam impense laudatus, ille, inquam, fide dignus, gravis, morigeratus, honorabilis, eruditus, integer: cui, ut vides, nunquam illud secretum toties commisisset Erasmus, nisi, præter tot egregias abs te commemoratas dotes, etiam fuisset hæreticus. Si quæramus ab illo, quum se tam sæpe dicat expertum, quomodo se probet expertum vel semel, fatebitur, opinor, probare non posse, nam rem sibi negat nisi secreto creditam. At quisquis ejus arguit criminis quemquam, quod ipse fatetur se docere non posse, certe si sycophanta non est, perquam affinis est ^h sycophantiæ. Sed age quæramus quum tam sæpe sit expertus, ubinam de hæresibus collocuti sunt, aut quando tractarunt invicem. Necesse est olim fuerit. Nam Erasmus jam diu absuit. Cur igitur illo præsentem conticuit? quando non paulo magis ad rem pertinebat ut proderet, quo vitaretur noxius, quam nunc ubi eo absente non tantundem imminet periculi, nam in libris nihil potest latere secretum, quod non oculi perspicaces eruerint. Sed longior sum quam par est in rejiciendis ἀποκαλύψεως illius præstigiaturis, et arguendo singulari isto non teste modo, sed accusatore quoque atque etiam suoapte indicio reo, qui fictus est, ut vides, et scelerate mendax, et nisi mentiretur scelera-tior, nempe diu conscius ac ferus proditor. Denique seu vera seu falsa referat, utrobique perfidus. Certe neque Erasmi fides obscura esse potest, quam tot labores, tot vigiliæ, tot pericula, tot rerum, tot salutis incommoda ob Sacras suscepta Literas, ipsum fidei promptuarium, illustrant; nec nova est ista adversus optimos quosque hæreseos excogitata calumnia, sed in sanctissimos jam olim viros a Satanæ satellitio jam valide contorta machina, ut quorum laboribus undique fides effloruit, ipsi coacti sint editis in id symbolis fidei suæ rationem reddere. Nunc ad ea veniam quibus, præter illius fidei digni testimonium, præterque per ⁱ corneam illam Homeri portam cælitus emissæ somnia, ansam ex ipsius libellis arripuisti qua teneres hominem, manifestæ vide licet impietatis reum. E quibus illud gravissimum caput est, quod non veritus est, ut ais, audaculus iste Erasmus pluries inter scribendum adserere, id quod nefas est, ipsos sanctissimos pariter atque doctissimos patres, illa, in-

* Read *mysteriū esse*, from the other copy. ^h Perhaps *sycophantiæ*. ⁱ Ironically for *eburneam*.

quam præclarissima Spiritus Sancti organa, Hieronymum, Ambrosium, Hilarium, Augustinum, et alios hujusmodi, qui universam Dei Ecclesiam ita suo illustrarunt lumine, ut nihil jam indigeat istiusmodi obscuri hominis tenebrositate noviter colorari, lapsos esse alicubi. Obsecro, nefas tibi videtur esse si quis dicat illos ipsos quos commemorasti lapsos alicubi? Quid si illi ipsi, quibus defendendis advocatus non vocatus advenis, attestentur Erasmo? An non tum ridicule eorum causam tu qui tuum recusant patrocinium peroraveris? Age ergo negas unquam eorum quemquam esse lapsum? Rogo te quum Augustinus Hieronymum censet male vertisse quædam Scripturæ loca, Hieronymus suum tuetur factum, neuter labitur? Quum Augustinus adferat indubitata habendam esse fidem translationi Septuaginta Interpretum, Hieronymus neget, et eos errasse contendat, neuter labitur? Quum Augustinus consensum illum ex Spiritu Sancto ex diversis cellulis eadem proferentium adstruat, Hieronymus contra ineptum illud commentum derideat, neuter labitur? Quum sentiant ex diametro diversa, quum Hieronymus Epistolam ad Galatas sic interpretetur ut dicat Petrum simulate reprehensum a Paulo, Augustinus neget, neuter labitur? Quum Hieronymo displiceant Augustini labores in Psalmos, Augustino placeant, neuter labitur? Quum Augustino quodcunque mendacium peccatum sit, Hieronymus mendacium in loco laudet, neuter labitur? Quum Augustinus uxore ob fornicationem dimissa, neget illa viva alteram duci posse, Ambrosius licere confirmat, neuter labitur? Hieronymus censuit uxorem ante baptismum habitam, alteram item post baptismum, non imputari ad digamiam, Ecclesia nunc censet errasse. Augustinus dæmones asserit atque Angelos item omnes substantias esse corporeas: non dubito quin tu neges. Asserit infantes sine baptismo defunctos æterna sensus poena torquendos, quod nunc quotus est quisque qui credat? nisi quod Lutherus fertur Augustini doctrinam mordicus tenens antiquatam sententiam rursus instaurare. Quotus est quisque Sanctorum veterum qui non crediderit Divam Virginem in originali peccato conceptam; at nuper exorsi sunt qui negent, ad quos propemodum Christianus orbis a veteribus omnibus descivit. Nullus erit finis, si cuncta conerprosequi in quibus doctissimos illos, et sanctissimos viros liquido constet errasse, quorum libros si legas, errata nescire non potes, nisi quæ legis non intelligas. Ergo qui illum vocas audaculum, ipse multo deprehenderis audacior, qui audes illos affirmare nunquam lapsos esse; quod si velis tueri, necesse est illorum libros vel non legisse te vel non intellexisse fatearis. Imo qua fronte potes eum reprehendere, qui idem dicat quod tu? Nam lapsum Augustinum in asserendis dæmonum corporibus, in damnandis infantibus, Hieronymum in digamia, omnes prope Veteres in conceptu Virginis, non dubito quin tute dicas, et tamen hæc cum ita sint, et cum in Sacrarum interpretatione Literarum sancti illi Patres inter se tam sæpe dissenserint, idque magis perspicuum sit quam ut possit negari, mirum est tamen ut tu pueriliter exclamas, et cælum terræ permisces, sicubi quis vel Carrensem convincat errasse, vel delirasse Lyranum. Augustinus non veritus est dicere nemini se post Apostolos tantum auctoritatis tribuere, ut ejus dictis indubitata habeat fidem, nisi quatenus aut ex Scripturis aut ratione aliquando possit docere.

Tu

Tu Divos omnes putas tibi demereri perpetuo, si vocifereris eos nunquam esse lapsos. At illi vel inscitiam tuam derident, vel importunum istud studium tuum detestantur. Neque talem expetunt patronum, quorum charitas magis eorum favet industriæ, qui si quid illi lapsi sint admoneant alios, quam eorum superstitiosæ pietati, qui inutili patrocínio eorum lapsus in aliorum ruinam propagent. Jam vero cum etiam in stylum ejus stylum intendas tuum, dabis mihi hanc veniam, non possum profecto me continere quin rideam; nam cum desideres in eo illam sermonis facilitatem, quam quivis Lector intelligat, dum in illo damnas ac rides quod Latinis interdum Græca permiscet, tam circumspectus es, ut non videas eadem opera te taxare Hieronymum, in quem etiam, velis nolis, præclara illa tua recidunt scommata, qui et sæpe Latinis interferit Græca, et quædam scripserit eruditiora virginibus, quam quæ nunc theologiæ plerique professores intelligant. Quid si aliquem tractatum integrum Græce perscripsisset Erasmus, an non tum eum multo magis cum ratione posses irridere, ^k quod nunc quum non nisi quædam interspergat? Atqui eadem ratione nostræ mulieres eos irriferint omnes, quicumque scripsere Latine. Quid quod nec magis aperte, nec stylo magis facili quisquam scripsit unquam, qui quidem Latine scripserit, usque adeo ut nimiam styli facilitatem Budæus in illo, vir alioqui doctissimus, non sit veritus reprehendere. Nemo diligentius vitat, quod tu illi vitium objicis, infuetiora vocabula, cum isti tamen quos tu ais uti modestiore stylo fere tertium quodque verbum effingant novum, ex quibus te quoque puto sermonis istas delibasse delicias, *morigeratus*, et *vagabunda conversatio*, *tenebrositas*, *identitas*, aliasque id genus gemmulas. Verum quum præter affectatam eloquentiam multa sint alia eaque indigna, quæ objectas Erasmo, age fatebimur omnia, si is in integro aliquo volumine tantum affectaverit eloquentiæ, quantum tute interdum in uno affectas versiculo, velut, exempli causa, quum quæritas, *Quid ergo dicent ad hæc qui totos annos in hujusmodi expendunt perituris et illico marcessuris rhetorum depictis flosculis?* Profer ex omnibus quæ te significas in Erasmo legisse, si quid unquam legisti tam turgidum, quam sit hic unus versiculus tuus, quum tamen sit male grammaticus. Nec istuc tamen eo dico quod solœcismum in te vituperandum putem, a quo sermonis puritatem nec exspecto, nec exigo, quum non ignorem neque tibi vacasse unquam ut posses discere, nec, si vacasset maxime, præceptores contigisse qui traderent. Sed hæc eo dico, ut quum tibi decorum putes tam anxie eloquentiam affectare, cum ne grammaticam quidem possis consequi, ne vitio veritas Erasmo quod olim partam et nunc ultro offerentem sese non aspernatur elegantiam. Quum adversus linguarum studium differis, illud jucundum est, quod doles dum Græca lingua discitur et Hebræica, aliquid interim de Latinæ linguæ puritate deperire, in cujus venustatem paulo ante tam atrociter exclamaveras, quasi tantum terrarum inter puritatem sermonis intersit ac venustatem; quum tamen Hieronymus eo loco quem citas queratur defloratam esse venustatem, nec id ob aliud, quam ut vehementius suum commendet studium, quod in Hebræas literas insumerat, quas dignas censuit quæ vel

^k Read *quam*, as in the other Edition.

cum Latinæ linguæ detrimento discerentur; quum Græcæ sint adhuc magis utiles, vel ob Novum Testamentum, quod tam longe præstat Veteri, quam corpus umbram, aut veritas figuram antecellit, vel propter Sacrarum Literarum interpretes, quorum optimus quisque ac sanctissimus ferme scripsit Græce; vel denique propter artes quas liberales vocant, ac philosophiam, quibus de rebus Latini scripsere propemodum nihil. Quid quod negare non potes ut quisque Latinorum maxime scivit Græce, ita eundem in sua quoque lingua fuisse disertissimum, idque non olim tantum, sed nunc quoque passim usu venire? Nec Hieronymus ipse post imbibitas Hebraïcas literas minus venuste scripsit quam prius, id quod opera ejus posteriora declarant, quamquam illi placuit excusare stylum suum, vel qua de causa commemoravi, vel quod ubique id agit ut eloquentia quam affert comes accessisse videatur inaccessita. Illud certe pulcherrimum est, quod eo rem deducis tandem ut mediocrem notitiam linguarum laudes, nimium tantum studium damnes, quasi longe ultra mediocritatem jam promotum sit, citra quam adhuc longo intervallo subsistitur. Sermonis puritatem obviis, quod aiunt, ulnis fateris amplectendam, at in lepidæ orationis venustatem tragicis clamoribus intonas, deflesque admodum lamentabiliter, quod in ejus sinum, qui olim tantum patebat Ethnicis, nunc tandem bona Christianismi pars deflexerit miserabiliter. Quasi vetustissimi quique sacrorum Patrum non venustate claruerint, quum qui hodie Sacras tractant Literas augustam illam tantæ rei majestatem impuro sermone fere contaminent. At hac in parte tam belle videris tibi dicere, ut postea quoque quum pro eadem sententia depugnasti fortiter, tandem velut victor¹ insultas, et quæris, Quorsum igitur attinet Divinarum veritatem Scripturarum flosculis adornare sermonum, quod et Apostoli cæterique Sancti Doctores ut rem absurdissimam prorsum evitabant, maxime quod exiguitati parum eruditorum penitus adversari videbantur? Denique ad hunc modum mirifice rhetoricatus epilogum totum facete scilicet, sumto ex Evangeliiis epiphonemate concludis: *Vetus melius est.* Quibus in verbis istud perpulchrum est, quod Apostolos et sanctos illos nascentis Ecclesiæ Patres ita copulas, tanquam eodem stylo sint usi. Augustinus etiam Apostolis eloquentiam tribuere non dubitat, ita illis propriam, ut nec alios illa decere possit, nec illos alia; sed quæ rhetorum tamen figuris omnibus abundet etiam. Certe Sancti illi Patres, Hieronymum dico, Cyprianum, Ambrosium, et cæteros, ejus ætatis disertissimos oratores æquabant. Eloquentia adeo non officit orationis luci, ut etiam non sit eloquens quisquis est obscurus, quum sit hoc in primis oratorum præceptis, ut sermo sit dilucidus. Si Apostoli sermonis elegantiam ideo declinabant maxime, quod, ut tu ais, exiguitati parum eruditorum maxime adversari videbatur, cur adhuc adeo sunt obscuri, ut neque parum eruditi, neque multum, sine multo labore intelligant, sed ne sic quidem ubilibet. Vetustissimi Patres, iidemque Sanctissimi, sicuti scripserunt eloquenter, ita scripserunt etiam luculenter, et tamen hodie plerisque Theologiæ professoribus illucescere non possunt. Quid ita? Nempe quod nulla lux tam potest esse lucida, ut luceat etiam cæcis. Sunt enim isti, non ut dicis, parum eruditi, sed prorsus ineruditi. Nam quod Sanctos Patres non intelligunt, suam cæcitatem in causa esse, non illorum tenebras, vel hinc eviden-

¹ Rather, insultes et quæras.

ter liquet, quod quæ nunc isti magistri nostri non intelligunt, olim intelligebant virgunculæ. Scribebant illi, quod dixi, disertissime; sed quidem etiam apertissime, si quis linguam Latinam calleat. Etenim rati sunt fore ut quisquis eos cuperet intelligere, is aut Latine disceret, aut curaret vertendos in linguam vernaculam, neque enim divinare poterant talia unquam portenta conscensura cathedras, quæ in suæ segnitiae patrocinium cuncta velut obscura condemnarent, quæcunque scripta non essent lingua Latinogothica. Quamobrem cum Evangelicâ illa *centonâ*, nam hoc tuum est verbum, concludas Vetus melius esse, confiteor meliorem esse priscorum Patrum eloquentiam quam neotericorum balbutiem; ita vides hanc centonam tuam, qua te mire video placuisse tibi, pro Erasmo facere maxime, et in tuum caput esse retortam. Eiusdem farinae est quod tibi videre facetulus, quum labores ejus in Hieronymum perstringis, inquires: *Perdidisti nobis vinum infusa aqua*. Quum tot mendis ejus libros purgat, tot locis veram lectionem restituit, perdidit tibi vinum infusa aqua? Cur igitur dilutum bibis, quando vetus illud acetum tuum, quod febrienti palato merum sapit, adhuc sit integrum? Verum de discernendis ejus auctoris operibus, quando res nonnihil a phrasi dependet, ignosco tibi certe, si digito quoque monstratas ejus censuræ causas tamen videre non potes. Jam vero quum tibi visum esset ostendere Græcam linguam non tam necessariam esse ad veram Scripturarum intelligentiam quam quidam censent, et supervacaneos esse labores Erasmi Novum Testamentum rursus vertentis e Græco, tanquam firmam subjicis basim quod *Sancti illi Patres* (nam tua verba recensebo) *Hilarius et Augustinus satis nobis fuisse asserebant interpretationem Septuaginta Interpretum ad omnem Sacræ Scripturæ veritatem. Habemus nempe, inquis, si id sat non esset, Hieronymianam editionem quoque omnium linguis merito prædicandam. Habemus et alias tum præclaras, tum etiam juxta eruditas, et tamen nescio quo pacto hæc omnia nihil conferre videntur, nisi istiusmodi novi interpretis addatur translatio*. Jam ^m vide ab initio quum te viderem hanc suscepisse provinciam, neque nescius essem vix potuisse fieri ut quæ ad causam facerent unquam didicisses, nihil dubitabam etiamsi quædam effutire posses in genere, tamen si quando speciatim ad ea descensurus esses ex quibus vel constabilire tua deberes vel aliena revellere, tum demum proditum te quam tenuiter venires instructus ad negotium. Obsecro te per tuam fidem, tu qui tot habes editiones, tot translationes in Novum Testamentum, ⁿ tum præclaras, ⁿ tum eruditas, ut nunc non sit opus Erasmica, cur inæstimabilem thesaurum uni servas tibi? Ego certe quanquam non sum nescius olim fuisse multas, eamque rem fateatur Augustinus multum fuisse utilem, tamen hodie non reperio quenquam qui præter hanc Vulgatam sese fateatur unquam vidisse aliam. Adnotavit Valla utiliter quædam, non transtulit: eas annotationes Erasmus edidit. Alius fortasse non fecisset, qui quidem statuisset idem tractare argumentum. Faber Stapulensis Paulinas vertit Epistolas, non totum Testamentum. Tibi igitur ostendendæ sunt, præter translationem Septuaginta Interpretum, ac præter Hieronymianam quoque, aliæ illæ quæ tam præclaræ sunt atque eruditæ, ut prolatis his ab-

^m Perhaps *Jam vide. Ab initio quum. &c.*

ⁿ Perhaps *tam*: but it may be that he chuseth to repeat the Monk's own words.

jicere oporteat Erasmicam. Jam Hieronymus cujus translationem habere te dicis, si credas ipsi, non transtulit, sed quam tunc præcipue receptam vidit, eam ad Græcorum codicum fidem emendavit, id quod illa satis declarat Epistola: *Novum opus me facere cogis ex vetere*, si quis eam Epistolam satis intelligat. Hieronymi labores perdiderunt eadem pestes quæ nunc invadunt Erasnicos, inscitia atque invidia eorum quibus ille prodesse studuerat. Certum est in hac editione quæ nunc in templis canitur, nullum existare prope modum Hieronymiani laboris vestigium: imo illas ipsas adhuc existare mendas quas ille censuerat emendandas, ex quibus aliquot Erasmus obiter annotavit. Quam rem demiror non advertisse te, nam alioqui potuisses hac de re aliquanto judicare sanius. Ne clamites totam Ecclesiam tot ætates hanc probasse translationem. Legit enim ut vel optimam quam habuit, vel, quod ego verius opinor, primam, quamque semel receptam atque imbibitam non erat facile vel oblata meliore ^o communicare, approbavit vero ^p nunquam; neque enim idem est legere quod approbare. Quum contra constet nunquam fere fuisse quenquam Sacrarum Literarum studiosum, qui quidem aliquam sibi comparavit utriusque linguæ facultatem, quin is in illo Interprete multa desiderarit. At is quod non præstitit quæ non potuit, dignus est venia; quod vero quæ potuit præstitit, dignus est etiam gratia, quam et hi merentur, qui vel quod illi defuerat adferunt, vel quod ab aliis depravatum est faciunt. Sed interim vides editionem Hieronymianam, quam habere te dicis omnium linguis merito prædicandam, nulla jam lingua legi. At interpretatio Septuaginta Interpretum, ea saltem sufficit, sic enim scribis, ad omnem Scripturæ veritatem; quod ne quis audeat oppugnare, propugnatrices objicis Sanctorum Patrum Hilarii atque Augustini sententias. Quid hic faciam? Quo me vertam? Negare non audeo quod Sancti illi Patres affirmant. At si concessero quicquid nunc vertit Erasmus, id jam olim ab Interpretibus illis Septuaginta sufficienter esse versum, necesse est fatear simul multo minore cum fructu idem hunc vertisse denuo. Quid si sic interea tempus differam ut negem Sanctos illos Patres istud asserere quod tu ab his adsertum asseris? Et certe sic faciam quoad tu ostenderis. Vide igitur ut locum proferas in quo dicunt illi Septuaginta Interpretes Testamentum Novum sufficienter in linguam vertisse Latinam. Interea vero dum tu illum locum quæris, mihi licebit, quod ad hanc rem attinet, per te quietum esse. At eum haudquaquam inventu facilem credo, cum eos omnes audiam non nisi Græce vertisse. Quod si verum est, quomodo potest eorum versio Latinis esse sufficiens? Quin et illud tibi simul quærendum est, quo pacto potuerint Septuaginta interpretes sufficienter vertere Testamentum Novum, cum eos omnes mortuos esse constet annis plus minus ducentis ante Christum natum. Non dubito quin, quum hæc ita habere comperias, pariter etiam comperies eos quibus hætenus his de rebus credidisti, nihil ipsos hætenus comperisse veri. Venio nunc ad ea quæ tu minutula vocas ac nihili, quæ velut eximie nugacia speciminis loco descripsisti, quibus

^o Read *commutare*, as in the other copy.

^p More did not live to see the authenticity of the Vulgate established by the Council of Trent: if he had, he would have changed his note.

facias omnibus perspicuum meris ineptiis illum macerare sese, et totos *quaternos*, ut tuis verbis utar, implere. Primum reprehendis quod displiceat ei *sagena* vocabulum, Mat. xiii. ac *verriculum* legi velit, quum tamen, ut ais, eandem rem significant *sagena* et *verriculum*. Non dubito quin videare tibi dixisse præclare. Sed primum doce displicuisse ei *sagena* vocabulum, quod ille vocabulum non reprehendit, quanquam præfert alterum, tantum dicit Interpretem reliquisse vocem Græcam. At idem significat, inquis, *verriculum* et *sagena*. Quis hoc aut negat aut nescit? Sed tamen, ut ejus annotatio te docere potuit, *sagena* vox est Græca, cum *verriculum* Latina sit, quemadmodum *decretum* ac *psephisma*. Et tibi continuo nugari videtur, quisquis e Græca lingua transferens in Latinam, Latinis vocabulis malit uti quam Græcis? At fortasse asseres *sagena* vocabulum apud Latinos etiam auctores haberi. Quid tum postea? Si Latinus quispiam vocabulum Græcum mediis Latinis interferat, neque definit tamen esse Græcum, neque protinus efficitur Latinum, neque enim cuiquam in manu est omnia vocabula Romana civitate donare, nihilo hercle magis quam omnes homines. Neque enim *psephisma* Latinum verbum est, quanquam Cicero quoque semel atque iterum usus est; neque *energia* Græcum esse definit, etiamsi Hieronymus Latine scribens usus est interdum, vel apud eos quos Græce doctos intelligebat, vel non reperiens fortasse Latinam vocem quæ commode satis explicaret, ut ita dicam, τὴν τῆς ἐνέργειας ἐνέργειαν. At tu parum feliciter imitatus Hieronymum eo verbo passim aliter quam significat abuteris. Vides ergo, dum emissâ *sagena* conaris expiscari quod reprehendas, attracto *verriculo* nihil neque verris neque prendis. Rursum carpis quod parum Latine dici putat, *nuptiæ impletæ sunt discumbentium*, sed asserat dici oportere *discumbentibus*. Et tu, si Superis placet, Erasmus docebis grammaticam. Tum *Calepinum* ingeris, quasi in sermone Latino non sit amplius uni Erasmo fidendum quam *Calepinis* decem. Tum id egregie ridiculum, quod, *Calepino* citato, nihil aliud adfers tamen quam quod ab ipso mutuaris Erasmo. Unum tantum reliquisti, quo uno didicisse debueras omnia nihil esse quæ dixeris. Nam cum breviter ostendisset *impleor* et genitivo copulari et ablativo, eademque protulisset exempla quæ tu, sic rem concludit, ut dicat, quanquam Latine dici possit, *implentur vini*, tamen hanc orationem non esse Latinam, *domus impletur hominum*.^a Nunc et quæras exempla quibus istud convincas. Jam quod Matth. vi. in Oratione Dominica potius vertendum censuit *remitte nobis debita nostra* quam *dimitte*, tu censeres illum tam manifeste nugari, ut id nemo negare queat; atque id videris tibi ex ipsius verbis colligere. Nam si ἀφες, inquis, πολύσημον est, ut Erasmus annotavit ipse, quis negare potest eum manifestissime nugari, qui *remitte* potius verti velit quam *dimitte*, cum vox illa Græca utrisque deserviat, cum *dimitto* etiam quod secundum priscos illos auctores significat *do* vel *dono*, satis bene quadret eidem sensui? Hic tu proferas oportet priscos illos auctores, apud quos reperisti *dimittere* idem esse quod *dare*; nam ni hos proferas, quos, opinor, non proferes, tute manifeste nugaris. Ego certe non puto Latine dici, *dimitte mihi vestem*, pro eo quod est,

^a Read *I nunc*, as in the other copy.

da mihi vestem. Præterea si *dimittere* idem significat quod *dare*, non concedam tamen hanc orationem Latinam esse, *dimitte nobis debita nostra*: sicuti nec hanc ipsam, cujus exemplo tueris eam, *da nobis debita nostra*. Si tuis auribus idem sonat *dare debita* et *remittere debita*, non possum tuo morbo mederi. At quid refert, inquis? nam sensus ex illius *dimitte* non minus liquet, quam ex hujus *remitte*. Quis negat divinari posse quid ille sentiat? nec sequitur tamen orationem ejus satis Latinam esse. Nec si quis admoneat quid erret ille, nugatur; sed qui vera monentem redarguit, ille nugatur. Et si nugatur Erasmus, certe hoc honestius nugatur, quod socium habet Cyprianum, tam^r sacræ Ecclesiæ Doctorem, qui maluit dicere *remitte nobis debita* quam *dimitte*.

Ingens, inquis, ac periculosa temeritas hominis, quod contra omnium antiquorum Patrum judicium in primo capite Joannis tam solenne mutarit vocabulum, *Sermo* pro *Verbum* apponens. Jam id pro confesso sumis, quod est falsissimum, veterum neminem ausum pro *Verbo* *Sermonem* dicere. At tu interim fateris Hieronymum testari quod Λόγος alia significet præter *Verbum*, quæ satis apte competant in Filium Dei; id quod adeo confirmat Divus Gregorius Nazianzenus, ut Filium Dei Λόγον appellatum sentiat, non solum quod *sermo* sit, aut *verbum*, sed quod ratio quoque sit ac sapientia, præter alia quoque significata τῷ Λόγῳ, tanquam Evangelista divino prorsus consilio id diligente vocabulum, quod multa complecteretur, quorum quodvis idoneum sit ad significandum Omnipotentis Dei Filium, adeo ut mihi certe, si ulli vocabulo id reverentiæ debebatur, ut integrum atque immutabile servaretur, quod in Κύριε ἐλέησον, *Alleluia*, *Amen*, et *Osanna* servatum est, id meritissimo jure videatur huic dictioni Λόγος oportuisse tribui, quæ quum sanctarum significationum mire fecunda sit, a quibus quam cui præferas haud proclive sit statuere, fuisset non incautum eadem servata voce nullum fecisse præjudicium; imo unico verbo eoque dissyllabo multa pariter Christi vocabula complecti. Nunc vero quoniam aliter visum est vertentibus, mihi certe videtur proximus esse fructus ut vertant varie, quo nulla significatio τῷ Λόγῳ, quæ quidem in Christum competat, aut ignoretur aut obsolescat. At Hieronymus *Verbum* mutare non ausus est. Mirum certe quod non mutavit, quum non esset occasio! Nam quæso cur mutaret, cum non verteret denuo, sed id quod versum est recenseret? At si vertendum sibi de integro sumisset Evangelium, non adeo se putasset veteris Interpretis obstrictum præjudicio, quin sibi liberum arbitraretur aliter vertere, modo verteret bene, etiam si prior Interpres non vertit male: neque enim alia de causa admonuit Λόγον alia quoque significare quam *Verbum*, quæ recte de Filio Dei dicerentur, quam ut id quod tu negas ostenderet, Λόγον aliter quoque quam *Verbum* recte verti potuisse. Nam *Sermo* et *Verbum* ubique fere promiscue vertitur in Scripturis, ubicunque Λόγον habet codex Græcus, quanquam nemo est qui nesciat, qui quidem vel tantillum sciat Græce, *Sermonem* multo tritius Λόγῳ significatum esse quam *Verbum*. At tu rationem adfers, Deus bone, qualem! quare Filius Dei *Verbum* rectius dicatur quam *Sermo*. Nam *Sermo*, inquis, proprie loquendo,

^r Read *sacrum*, as in the other Edition.

illud est magis quod voce profertur, *verbum* vero quod intus mente concipitur, videlicet cogitatio quæ intra animi silentium adhuc conscientiæ secreto retinetur, et si quando foris exierit, sic tamen prodit in publicum, ut intus etiam jugiter teneatur clausum. Rogo te, quis hoc discrimen te docuit inter *sermonem* et *verbum*? Nam is e cujus verbis ista quæ de *verbo* adfers excerpisti, non negat idem etiam posse de *sermone* dici; neque quisquam est qui non videat eadem ratione interiorē esse mentis *sermonem* qua *verbum*, et *verbum* proprie significare quod voce profertur, sicut et *sermonem*; quum sentiant, qui verborum scrutantur origines, ab aëre *verberando verbum* esse deductum. Quod si tam *sermo* quam *verbum* significet animi conceptum tantum, rursusque tam *verbum* quam *sermo* conceptus expressos voce, vides ut egregia illa ratio qua mire fultus tibi videbare collabitur. Quanquam ego non multum certe his in rebus rationi tribuo, quæ cognosci nisi Deo revelante non possunt. Certus sum Dei Filium recte Λόγον dici, seu *verbum* intelligatur, seu *sermo*, seu *ratio*, ceuque *causa*, seuque aliud eorum quippiam quæ significat Λόγος, seuque omnia, certus sum, inquam, recte Λόγον dici, nam id me docet ille, qui supra pectus Domini in cœna recubuit. Scioque quod Filius Dei *sermo* recte dicitur, ac *verbum*, nam his nominibus tota illum appellat Ecclesia Catholica, docti aliquot ac sancti Patres etiam *rationem*, sed tota Ecclesia Romana *verbum*, et sine ulla exceptione *sermonem*. Etenim dum Christi natale hoc solenni cantu concelebrat: *Quum medium silentium tenerent omnia, et nox in suo cursu medium iter perageret, omnipotens Sermo tuus, Domine, exsiliens de cælo a regalibus sedibus venit*; non est ambiguum *sermonem* dici Filium Dei. Quum ubi nos legimus in Psalmo, *Verbo Dei cæli firmati sunt*; alii legunt, atque in his Augustinus; *Sermone Dei cæli solidati sunt*: dubium non est utrobique significari Filium Dei. Num tibi contradicit Ambrosius cum dicit: *Non enim dixit Evangelista, In principio factum est verbum, sed In principio, inquit, erat verbum. Quicumque principium verbi assignare volueris, præjudicatum habebis, quia in principio, inquit, erat: non quod duo principia ex rerum diversitate dicamus, sed quod sermo Filius semper cum Patre est, & de Patre natus est?* At idem facit Hilarius quum dicit: *Hoc verbum in principio apud Deum erat, quia sermo cogitationis æternus est, quum qui cogitat sit æternus.* At idem facit Lactantius, cujus hæc verba sunt: *Quomodo igitur procreavit? Primum nec sciri a quoquam possunt, nec enarrari opera divina; sed tamen Sanctæ Literæ docent, in quibus cautum est illum Dei Filium, Dei esse Sermone.* Item alibi: *Sed melius Græci Λόγον dicunt, quam nos verbum sive sermonem: Λόγος enim et sermonem significat et rationem.* At idem facit Cyprianus, cujus hæc verba sunt in eo capite cui titulum fecit, quod Christus idem sit sermo Dei: quod sequentibus verbis probat, in Psalm xlv. *Eruetavit cor meum sermonem bonum: dico ego opera mea regi.* Item in Psalmo: *Sermone Dei cæli firmati sunt, et spiritu oris ejus omnis virtus eorum.* Item apud Esaiam: *Verbum consummans et brevians in justitia, quoniam sermonem breviatum facit Deus in toto orbe terræ.* Item in Psalmo, *Misit sermonem suum et curavit illos.* Item in Evangelio secundum Joannem: *In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum; hoc erat in principio apud Deum. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso,*

ipso, &c. Item in Apocalypsi : *Et vidi cælum apertum, et ecce equus albus, et qui sedebat supra eum vocabatur fidelis et verus, æquum justumque judicans, et præliaturus, eratque coopertus veste conspersa sanguine, et dicitur nomen ejus, Sermo Dei.* At idem facit Augustinus, cum eam sibi sumat Psalterii translationem commentandam potissimum, qua legitur, *Sermone Dei cæli solidati sunt* : quam lectionem non improbat, sed asserit idem valere quod nostra valet, qua legitur, *Verbo Dei cæli firmati sunt* : quum et hic *verbum* et illic *sermonem* apertissime censeat esse Filium Dei. Præterea ad Hebræos iv. *Vivus est enim Sermo Dei* : quo in loco glossa non interlinearis modo, sed ordinaria quoque *sermonem* aperte declarat esse Filium Dei. Quin Lyranus quoque cui studium fuit literalem scripturæ sensum explicare, docet evidenter *sermonem* idem significare quod *verbum*, atque hoc loco *sermonem* non aliud esse quam Filium Dei ; atque ad eum modum locum ipsum non ad allegoriam ullam, sed plane literaliter, ut vocant, exponit. At operæ pretium est videre, quum ista fateri cogaris, solvere vero non possis, quam pulchre coneris elabi. Nam plurimum, inquis, interest inter locorum congruentias, ut quod ibi apte positum est, hic minus conveniat. Sed nolo hac in re longius demorari, ne codicem potius quam epistolam excudere videar. Belle profecto subducis te, cum brevitatis prætextu recuses dicti tui sensum reddere, ejus præsertim dicti unde totius causæ summa dependet, idque cum nec ibi finias epistolam, sed tam multum chartæ consumas postea in his quæ nihil ad rem attinent. Hoc certe scio, si te torseris annum, aliam causam non invenies unquam præter eam quam et commemorasti, et velut inefficacem timide tetigisti, nempe quod *sermo* potius significat id quod profertur voce quam tacitum mentis conceptum ; quam causam, si satis sapuisses, penitus non debebas attingere, ut quæ tam contra *verbum* militat quam *sermonem*, nam et *verbum* proprie conceptum significat prolatum voce. At alia causa nulla potest esse : nam si tam *sermo* quam *verbum* significet Filium Dei, non modo qualis erat postquam ex matre natus est, sed etiam qualis erat in sinu Patris ante susceptam carnem, antequam creatus est orbis, quid comminisci^s potest cur ob ullam ut tu vocas locorum convenientiam, non possit Filius Dei tam in illo loco *sermo* dici, quam in aliis dicitur. Quum Cyprianus probet adversus Judæos Filium Dei esse *sermonem* Dei non solum ex aliis locis, verum ex illo ipso quoque, *In principio erat Verbum* : annon vides nihil eum probare prorsus, nisi etiam illo ipso loco idem esset *sermo* quod *verbum* ? At ut tibi penitus os obstrueret, non solum ita citat locum Cyprianus, verum paulo post his citat verbis : *In principio erat Sermo, et Sermo erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Sermo.* I nunc et Erasmus clama novatorem esse verborum, cum audias doctissimum Patrem et sanctissimum athletam Christi, Verbum Dei, pro quo fudit sanguinem, et legisse et appellasse *sermonem* plus annis mille priusquam nasceretur Erasmus. Qua in re beato Cypriano Divus Augustinus in commentariis suis supra Joannem apertissime subscribit. Jam quod ais ad causæ tuæ stabilimentum sufficere, quod sancta mater Ecclesia ex omnium Sanctorum consensu per tot secula tam sacratio sit usa vocabulo *verbi*, istud quomodo tuas partes stabiliat

^s Read *potes*, with the other Edition : or else *comminisci* will be used *passively*, which, I think, is not allowable.

ipse videris. Erasmo certe non modo non nocet, verum etiam factum ejus in primis tuetur atque defendit. Nam cum ille *sermonem* vertit, *verbum* non reprehendit, nec vetus interpret cum *verbum* vertit, *sermonem* rejicit atque refellit. Sed ne Ecclesia quidem cum *verbum* haberet in usu, rejecit *sermonem*, quem itidem habebat et habet in usu. Erasmus igitur quum *sermonem* vertit, neque contradicit Ecclesiæ, nec veterem taxat Interpretem. Rursus cum *sermonem* vertit pro Christo, cur non illi quoque debet ad stabilimentum suæ causæ sufficere, quod ut ipse scripsisti de *verbo*, ita quoque sancta mater Ecclesia ex omni doctorum et Sanctorum consensu per tot secula tam sacratio sit usa vocabulo *sermonis*? Quis vetabit Interpretem e duobus ejusdem rei vocabulis sumere quod sibi libet? Quis jure in jus vocabit translatores novum quod *uxorem* verterit, quam prior appellavit *conjugem*? Imo vero, inquis; nam turbat infuetiore vocabulo simplicem plebeculam. Itaque cernis quorsum Erasmi istius tendit labor, nempe ut schisma oriatur, vanitas introducatur. Ille, obsecro, turbat simplicem plebeculam, quæ quid ille scribat nunquam sit cogitatura, nisi quosdam instigaret invidia, qui velut alter Cain, quandoquidem e fraterno sacrificio fumum vident ascendere, suum vero deorsum ferri, concidente vultu, quod in ipsis est, innocentem conantur occidere impiis obrectationibus, oppugnantes agnitam veritatem, populumque simplicem seditiosis excitantes clamoribus, quos vel tacendo quiescere permisissent, vel quos falsa narrando commoverant, eosdem debuerant rursus vera monendo compescere. Alioqui si quod Erasmus elaborat doctis, id isti quum tueri se suas partes non posse apud sapientes intelligant, apud indoctum vulgus oblatrent, et importune res literarias auriculis ingerant illiteratis, ac stultum vulgi plausum captent, quia prudentibus placere non possunt, ipsi nimium schisma movent. Alioqui si vel his de rebus tacerent apud vulgus, vel saltem vera loquerentur, nihil esset schismatis. Nam cur orietur ex eo schisma, quod diversi diversa verba transtulerint, cum significata sint eadem, qua in re tuum tibi dictum licebit opponere, quod tute nuper Erasmo objeceras ex Ambrosio, qui dicit: *Mibi non distat in verbo, quicquid non distat in sensu*. At vereris ne hoc pacto accidat ut brevi innumerabiles habeamus editiones, cum haud paucos, ut ais, habeat mundus, qui in Græcanicæ linguæ scientia Erasmo aut pares sint, aut certe superiores. Nescio qui numerus apud te superet paucitatem, sed si numerare nominatim cœperis, non dubito quin pares illos infra paucitatem reperias, superiores fortasse infra unitatem, si Sacrarum Literarum studium adjunxeris, sine qua quantalibet etiam linguæ peritia impar huic provinciæ futura sit. Ego certe non dubito Erasmi labores facile effecturos ne posthac existant multi, qui eadem vertant denuo: nam ut poterunt exoriri facile, qui fortassis uno atque altero loco confisuri sint aliquid sese pervidisse certius, ita neque tam doctum exspecto neque tam audacem quenquam, qui speret aliquando sese rursus vertendo opere quod Erasmus ante transtulerit se facturum operæ pretium. Quanquam si plurimæ forent editiones, quid id nocuerit? Divus Augustinus id quod tu times censet in primis esse utile, dum etiam si pares omnes esse non possent, alius tamen alibi vertit commodius. At interim Lector, inquis, reddetur incertus e tam multis cui potissimum possit credere. Istud quidem ve-

† Read *nimirum*, as the other Edition.

‡ *se* is omitted in the other Edition as it ought to be.

rum est, si Lector plane sit stipes, qui nec ingenium adferat secum nec iudicium. Alioqui si mentem habeat, e variis transferentium versionibus facilius multo possit, ut Augustinus ait, verum quid sit elicere. Quæso te, cur tantum periculi metuis e diversis, atque inter se variis translatorum versionibus, qui nihil offenderis quum tam multiplices legas enarrationes Interpretum, qui nihil variante litera, nihil ipsi inter sese de literæ sensu consentiunt, et tam sæpe dissentiunt utiliter, quod studiosis et cogitandi et iudicandi præbent occasionem? Denique quantum profint editiones variæ, neque quicquam confundant Ecclesiam, Psalmi saltem tam varie versi lectique declarant; neque enim alia res magis adjuverit eum qui in eos pernoscentes operam navare decreverit, nisi quis adeo desipiat uti satis esse putet Viennensis legisse commenta.

Omiseram pene quiddam, quod tibi videtur fortissimum, mihi vero tam imbecille atque infirmum, ut vel uno flatu possit everti. Sed quoniam id perspicio, velut omnium munitissimum, in tuis haberi præfidiis, tua ipsius verba statui recensere, ne me queri possis rationes tuas depravare narrando. Ais igitur: *Plane mirari non desino multorum cæcitatem, qui bene actum fuisse putant, quicquid ad Græca vel Hebræica adducitur exemplaria, quum omnibus perspicuum sit, ex Judæorum perfidia Græcorumque variis erroribus, ipsa eorum exemplaria mirum in modum fore depravata, ac multiplicium erratum sæcibus plena. Adde quod ex nimia diuturnitate necesse est eadem exemplaria depravatiores esse quam nostra. Ut taceam interim quod Divus Hieronymus etiam suo ævo testatus sit Latina exemplaria emendatiora fuisse quam Græca, Græca quam Hebræica. Quod tu hæc mirari non desinis, ego plane demiror, cum facile possis intelligere Divo Hieronymo hæc olim omnia et objecta esse et confutata plenissime. Nam primum stultum esse censet si quis credat gentem totam conspirare in omnes omnium corrumpendos libros. Qua in re, ut alia prætereantur incommoda, neque spem ullam poterant concipere fore ut celaretur perpetuo quod facerent, neque dubitare quin revelata re suis ipsi iudiciis cecidisse causa viderentur, cum constaret eos eam fovisse litem quam faterentur aliter non posse sese quam codicum depravatione defendere. Clam vero non potuisse fieri quod publicitus a toto fieret populo, tu quoque, opinor, vides. Quin et illud, opinor, vides, quum quoque die desciscerent ab Hebræis ad Christianos aliqui nec segnius ad Latinos a Græcis, falsatio ista librorum ilico venisset in lucem. Præterea quum utriusque linguæ volumina non solum apud infideles essent, sed in manibus etiam versarentur orthodoxorum, aut hos etiam in illorum gratiam necesse est suos depravasse codices, aut ex veris horum exemplaribus illorum redargutam esse falsitatem. Quid quod his in rebus, de quibus nobis est vel cum Græcis vel cum Hebræis controversia, illorum libri cum Latinis consentiunt, nec de litera ferme quæstio fuit unquam, sed de sensu semper atque sententia. Qua ex re facile potes iudicare noluisse eos aliis in locis mutare libros, ubi nihil attinebat, quos ibi reliquerunt integros ubi maxime in rem suam fuerat esse mutatos. At nostra exemplaria veriora sunt, inquis, quam Græca. Cur igitur suadet Augustinus ut sicubi dubites de Latinis codicibus, recurras ad Græcos? Sed tu libentius adhæres Hieronymo, qui scribit, ut ais, etiam suo tempore Græca exemplaria veriora*

ra fuisse quam Hebraïca, et Latina quam Græca. Reliqua quæ congefferas omnia visa sunt certe facillima : at istud legens fateor nonnihil perculsus sum. Nam Hieronymus apud me nusquam non gravis auctor in hac re merito gravissimus est, qui si fateretur Græcorum libros emendatiores esse quam Hebræorum, et Latinos quoque quam Græcos, alii fortassis invenerint aliquam rimam, tamen mihi certe nullum patebat effugium. Cæterum cœpi profecto mecum demirari, si quid hujusmodi sentiret Hieronymus ; nam hoc sciebam nihil illum potuisse dicere quod magis adversaretur ipsius instituto. Locus non occurrebat mihi ubi diceret quod nusquam potius videretur esse dicturus. Dum pressius ea de re cogito, cœpi tandem velut per nebulam recordari ejusmodi olim quippiam me legisse in codice Decretorum Pontificiorum. Corripio librum sperans ut ibi errasse te deprehenderem, nam propemodum divinabam ex illo desumxisse te, quod perperam accepisse sperabam. Ubi locum reperi, animo plane concidi, atque omnem propemodum abjeci spem, ita ejus operis glossema dicere comperio eadem ipsa quæ te. Etenim quam non usque adeo ejus viri quisquis fuit, qui prodidit hoc commentum, doctrinam timui, quin spes esset posse interdum fieri ut in Hieronymo falleretur, territus sum tamen diligentia, quam mihi ipsi persuaferam tantam esse adhibitam, ut in sacrum Decretorum volumen quod plusquam adamantinas leges toti præscribit orbi, nihil omnino congereret non intellectum. Verumenimvero Hieronymi prudentiam respiciens trahebar alio, quem plane sciebam nequaquam esse tam stupidum ut cum Græcorum codicum vitia caufatus, Instrumentum Vetus decrevisset ad Hebraïcam repurgare veritatem, ac Latinorum sordes, quas in Novo Testamento contraxerant, ad Græcorum fontes emendare, idem tamen fateretur exemplaria Græca veriora esse quam Hebraïca, et Latina quam Græca ; quo quid ejus proposito dici potuit aut magis confingi contrarium ? Hæc reputanti mihi cœpit animus eo tandem vergere, ut Glossematis potius diligentiam quam Hieronymi prudentiam suspectam haberem. Itaque verti me ad locum : est enim in fine illius Epistolæ, quæ incipit : *Desiderii mei*. Deus bone ! quam fœde lapsum glossematis auctorem video ! Nam locus apud Hieronymum sic habet : *Aliud est si contra se postea ab Apostolis usurpata testimonia probaverunt, et emendatiora sunt exemplaria Latina quam Græca, Græca quam Hebraïca*. Quum enim aliis respondisset objectionibus, quas æmulos objecturos putabat, ostendit tandem indignos esse responso, si qui tam insigniter essent stulti, ut exemplaria Græca veriora crederent, quam Hebraïca, et Latina quam Græca. Quam loquendi figuram non intelligens iste, amputatis aliquot verbis a quibus tota sententiæ pendet vis, reliquum sic adducit, ut quod Hieronymus existimavit neminem esse tam stultum qui dicat, id iste illum ipsum dicat dixisse Hieronymum. ^x Nunc atque istis crede Summulariis, quibus nunc adeo creditur, ut ferme pro supervacaneis habeantur illi e quorum spoliis suas isti Summas conflaverunt. Ubi versionem ejus atque annotationes velut acropolim debellasti, strenue jam minora quælibet oppidula veluti prædabundus invadis. Atque in primis ^y nisi lis in *Moriam*, amplam quidem illam, et po-

^x Read *Inunc*.^y Read *in filis* from the other copy.

pulo frequentem urbem, quam tamen quoniam muliebri imperio regitur, quæ et ipsa non consilio militum, sed temere atque ex libidine rem consuevit gerere, nullo negotio speras expugnari posse. Verum heus tu, hac in re prædico tibi non esse tam facilem expugnatu quam putas. Nam primum, ut Salomon ait, Stultorum infinitus est numerus. Deinde quod ingenio deest supplet audacia. Certe ut in civem haud gravatim admiserint, si ambias adscribi, ita ut victorem nunquam patientur, parati vel morti devovere sese citius quam cuiquam pareant. Verum, omisso joco, illa ipsa Moria minus habet moriæ, plus etiam pietatis, quam habent eorum pleraque, quæ vestri quidam. — Sed reprimam me, quamquam illud interim non verebor dicere, quam habent orationes rythmicæ, quibus vestri quidam sese sibi putant omnes devincire Divos, ^z ut quoties eorum laudes tam stultis celebrant næniis, ut stultioribus non possint, si quis nebulo maxime studeret illudere. Et tamen harum nugarum hodie nonnihil irrepsit in templa, tantamque accipit indies auctoritatem, præsertim ab adjuncta musica, ut jam multo minus erga sobrias ac serias a sanctis olim Patribus ordinatas preces adficiamur, quum nonnihil intersit rei Christianæ ut Pontifices, quod eos aliquando facturos non dubito, omnibus istiusmodi prorsus interdiciant ineptiis, ne callidus hostis efficiat ut Christi grex, quem ille ut simplicem esse voluit, ita voluit esse prudentem, paulatim assuescat amplecti pietatis loco stultitiam. Moriæ patrocinium non suscipiam, quippe quum non sit opus. Nam et liber jamdiu probatus est optimi cujusque judicio, et adversus invidorum calumnias Erasmi jam olim apologia defensus, cum eorum nomine Dorpius, vir et profanis literis et sacris eruditissimus, quicquid ab illis excogitari poterat coacervasset, et ne prævaricari videretur, eloquenter excoluisset etiam, ut tibi jam difficile fuerit objicere quod non sit ante rejectum, nisi quod unum prorsus invenisti novum quod ingeras, quum Erasmus dicis in Moria *Moscum* quendam agere. Quod ego convicium, fateor, non possum refellere; quippe qui quid sibi velit, aut quis is fuerit *Moscus* prorsus non intelligo: neque enim tam stulte sum arrogans ut doctior affectem videri quam sum. De *Momo* quodam audiivi sæpe, cui an cognomen forte *Moscus* fuerit, ego certe non comperi. De ^a *Julii Dialogo*, neque cujus sit, neque cujusmodi sit, mihi nunquam valde libuit quærere, quum de utraque re varias audiam sententias: hoc certe scio, protinus defuncto Julio, rem Parisiis ludis actam publicis. Multi sciunt Reverendum Patrem Poncherium Parisiensis urbis Antistitem, qui huc Legatus venerat, librum vendicasse Fausto, quod ut verum fuerit, nihil impedit Erasmus, cui Faustus non ignotus erat, librum apud se quoque priusquam excuderetur habuisse. Nam quod ex stylo rem convincis, quem Erasmi suum atque ipsissimum esse confirmas, non possum mihi temperare quin rideam, reputans mecum, quod quum non permittis Erasmo ut ex stylo quicquam judicet in Hieronymianis operibus, is cui, quod omnibus in confesso est, omnes orationis virtutes sunt exploratissimæ, tu qui quid sit stylus aut phrasis explicare non possis, arroges tamen tibi ut ex stylo discernas Erasmica, in tanta literatorum turba, quorum

^z *ut* is left out, as it should be, in the other Edition.

^a See above, p. 596.

quisque

quisque quoad potest Erasmicam dictionem conatur imitari. Jam pone librum illius esse, pone hominem infensum bellis, iratum turbulentis temporibus, aliquo animi impetu profectum latius quam, pacatis post illa rebus, tranquillatis affectibus optavisset, primum magis hoc erat imputandum his, qui librum suo tempore scriptum tempore non suo vulgaverunt. Deinde, quæso, hoccine Monachi fuerat, errorem fratris eruere, cujus officium postulet potius ut solitarius sedeat, ac sua peccata defleat, quam ut aliena coarguat? Quod si quem liber offenderit, apud hos, opinor, malam inibi gratiam libellum asserens illi, quando magis eorum e re fuerit opus ut sit adespoton, quam ab auctoris æstimatione commendetur. Lutherus qualia scripserit viderint quibus vacat. Erasmus certe, si quid ille scripsit, non dubito quin ita scripsit, ut virum bonum decet, neque tu aliquid habere te certi significas, nec tamen interim quoad habeas, potes abstinere conviciis, credo ne tantisper voluptate careas illius belli Diæterii: *Dignum patella cooperculum*, cujus unius illecebra videris in Erasmi ac Lutheri mentionem esse pertractus. Nam mirum est ut ubique affectas esse facetulus. At ego immodicum istud otium demiror, quod in schismaticos hæreticosque libros tibi liceat, si modo vera dicis, impendere, nisi tanta bonorum inopia est, ut tempus breve insumere cogaris in pessimos. Nam si boni sunt libelli, cur damnas? Si mali, cur legis? cui quum non ea facultas possit obtingere, ut sis idoneus qui de refellendis erroribus admoneas mundum, cujus et curam abdicasti cum temet in claustrum abderes, quid aliud facis perversa legendo quam discis? Nec satis esse video quod in malos codices bonas horas colloces, nisi plurimum temporis etiam in sermones et confabulationes etiam adhuc deteriores codicibus malis absumas, ita nihil usquam gentium esse video rumoris, obtreptionis, infamiæ, quod non in cellam recta proferatur ad te.^b Atque legimus olim fuisse Monachos, ita penitus mundo subducentes sese, ut ne literas quidem ab amicis missas legere sustinuerint, ne vel respicere cogerentur Sodomam quam reliquerant. Nunc vero et hæreticos, ut video, libellos perlegunt et schismaticos, et immensa meris nugis referta volumina. Nunc quicquid audire verebantur in seculo, et ne audire cogerentur, in claustra fugerunt, callidus hostis ingerit fugientibus, arteque pertrudit in cellas. Nec aliud illis præstat cultus ille eximius, nisi ut facilius imponant incautis, nec aliud præstat otium, nisi ut magis vacet maledicentiam adornare, nec aliud secessus, nisi ut nihil pudeat ab hominum oculis semotos, nec aliud occlusæ cellulæ, nisi ut liberius obtreptent alienæ famæ. In quas quisque ingreditur, primum Oratione Dominica propitiat Deum, ut colloquium illud sanctum esse ac salutare jubeat. At quid prodest ab Oratione Dominica infamatricem ac detractatoriam auspicari fabulam? Quid est, si hoc non est in vanum sumere nomen Dei? Hic multo nimirum maxime locum habet, quod ex Evangelio citas in Erasmus: Nam certe non omnis qui sic Deo dicit, Domine, Domine, intrabit in Regnum Cælorum. Itaque quum literas istas tuas intueor, tam plenas objurgationis, convicii, detractationis ac scommatum, menteque rursus mecum reputo candorem illum

^b Read *Atqui* with the other Edition.

vereque amabilem indolem adolescentiæ tuæ, quæ tam longe tibi ab hujusmodi vitiis aberat, quam adesse per ætatem tum ac vitæ statum poterat excusatus, certe si reliquos mores tuos ab ista spectarem Epistola, admonerer, haud dubie, illius Ovidiani carminis, quo Deïanira perstringit Her-
eulem:

*Cæpisti melius, quam desinis : ultima primis
Cedunt ; dissimiles, hic vir, et ille puer.*

Verumenimvero non sum tam iniquus, ut totum te ab unis existimem literis, imo libentius inclinor ut credam, quo tu reliquis morum tuorum partibus melior es ac sanior, eo Dæmonem quempiam infestius tuis invidere virtutibus, atque ex insidiis emicantem vehementer eniti, alias ejus pedicas evitantem te una saltem eaque insidiosissima comprehendere, atque ad se pertrahere, dum se transformans in Angelum lucis nobis perstringit aciem, ut videntes non videamus, sed hallucinantibus oculis atra candescant, et nigrescant candida, virtus aliena fordeat, nostra nobis niteant ac blandiantur vitia, dum alienam famam incessere vocatur fraterna monitio ; ira atque invidia ducitur fervor ac zelus in Deum ; inscitia vero, simplex et sancta rusticitas appellatur ; arrogans ac pertinax animus, fortis et infracta constantia ; denique dum aliquo semper prætextu profectus alieni, nostris obsecundamus affectibus, iisdemque fere deterrimis.

Quemadmodum in his ipsis quas scripsisti literis, quasi dum me admones, Erasmo detrahis. Neque tamen eorum quæ in illum tam acerbe conjicis quicquam in illum competit, pleraque vero in tuum caput recta recidunt. Nam stylum carpis ut affectatum, quum tui solœcismi plus oleant olei, quam illius elegantia. Illius incessis mordacitatem, et omnia clamas illum canino dente corrodere, cum tute his unis literis plus arrodas eum, quam ille unquam quenquam. Imo si quis libros ejus omnes, si quis omnes percurrat Epistolas, si quodcumque unquam scripti genus emanavit ab illo, a quo manarunt tam numerosa volumina, atque ex his undecunque in unum congerat cumulum quicquid unquam mali scripsit in quenquam, idque etiam tacitis eorum quos attingebat nominibus, quum non deessent quoque qui multa essent acerbiora commeriti, tamen is ipse cumulus multo erit humilior hac tua mole ^c coacervandis in illum conviciis, idque etiam nominatim, videris exsuperare pyramides, cum ^d his te nihil unquam quicquam offenderit, quum tua studia suis etiam scriptis adjuverit, teque incompensabili beneficio adfecerit. Illum vociferaris arrogantem, quod ausus est aliorum errata taxare, tu tibi nimirum videris esse modestus, dum in illo carpis quæ recta sunt, dum ea reprehendis quæ laudant hi quorum judicio reclamare non vulgaris est immodestia, e quibus tibi commemorare multos possem, eosque virtutis et doctrinæ gratia celeberrimos, qui certatim illi undique gratias agunt, quod tantum ejus labore profecerint. Verum externos prætermittam omnes quorum, quod tibi sunt ignoti, fortassis auctoritatem effugies ; unum atque alterum ex nostris nominabo, tales ut his dissentire sit impudens. Nomino, atque adeo honoris causa nomino Reverendum in Christo Patrem

^c Read, *mole*, qua *coacervandis*. ^d Read *is*, with the other Edition.

Joannem Ecclesiæ Roffensis Antistitem, virum non literis magis quam virtute nobilem, quibus hodie nemo vivit illustrior. Coletum nomino, quo uno viro neque doctior neque sanctior apud nos aliquot retro seculis quisquam fuit. Horum exstant literæ, nec ad Erasmus modo scriptæ, in quibus aliquid gratiæ datum videri possit, ni tales essent illi, qui nulli prorsus mortalium suo mendacio in aliorum præsertim damnum vellent gratificari, sed ad eos datæ quos omnibus inhortantur modis, ut Erasmi versionem diligenter perlegant magnum ab ea fructum reportaturi. Dominus Joannes^e Landland, Decanus Salisberiensis, alter, ut ejus laudes uno verbo complectar, Coletus, seu concionantem audias, seu vitæ spectes puritatem, fateri non cessat ex Erasmicis operibus in Testamentum Novum plus sibi lucis accessisse, quam ex reliquis fere quos habet commentariis omnibus. Non est cur alios commemorem, si credas istis; minus etiam si non credis istis. Quibus enim credas hac de re, si non credas talibus? Certe multum tibi sumis, quum quam rem isti tantopere laudant, tu magnifice vituperas. Quid quod Summus Pontifex, quod tu vituperas, bis jam accurate probavit. Quod Christi Vicarius velut divinæ vocis oraculo pronunciavit utile, id tu puer propheta Altissimi vaticinarius esse damnosum. Quod ex arce religionis summus ille Christiani orbis princeps suo testimonio cohonestat, id tu Monachulus et indoctus et obscurus ex antro cellulæ tuæ purulenta lingua conspurcas. Hic tibi nimirum curandum est, ut facias ipse quod Erasmo consulis, nempe ne plus sapias quam oportet sapere, sed sapias ad sobrietatem. Annon hoc quod facis, istuc ipsum est quod illi rursus objicis, Justitiam Dei ignorare, ac tuam velle constituere: quum quod Summus Pontifex studiosis omnibus pio toties affectu commendavit, id operis ipse non dubitas improbe condemnare? Quam in rem velut fundamentum subternis Erasmus prorsus esse Scripturarum inscium, tu videlicet omniscius, in quas ille pernoscendas haud multo pauciores insumsit annos quam tu vixisti: quem an tu ingenio superas aut diligentia, non excutio: hoc certe scio, quod mihi fas est etiam salvo honore tuo dicere, non usque adeo superas, ut tam longe minore tempore possis efficere, quod ille tam longe majore non possit. Et tamen illum jam in Scripturarum studio senescentem mirum est^f quod immodeste tu juvenis ἀνολοιδύξῃ, imo cui nunquam vacavit discere, γερονταγωγέῃς, mirum est quam tibi videre sciulus, quoties talibus agis argumentis, quæ te manifeste produnt rem non intelligere. Sed tum demum præcipue rem te fecisse magnam putas, quoties e Sacris Voluminibus corrasis hinc inde centonibus, in illum lusitas: et non aliter verbis Sacræ Scripturæ scurraris, quam in comediiis parasiti solent ludere dicteriiis. Qua re ut nihil est improbius, ita nihil est usquam facilius. Usque adeo ut quidam nebulo mimicus, cum nuper imitaretur habitu, voce, vultu, gesticulatione concionantem Fratrem, atque in medio sermone, quem totum concinnarat ex Sacris Literis obscœnum atque ridiculum, narrationem quoque, de more quibusdam solenni Fratribus, infereret, sed impudicam, nempe de fraterculo procante et vitante mulierculam. Is nebulo illam ipsam tam fœdā spurcamque fabulam tamen adeo

^e Should it not be *Longland*?

^f Read *quam*. The old vile abbreviations are the cause for which *quod*, and *quam*, and *quando*, and *quoniam* are so often confounded.

infarsit centonibus Scripturarum, ut neque dum procatur fraterculus, neque dum conspurcatur adultera, neque dum res superveniente marito deprehenditur, neque dum deprehensus comprehenditur, neque dum comprehenso uterque testis exsecatur, interim aliud verbum ullum quam e mediis Scripturæ Sacræ codicibus depromeretur. Atque ea omnia quanquam ad rem ex diametro diversam, tamen applicata tam commode, ut nemo tam severus esset, qui risum continere posset; quum nemo contra tam esset ridiculus, qui non indignaretur ad illiusmodi nequitias Sacris illudi Literis. Nec deerant tamen, qui dicerent occulta quadam Dei dispensatione contingere ut quando Fratres plerique jam diu Verbum Dei adulterare consueverint, existerent aliquando Fratromimi, qui contra fratres et fratriffarent, suoque ipsos exemplo confunderent, et velut suo, quod aiunt, gladio jugularent. Verum si nefas est, ut certe est, abuti Sacris Literis ad lasciviam, aliquanto adhuc magis nefas est si quis, quod tu facis, in alterius abutatur infamiam. Quod nihilo facis excusatius, quia mihi scribis, quem illi scis amicum esse. Imo tanto peccas impensius. Etenim si ista prædicasses apud quempiam cui Erasmus esset odio, alienasses duntaxat eum qui jam ante fuisset alienus. Nunc vero quoad per te fieri potest, avulsisti conjunctissimum. Quamobrem quod ante dicebam, quum adolescentiæ tuæ mitem illam ac modestam indolem animo mecum revolverem, non potui profecto ut non dolere fatis, ita nec fatis usque admirari nascentem istam tibi maturioribus annis in eo vitæ statu, quæ tota non humilitatem modo, sed et despectum sui profitetur, ut ne quid dicam gravius, immodestiam. Cujus ego rei causas dum tacitus atque mirabundus inquirō, præter hostem illum communem, cujus occulto suggestu prope universa vitia, velut ab impuro fonte [§] permaneant, præterque satellites ejus quosdam, quorum invidiam video simplicitatem tuam suis infecisse virulentis, sentio certe nonnullam hujus veneni partem ex affectu quodam suboriri tibi, non novo quidem illo, nec inusitato mortalibus; cæterum quo non alius humanas res gravioribus malis afflixerit. Is est affectus ille quo quisque fere occulto quodam favore sui sic in suum propendet ordinem, ut ejus vitia nec ipse cernere, nec ferre possit indicantem. Hoc ipso affectu hallucinatum te zelo quodam video, sed imperito stimulari, ut religionum studio de illo dicas male, qui de religiosis omnibus impendio meretur bene, nec usquam tamen impensius, quam quum id ipsum agit, quod tu calumniando conaris in odium atque invidiam trahere. *Nam quoties oblatrat, inquis, contra sacra religionis instituta, contra devotas religiosorum ceremonias, contra vitæ asperitatem, contra sanctam solitudinem, demum contra omnia quæ suæ vagabundæ minime correspondent vitæ et conversationi?* Hæc tua verba quum legerem, facile certe deprehendi, quod te calcar exstimulet, nempe zelus in religionem tuam. Equidem haud dubito neminem esse virum usquam bonum, cui non religiosorum omnium ordines omnes eximie chari cordique sint, quos et ipse certe non amavi modo semper, verum etiam perquam reverenter colui, utpote suetus præhonore pauperrimum commendatione virtutis, quam si quem nobilitent divitiæ, vel natalium splendor illustret. Verum enim vero quemadmodum cupiam reli-

§ Read *permanant*, with the other Edition.

quos mortales omnes vos ac vestros Ordines eximia quadam charitate prosequi, exigentibus id meritis nimirum vestris, quorum ego suffragiis hujus orbis miseriam nonnihil levare crediderim; (nam si multum valet oratio Justi assidua, quantum necesse est valeat oratio tam indefessa tot millium?) sic e diverso optaverim ne vos quidem ipsos tam pravo studio vobis indulgere, ut si quis res attingat vestras, laboretis aut benedicta narrando depravare, aut perperam interpretando bene cogitata corrumpere. Nescio quid ejus verba tuo palato sapiant sic adfecto, verum hoc certe scio neminem hactenus reperisse me, qui quæ scripsit ille sic acciperet tanquam religiosorum reprehendat ceremonias, sed eos potius, qui vel superstitiosius abutuntur, vel innuntantur periculosius, ad rem ex sese non malam sua freti stultitia vertunt in perniciem. Qua ex sorte plus satis esse multos, tu quoque, opinor, quantumvis in tuos propensus, non inficiabere; neque enim quicquam est usquam tam sanctum, quod callidus hostis non satagat aliqua semper techna vitare, qui ut est Deo omnibus in rebus oppositus, conatur haud aliter ex nostris bonis operari mala, quam ex malis nostris bona peragit Deus. Quam multos invenies, qui suæ sectæ ceremoniis haud paulo plus quam ipsis Dei præceptionibus incumbunt? An non integros reperias ordines, qui propter suos ritus cum aliis digladiantur Ordinibus? Dum semet invicem student non esse quidem, sed haberi sanctiores, idque ^h *depravatis* utrinque ceremoniis, iisdemque crebro non usquequaquam necessariis, quum de *sociis* interim magisque ad rem pertinentibus, tam omnes in commune consentiant, quam non admodum anxie quidam curant observare. In quas factiones, in quot sectas idem se scindit ordo? Tum qui tumultus, quæ consurgunt tragœdiæ, vel ob alium colorem, vel ob aliter cinctam vestem, aut aliud quippiam ⁱ ceremoniale, si non omnino despuendæ, at certe non satis dignæ propter quam exsulet charitas? Quam multi sunt, quod multo certe deterrimum est, qui religionis freti fiducia, sic intus cristas erigunt, ut spatium sibi videantur in cœlis, ac solaribus insidentes radiis humi repentem populum tanquam formicas e sublimi despicere, nec id profanos modo, verum sacerdotum quoque quicquid est extra septa illa claustrorum? ita plerisque nihil est sanctum, nisi quod faciunt ipsi. Multum providit Deus, cum omnia institueret communia, multum Christus cum in commune conatus est rursus a privato revocare mortales. Sensit nimirum corruptam mortalitatis nostræ naturam non sine communitatis damno deamare privatam; id quod res omnibus in rebus docet. Nec enim tantum suum quisque prædium amat, aut suam quisque pecuniam, nec suo duntaxat generi studet, aut suo quisque collegio, sed ut quicque est quod aliquo modo vocamus nostrum, ita in se illud affectus nostros a communium cultu rerum sevocat. Sic nostra quoque jejunia publicis anteponimus. Sic ubi Divum quempiam selegimus nobis, plures illum sæpe quam decem potiores facimus, nempe quod ille sit noster, quum reliqui Divi sint omnium. Jam si ^k quis taxet hujusmodi, non is

^h The other copy has, *de privatis* — *de feriis interim*; which is right.

ⁱ The other copy has *ceremoniolæ*, as it should be.

^k Perhaps *quis quid*.

plebeculæ damnat pietatem, sed admonet potius ne pietatis prætextu surrepat impietas. Nam ut nemo gentem aliquam reprehenderit, quæ Divum quempiam nominatim idonea de causa coluerit, ita nonnullis fortasse videntur suæ pietati plus fatis obsequuti quidam, qui in sui Divi peculiarem gratiam Divum hosticæ gentis præsidem detractum templo projecerint in cœnum. Atqui ritus hujusmodi privatæque ceremoniæ, ut interdum male cedunt apud nos, ita non semper, opinor, apud vos cedunt bene. Sed apud plerosque, ut quicquid magis est proprium, ita plurimum habetur in pretio. Hinc pluri multi ceremonias æstimant suas quam cœnobii; cœnobii quam ordinis; tum quicquid est ordini proprium quam quæ sunt omni religioni communia, sed ea tamen quæ sint religiosorum pluri aliquanto faciunt, quam vilia illa atque humilia, quæ non sint illis ullo modo privata, sed cum omni prorsus populo Christiano communia, cujusmodi sunt virtutes istæ plebeïæ, fides, spes, charitas, Dei timor, humilitas, atque id genus aliæ. Nec enim novum est istud: imo jamdiu est quod Christus populo exprobravit electo: *Quare et vos transgredimini mandata Dei propter traditiones vestras?* Negabunt ista, non dubito, etiam ii qui faciunt. Quis enim tam vecors est, ut fateatur pluri se facere ceremonias suas quam præcepta Dei, quibus nisi paruerit, illas ipsas novit innutiles? Verbis, haud dubie, si rogentur recte responderint, factis fidem dictis abrogabunt. Mentiri credar ni sint religiosi quidam certis in locis tam obstinati silentii, ut in quadris ambulacris illis magno conduci non possint, ut vel submissi mussitent, qui pedem latum in alterutrum subducti latus, haud vereantur atrocibus intonare conviciis. Non desunt qui metuerent superventurum Dæmonem, qui vivos in orcum auferat, si quippiam consuetarum demutarent vestium, quos nihil movet, quum pecuniam congerunt, adversantur Abbati, ac subinde supplantant. An paucos esse putas quibus habeatur multis lacrymis expiandum piaculum, si versiculum omitterent in precibus horariis, quibus ne scrupulus quidem timoris ullus oritur, quum sese pessimis atque infamatricibus impiant fabulis, iisdemque longissimis etiam precibus longioribus? Ita nimirum culicem comminuunt, elephantem deglutientes integrum. Sane multo sunt plures quam vellem, qui vel ipso religiosi titulo longe supra mortalium sortem sibi videntur ascendere. Sed horum bona pars deliri magis quam mali, qui tam suaviter insaniunt, ut quicquid illis amens dictat animus, id protinus sic accipiunt velut inspiretur a Deo, et sese credunt interim in tertium rapi cœlum, quum verius arrepti sint in tertium gradum phrenesis. At illi multo * furunt periculosius, qui usque adeo superbiunt, ac sibi videntur sanctuli, ut non contemnant modo, verum condemnent etiam reliquos mortales omnes præ se, nec alia fere de causa quam quod superstitiose nimium suis inhærent ritibus, suis gloriantur observantiolis, quibus nonnulli sibi tum quoque videntur tuti, quum talibus fulti patrociniis quodlibet armantur ad facinus. Equidem novi quendam instituto vitæ religiosum, idque ex eo genere quod hodie ducitur, et vere ducitur, ut ego certe sentio, religiosissimum. Is quum non jam novicius, sed qui multos annos in regularibus, ut vocant, observantiis insumisset, eoque promovisset in illis, ut etiam præficeretur cœnobio, Dei tamen præceptorum quam monastici ritus indiligentior, e vitio in vitium

* furunt.

prolabitur

prolabitur, eo tandem progressus, ut scelus omnium atrocissimum et supra quam credi possit execrandum destinaret animo, imo non simplex scelus, sed multiplici fœcundum scelere, ut qui decreverit addere cædibus et parricidio sacrilegium. Qui quum tot patrandis facinoribus impar sibi solus videretur, aliquot ad se sicarios ac sectores asciscit. Conficiunt facinus omnium, quæ quidem ego audierim immanissimum. Comprehenſi conjiciuntur in vincula. Neque rem tamen explicare decrevi, et nominibus abſtinebo noxiorum, ne quid obſoleſcentis invidiæ ordini renovetur innoxio. Verum, ut quam ob rem institui narrare persequar, ab illis ego sceleratis audivi ſicariis, cum ad religiosulum illum ventitarent in cubiculum, nunquam ante tractasse de flagitio, quam in privatum ejus introducti ſacrarium Divam Virginem flexis de more poplitibus Angelica ſalutatione propitiaſſent. — Ea re rite peracta, tum demum pure pieque conſurgunt ad infandum facinus. Atque ut illud quod dixi facinus multo fuit atrocissimum, ita quod nunc dicam longe quidem in ſpeciem mitius, ipſa re fortasse nec multo minus nocuit, certe multo nocuit latius. Erat Conventriæ fraterculus quidam ex eo Franciſcanorum numero, qui nondum ad Franciſci regulam ſunt reformati. Is in urbe, in ſuburbis, in finitimis, in circumjectis oppidulis prædicavit: Quicumque Pſalterium beatæ Virginis oraret quotidie, nunquam poſſe damnari. Pro nis auribus audita res eſt, et libenter credita, quæ viam tam proclivem aperuiſſet in cœlum. Ibi paſtor quidam homo probus et doctus, etſi ſtulte dictum eſſe cenſebat, tamen aliquantiſper diſſimulat, ratus ex ea re nihil etiam oriturum mali; populum enim quo effuſius in beatæ Virginis cultum ſeſe daret, eo plus hauſtuum pietatis. At ubi tandem recognoſcens ovile, deprehendit ea ſcabie vehementer infectum gregem, peſſimum quemque in illo Pſalterio maxime religioſum eſſe, non alia mente quam quod ſponderent ſibi quidvis audendi licentiam, neque enim fas habebant quicquam dubitare de cœlo, quod tam gravis auctor fraterculus e cœlo lapſus tanta cum fide promiſerat. Tum vero tandem cœpit admonere populum non minus eſſe fidendum, ſi Pſalterium pſallerent, etiam ſi uno die decies, bene certe facturos, qui bene dicerent, modo non ea dicerent fiducia, qua jam nonnulli cœperant; alioqui ſatius eſſe uti et preces ipſas omitterent, modo et facinora quædam, quæ ſub earum patrocinio fidentius committebantur, omitterentur ſimul. Hæc quum e ſuggeſtu diceret, mirum quam indignanter ¹ auditur, exhibilatur, exploditur, paſſimque, velut hoſtis Mariæ, traducitur. Frater alio die conſcendit pulpitem, orditur ab eo themate, quo maxime perſtingat Paſtorem: *Dignare me laudare te, Virgo ſacrata, da mihi virtutem contra hoſtes tuos.* Nam eodem themate Scotum quendam diſputaturum Pariſiis de Virginis immaculata conceptione ferunt uſum, qui Lutetiam in momento delatum, periclitante ſcilicet alioqui beata Virgine, millia paſſuum pluſquam trecenta mentiuntur. Quid multis opus eſt verbis? facile perſuadet volentibus frater et fatuum et impium eſſe paſtorem. Dum res flagrabat maxime, fors accidit ipſe ut Conventriam peterem, viſurus ibi ſororem. Vix equo deſcenderam, quum proponitur et mihi quæſtio: An qui quotidie

¹ Perhaps auditur.

precaretur Psalterium beatæ Virginis, damnari possit. Irrisi problema ridiculum. Admoneor ilico periculose factum, quod sic responderim. Sanctissimum quendam Patrem eundemque doctissimum contra prædicasse. Contemsi rem totam, ut quæ nihil attineret ad me. Protinus invitor ad convivium; promitto, venio. Ecce intrat frater senex, silicernium, gravis, tetricus; puer a tergo sequitur cum codicibus. Ilico sensi mihi paratas lites. Accumbimus, et nequid periret temporis, extemplo res proponitur ab hospite. Frater quod ante prædicarat, idem respondit. Ipse tacebam. Neque enim libenter memet disceptationibus et odiosis et infructuosis immisceo. Tandem rogarunt, et quid mihi videretur. Qui quum tacere non licuit, respondi quod sentiebam; sed paucis, et neglectim. Ibi inquit Frater oratione meditata longaue, et quæ binis ferme concionibus essent satis, eblaterabat in cœna. Summa rationum tota pendebat a miraculis, quorum nobis effutiebat e *Mariæ* multa: tum quædam ex aliis ejusdem farinæ libellis, quos afferri jubet in mensam, quo narrationi major accedat auctoritas. Quum aliquando tandem perorasset, ego modeste respondi, primum nihil esse toto illo sermone dictum, quo res persuadeatur illis, si qui forte quæ recensuerat miracula non admitterent, quod fors accidere salva Christi fide possit. Quæ tamen ut maxime vera sint, ad rem haudquaquam satis habere momenti. Nam ut facile reperias principem, qui condonet interdum vel hostibus aliquid ad preces matris: ita nullus est usquam tam stultus, qui promulget legem qua suorum audaciam in semet provocet impunitate promissa proditoribus, quicumque genetricem ejus certo demereatur obsequio. Multis ultro citroque dictis, effeci tandem ut ille tolleretur laudibus, ipse pro stulto riderer. Quin eo res evasit denique pravo hominum studio suis vitiis persona pietatis faventium, ut vix aliquando cohibita sit, adnitente quantis maxime posset, viribus Episcopo. Non hæc eo commemoro, quod vel religionem velim religiosorum quorundam degravare sceleribus, quum et salutare herbas et pestiferas eadem terra progerminet, neque quod eorum ritum improbem, qui subinde Divam salutant Virginem, quo nihil potest esse salubrius, sed quod usque adeo quidam sibi fidunt in talibus, ut ab his potissimum securitatem sibi sumant ad flagitia. Hæc sunt atque hujusmodi, quæ taxanda censet Erasmus, cui quisque irascitur, cur non Divo succenset Hieronymo? cur non aliis item sanctissimis Patribus? qui religiosorum vitia et uberius multo commemorant, et multo insectantur acerbius. Ut callidus est antiquus serpens? Ut aconita semper oblinunt melle, ne quis reformidet toxicum? Ut gustum nobis inficit, ac citat nauseam, quoties offertur antidotum? Qui nos admirantur, et nostra facta collaudant, qui beatos appellant et sanctos, hoc est, qui nos seducunt, et ex stultis reddunt insanos, hi nimirum candidi sunt atque benevoli, hi vicissim boni piique vocantur a nobis. At qui multo magis utilem nobis impendunt operam, qui ut quales vere sumus, tales vere nos nobis indicent, canes illi sunt latratores, arrosores, malevolentes, invidi; et hæc audiunt qui nullius vitia perstringunt nominatim, et audiunt ab iis qui suis ipsorum sordibus aperte conspergunt alios. Itaque nunc non alibi modo locum esse video, sed ne claustrum quidem dicto clausum esse Comico: *Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit.* Hieronymo quondam veritas opprobata est a calumniatore

Ruffino,

Ruffino, quum eam omnes æqui bonique Lectōres æqui bonique consulerent. Quod Erasmus vero non vere tantum, verum etiam tanta scripsit cum gratia, ut ei per literas undique magnæ sint actæ gratiæ ab ordinis cuiusque religiosi, et præsertim tui; id nunc tandem satis insulse superbeque calumniis et conviciis oppugnatur abs te, cuius professio tota fundamentis humilitatis innititur, qua videlicet humilitate tu non tuam tantum sectam magnificis effers laudibus, nempe sacris institutis, sancta solitudine, devotis ceremoniis, vigiliis, asperitate vitæ, jejuniis; sed illum quoque pedibus tanquam canem calcas, dum latrantem facis, et vagabundæ conversationis. Quæ verba cum lego tam religioso perscripta calamo, videor mihi propemodum humiles illas sancti Pharisei preces audire: *Gratias tibi ago, Domine, quia non sum sicut cæteri hominum, sicut et Publicanus iste.* Tametsi paulo sanctius esse putem in bonorum laude virorum quam criminatione versari, non est tamen in præsentis consilium ut Erasmi scribam encomion. Nam et nostræ vires tanto sunt operi impares, ut ubique gentium optimi atque doctissimi pro sua quisque virili certatim faciunt, quibus alioqui tacentibus, sua illum benefacta cunctis fructuosa mortalibus ut vivum commendant bonis, ita sublata cum satis invidia, quod sero precor obtingat, vita functum commendabunt omnibus, facientque ut aliquando desideretur etiam his, quorum nunc livore lippientes oculi velut illustri fulgore perstricti, contra tueri non sustinent. Ego certe quandoquidem apud bonos laudatione non indiget, ita temperabo mihi, ne vel eorum per me turgescat invidia, quorum tam improbum est ingenium, ut et quibuscumque alantur obrectationibus, et bonorum laudibus intabescant. Quibus ipsis inoffensis puto fas est hoc saltem dicere, si quis diligenter expenderit quam assidue, quam magna, quam multa, quam bona volumina unus edat Erasmus, quibus vel exscribendis tantum non unus satis fuisse videretur, is, opinor, perpendet facile, etiamsi non totus esset in virtutibus, non multum certe superesse temporis quod impendatur in vitia. Jam si quis æquos oculos admoveat propius, atque operum pensitet fructum, ad hæc eorum attestations æstimet, quorum vel studiis lux est addita, vel fervor accessit affectibus, huic ego certe reor non admodum fore probabile pectus illud, unde, velut ignis quidam pietatis exfiliens aliorum animos inflamat, ipsum in semet usquequaque frigesce. Has, opinor, laudes non ad invidiam usque benignas nemo est adeo malignus ut abnuat, quibus ego tamen ipsis abstinuissem, nisi quod tua me petulantia ne sic quidem finit sistere, verum necessario tecum longius aliquanto provehit. Nam quis tam patientes aures habet, ut te tam petulanter insultantem ferat, quum vagabundi nomine insectaris, quod aliquando sedem, quod nunquam fere facit nisi quum publici boni poscit ratio, demutet. Perinde quasi desiderare perpetuo, atque ostreorum in morem, aut spongiæ, eidem semper affigi saxo, ea demum sit absoluta sanctitas. Quod si verum est, haud satis recte institutus est ordo Minoritarum, quo, nisi me fallit opinio, nullus est ordo sanctior, quorum plerique tamen, idoneis de causis, totum pervagantur orbem. Non recte fecit Hieronymus, qui quod Romam atque Hierusalem interjacet viæ permensus. Multo intra vestram sanctitatem sanctissimi fuerunt Apostoli, qui sedentibus vobis, imo non-

dum

dum sedentibus, totam undique terram peragrarunt. Nec istud eo dico, quod eis Erasmus comparem, ne quis id cavilletur ad calumniam, sed ut ostendam tibi quemadmodum loci mutatio sæpe sine vitio contingit, ita non esse præcipuam in sedendo semper sitam sanctimoniam. Etenim ut ad Erasmus veniam, quoquo pacto sese habeant cætera, quæ sese habent optime, vagationem interim quam tu tam procaciter invadis in illo, profecto non dubitaverim cuiquam vestrarum parti virtutum, quacunque vobis maxime placetis, anteferre. Neque enim hodie esse usquam puto, qui quidem suum curat genium, ac laborem horreat, quin is vobiscum sessitare malit, quam vagari cum illo. Qui seu spectetur labor, plus nonnunquam in uno labore die, quam vos in multis mensibus: Seu laboris æstimetur utilitas, plus in uno mense nonnunquam Ecclesiæ toti profuit, quam vos in annis plurimis, nisi cuiuspiam vel jejunia putes vel preculas tantum et tam late conducere, quam tot egregia volumina, e quibus totus eruditur orbis ad justitiam, aut nisi deliciari videtur is qui maris hyemes, sævitiam coeli, labores omnes in terra, dum profit in commune, contemnit. An non delicata quædam res est e navigatione nausea, e jactatione cruciatus, e tempestate periculum, morsque ac naufragium semper obversans oculis. Quum toties per silvas horridas, per inculta nemora, per crepidines asperas, per montes perreptaret præcipientes, et vias obsessas latronibus, quum quassus ventis, conspersus luto, complutus ac madidus, a via fessus, a labore lassus, malo subinde acceptus hospitio, vestrum cibum, vestrum cubile desiderat, an non voluptuari videtur? præsertim cum hæc tot mala, quæ virentem quoque ac robustum juvenem facile defatigent, obeat atque sustineat, senescente jam et studiis ac laboribus fatisciente corpusculo, ut sit pene perspicuum jam olim necessario fuisse tot malis succubiturum, ni Deus eum, qui solem suum facit oriri super bonos et malos, etiam in ingratorum commoda conservasset. Nam undecumque revertitur, cæteris omnibus egregios affert secum itinerum suorum fructus, sibi vero nihil usquam quicquam nisi detritam valetudinem, et suis beneficiis excitata maledicta pessimorum. Quamobrem tales ille professiones tam gratas habet, ut nisi studiorum causa postularet, hoc est, publicum omnium commodum, quod ille privato toties incommodo redimit, perquam libenter omitteret. Interim vero non nisi cum his versatur quos et doctrina commendat et vita, semper aliquid parturiens, quod post in illis quætu sic incessis itineribus, non absque publico studiorum fructu pariat, quem si posthabuisset ille suis ipsius commodis, cum corpus haberet hodie minus aliquanto fractum, tum vero multo magis uberem locupletemque fortunam, Principibus omnibus, omnibus fere magnatibus eximia conditione certatim illum ad sese pellicientibus. Quanquam certe par ac justum fuerat, ut quemadmodum ab illo, ubi ubi vivat, eximius fructus in omnes orbis partes, velut e sole radii diffunduntur, sic ab omni parte vicissim commoda refunderentur ad illum. Quamobrem quando ille sese totum alienis utilitatibus impartitur, nec emolumentum quicquam sibi deposcit in terris, dubitare certe non debeo quin ei Deus illic benignissimus ubi satius erit accepisse retribuet: eoque quum illum abs te contemptum tecum comparo, et utriusque merita compono simul, quantum videlicet humana fas est conjectura consequi, spes indubitata suboritur, quum

quum utrique tandem illa dies affulserit, qua vestris virtutibus suum reddetur præmium, quanquam ut tuum permagnum fore spero, sic opto fore quam maximum, tamen expensor æquus utriusque Deus, quod sine tuo damno, atque ut tum affectus eris, etiam te ^m libente fecerit, non vagationes ejus tantum præferat fessitationi tuæ, sed quoniam bonis omnia cooperantur in bonum, loquentiam ejus anteferet tuo silentio, silentium ejus tuis præponet precibus, cibos ejus tuis jejuniis, et somnum tuis vigiliis, ac denique quicquid in illo tam superbe despicias pluris omnino faciet illis omnibus, quæcumque vita in tua tibi tam suaviter adblandiuntur. Nam, haud dubie, quamquam fateri pudor impediatur, numquam tamen potuisset accidere, quemquam ut tam arroganter impeteres, ni mira persuasione sanctitatis impense placeres tibi, qua una re nihil est usquam religioni periculosius, aut a qua longius abesse te pro meo in te amore cupio. Etenim mihi meique similibus, qui misero fluctuamur orbe, vos profuerit velut inferne suspicere, vestraque instituta non aliter atque Angelicæ vitæ exemplar admirari, quo quasi stupore quodam virtutis alienæ nostra nobis vita vilescat impensius. At vobis contra non admodum fuerit utile aliorum viam contemnere et condemnare præ vestra, nonnunquam etiam meliorem. Verum assuescas potius in aliis vel inferiora suspicere, de tuis vero non modo sentire modestius, verum omnia suspectare quoque, trepidumque semper vivere, et quanquam in bona spe, tamen omnino sollicitum non tantum ne posthac aliquando corruas, juxta id quod dicitur, *Qui stat videat ne cadat*; sed ne jam olim cecideris, ac tum potissimum cum tibi maxime videbaris ascendere, nempe quum religionem ingredereris. Nec istud eo dico quod quicquam dubitem quin meliorem partem delegerit sibi Maria, sed quoniam omnis justitia mortalium velut pannus est menstruatus, eoque etiam bona sua cuique merito debent esse suspecta, tibi fortasse non insalubre fuerit addubitare, timereque tecum, ne tu vel in Mariæ parte non sis, vel Mariæ partem perperam delegeris, dum aut ejus munus, cui Christus Marthæ postposuit officium, tu Apostolorum officio anteponis, aut ne tibi visus, dum leviter temet ⁿ exanimas, in sanctam fugiens solitudinem, noxiis te subducere voluptatibus, in Dei secretiore conspectu, qui nos multo penitius introspicit, qui corda nostra profundius quam nos ipsi rimatur, cujus oculis imperfecta nostra videntur, deprehendaris fortasse negotia detrectasse et te subtraxisse laboribus, et pietatis umbra quæsiuisse voluptatem quietis, et molestiarum fugam appetisse, talentumque tibi creditum involvisse sudario, quod ne foras emitteres, intus perderes. Hujusmodi cogitationibus hoc saltem facies lucri, quod suggeretur occasio, ne, quo nihil est perniciosius, de tua tecum secta superbias, neve in privatis confidas observantiis, spemque ut in religione colloques potius Christiana quam tua, nec innitaris illis quæ per te facere potes, sed quæ, nisi per Deum, non potes. Jejunare potes ex te, vigilare potes ex te, precari potes ex te, quin potes et ex Diabolo. Cæterum vere Christiana fides, qua Christus Jesus vere dicitur in spiritu, vere Christiana spes, quæ de suis desperans meritis, in una Dei benignitate confidit, vere Christiana charitas,

^m In the other copy *libenter*: which is wrong.

ⁿ Read *examinat*.

quæ non inflatur, non irascitur, non suam quærit gloriam, nulli prorsus nisi sola Dei gratia et gratuito favore contingunt. Quo plus fiduciæ posueris in communibus istis Christianismi virtutibus, eo minus assuesces fidere privatis ceremoniis, vel ordinis tui, vel tuis, in quibus quo minus fidēs, eo tibi magis conferent. Nam tum demum Deus te fidelem servum ducet, quum tu te duces inutilem. Quod merito certe poterimus, etiam si fecerimus omnia quæcunque possumus, quod ego Deum precor, uterque ut aliquando faciamus, et Erasmus etiam, nec faciamus tantum, sed vel multo potius si multa fecisse contingat, nihil ut nos omnino fecisse censeamus. Nam ea via potissimum eo conscenditur, ubi neque nos quicquam virtus aliena torquebit, neque lacrymam ullam lippientibus oculis excutiet aliena * claritas. Quod in calce tandem scribis meæ fore modestiæ, ne tuas literas cuiquam ostendam, non video qui id pertineat admodum ad modestiam meam: ° fuisset, haud dubio, tuæ vel modestiæ vel ^p certæ prudentiæ ostendisse paucioribus: modestiæ, si quales tibi videntur, tales essent; prudentiæ, si quales vere sunt, tales tibi viderentur. Nunc vero nova est ista modestia, exigere a me silentium, quasi vel tua tibi non placeret epistola, vel declines laudem, ac temet illico, quum te gloriolæ pruritus incenderet, quærere quosdam simili titillatos scabie, ut jucundo fructu pariter et scabereris et scaberes. A quibus quum audirem passim esse jactatum tuis elegantissimis et a Spiritu Sancto dictatis epistolis ita mutatum me, ut Erasminica scripta rejecerim, arbitratus sum convenire mihi meam sententiam literis ut testatam redderem, eorumque vel stultitiam, si credidere, vel malitiam, si confinxere, convincerem. Etenim judicare non possum quonam pacto literæ tuæ affecerint illos, quando asinino palato placentes cardui locum etiam fecerunt adagio, mihi certe nihil in eis visum est usque adeo splendidum, ut nobis oculorum sic perstringeret aciem, quin quod album esset, album etiamnum videretur. Hunc itaque meum animum quum propter vanissimam sive tuam sive tuorum jactantiam § declarandam esse censuissem, hætenus tamen statui habere semper famæ tuæ rationem, ut neque nomen tuum alioqui mihi percharum meis literis infererem, et e tuis ipsius, quæ quidem in mea manu essent, expungerem. Atque isthoc pacto fiet ut quicquid hoc de facto tuo vel dicent vel sentient homines (de quoboni doctique sentient dicentque omnes, procul dubio, pessime) nihil te tamen pudoris ac ruboris attingat. Illud mihi vehementer placet, quod ubi satis debacchatus es, redditus tandem tibi, factus es in fine placatior, insinuatæ spe iræ in Erasmus conditione non admodum difficili componendæ. Nam hunc in modum scribis: *Nec tamen usque adeo inimicus sum Erasmo, quin facile cum eo in gratiam redeam, si ille sua correxerit erratula.* Papæ! beasti hominem, qui alioqui periculum erat ne mœrore misere maceraret sese, si spes omnis prorsus adempta esset fore ut aliquando te tanto videlicet viro magis uteretur propitio. Verum nunc quando quidem tam facilem pacem offers, in qua tam æqua postulas, haud dubie, parebit avide, corrigeatque protinus, simulatque tu errores ejus ostenderis. Nam hætenus tantum ostendisti tuos. Quamquam ea ipsa quæ tu vocas erratula, nempe *verriculum* pro *sagena*, et

* The other copy *charitas*, which is wrong.

^p Read *certe*.

° In the other copy *fuisse*: which is wrong.

§ Read *declarandum*.

remitte pro dimitte, et discumbentibus pro discumbentium, atque ejus generis alia, sicubi Latinum vocabulum pro barbaro supposuit, aut sermonem purum pro solœco, aut perspicuum pro ambiguo, sicubi vel interpretis errorem correxit, vel scriptoris lapsum restituit, vel Græcitis idioma Romanæ linguæ figuris enunciavit. Hæc, inquam, ipsa potius quam te inimicum habeat, immutabit omnia, ac barbarismos omnes, omnes solœcismos, quicquid usquam fuit obscurum, quicquid aut dormitanter versum aut inemendate transcriptum, Erasmus hunc thesaurum omnem, quandoquidem non furtum tantum, ut video, sed sacrilegium quoque dum hæc auferret e templo commiserat, in sanctuarium rursus bona cum fide reponet. Nihil eo deterritus, quod bonos doctosque omnes ab se alienare videbitur, quos illo officio devinxerat, quando illorum vice omnium te tandem atque Apologastrium illum, hoc est, populi vice primarios quosdam principes, ac veluti literatorum omnium Duumviros conciliabit sibi. Sed, omisso joco, hoc unum certe sicuti abs te probe pieque factum est, ita ego quoque vere atque ex animo laudo, quod dum erratula tantum fateris esse, quæ sint corrigenda, fateris interim verecunde quidem pro tua modestia, sed vere tamen, quo te mendacio liberes tam scelesto, confiteris, inquam, falsa fictaque esse omnia, quæ de hæresi, de schismate, deque Antichristi præconio initio præfervidus objeceras. Neque enim usque adeo mihi deploratus es, quin melius de te sentiam, quam ut hæresim, schismata, atque Antichristi præconium, quorum atrocitatem scelerum nulla malorum moles exæquat, pro leviculis habeas erratulis. Quamobrem quum te videam quicquid erat grave recantasse, non est animus de levibus tecum contendere. Ut ^a utrinque pariter quæ dicta sunt habeantur indicta omnia, tumultusque omnis, ut de nihilo natus est, ita in nihilum vicissim definat, atque hæc tragœdia tandem exeat in comœdiam. Vale, et si clauastro nolis frustra claudi, quieti potius spirituali, quam istiusmodi rixis indulge.

FROM some expressions in this Letter it should seem that the anonymous Monk, to whom it is addressed, was an Englishman, who lived in England.

^a In the other Edition *utrumque*: which is wrong.

* * Above, p. 693. line 29. *minus*. Add in a note: Read *nimis*, from the other copy.

XIII.

* *Fragmenta quarundam Thomæ Mori Epistolarum ad Joannem Cochlæum.*
Lipsiæ, MDXXXVI. Ex officina Melchioris Lottheri.

DICI non potest, vir ornatissime, quantum tibi me debere sentiam, qui me dignaris toties eorum, quæ istic occurrunt, [me] certiores reddere: quæ nunc neque minus assidua, et multo magis monstrosa, parit nobis Germania, quam olim solebat Africa. Nam quid monstrosius Anabaptistis, et quantum ejusmodi pestium aliquot annis jam continuis exortum est? Ego profecto, mi Cochlæe, quum hæc in hunc modum video quotidie in pejus ruere, exspecto propediem fore ut existat aliquis, qui Christum prorsus prædicet abnegandum: nec potest exoriri tam absurdus ^s Nebulo, ut, qui nunc populo furor est, careat sectatoribus. Bernensium Edicto neque ineptius unquam quicquam vidi, neque magis improbum. Et disputationem, ut audio, sic adornarunt, ut eam reddiderint Edicti sui simillimam. Utinam mihi, mi Cochlæe, foret ea Sacrarum Literarum et Theologica rei peritia, ut contra pestes ejusmodi possem non frustra scribere. Quæ res tibi, vir clarissime, Dei benignitate tam abunde contigit, quam vix uni aut alteri præterea. Nec vacua in te gratia fuit, qui talentum tibi creditum non cessas sic impendere, ut * ad id aliquando sis multiplici cum usura redditurus. Itaque, quod valde gaudeo, Deus vicissim declarare cœpit, quam gratam habeat tam fideliter abs te impensam operam. Nam post tot adversa, post tantam secundum carnem calamitatem, respicere cœpit ærumnas tuas: qui ^t illustrissimo Principi inspiravit in animum, ut magno religionis nostræ bono, et fortunæ tuæ subsidio, te sibi adjungeret, et ^v viro olim optimo atque eruditissimo simillimum omnino sufficeret. Utrique certe gratulor, et Principi tuo talem animum, et tibi talem Patronum.

XIV.

LITERAS tuas, Cochlæe doctissime, gratissimas habui, vel suo, vel auctoris merito. Tum hoc quoque nomine, quod nuncupatos mihi Romanos Consules in lucem exiisse nunciarent. Quos etiam multa prorsus cum animi voluptate legi. Cujusmodi fragmenta ubicunque nactus sum, exosculari soleo, tantum abest ut fastidiam. Nec, quum videam Persarum Regem rustici hominis manu porrectam aquulam, ea prorsus fronte qua multi pretii munera consuevit, accepisse, ego porro infra tantum Principem positus, tam sanctas vetustatis reliquias ullo possum modo contemnere: qui

^r Cochlæus published these, with some other tracts. The book is in the *Museum Britannicum*.

^s *Nil novum sub sole*, saith Solomon.

^t Duci Saxoniae Georgio.

^v Emsero.

* *ad* should be omitted.

gerras quoque Siculas, aut si quid istis despicacius, saltem literarium, nunquam in universum aspernatus sim. Quippe amici contemplatio tantum apud probissimum quemque ponderis habet, ut rebus quamlibet minutis gratiam pretiumque conciliet. Nec vero hæc eo dixerim, quo munus tuum imprimis magnificum ex istarum esse rerum classe judicem. Nec Cassiodoro, cui tu similem me amice potius quam vere opinaris, ulla in re sum conferendus. Sed quis istam voluntatem, tam ad gratificandum nobis accinctam, nullo * provocato beneficio, non plurimi faciat?

XV.

HOC mihi velim credas, pro amore nostro mutuo, charissime Cochlæe, multis annis nullas venisse amicorum literas iis gratiores, quas a te proxime accepi, quum propter multa, tum ex duabus nominatim causis: priore quod in eis ingens mei studium perspexi, haud incognitum antehac mihi, sed multis partibus solito auctius: Quod est eximiae cujusdam felicitatis instar: ut enim merita tua seponam, quis non vel favorem solum taciti amici plurimi faciat? Posteriore, quod iisdem me literis de Principum actis fecisti certior. Quo officio perinde quasi animo tuo parum satisfecisses, misisti eisdem de rebus factos commentarios, quibus ita complexus es universa, ita clare explicuisti * ab oculis, ut majore diligentia curaque persequi nequieris; et eos legens commentarios, cœtui universo mihi sim visus interesset. Hæc et videntur mihi et sunt mire evidentia amoris in me tui documenta, quibus manifeste declarasti, quam nullum laborem recuses, unde voluptas modo aliqua ad me reditura sit. Proinde vix æque ulla re ac studii tui adversus me delector memoria. Quid hic pergam sigillatim scriptorum tuorum multiplicem referre gratiam? Quid aggrediar sermone prolixo pro eo merito tibi gratias agere, cujus nullam portionem quantumlibet y numerose gratiarum actiones assequantur? Veniam nunc ad postremam commentariorum partem, ubi eorum recenset nomina, qui sanctissimo isti negotio § profuere. Pars profecto mirum in modum mihi jucunda fuit, qua inter cætera Cochlæi nomen reperirem. Christum obnixè precor, cujus beneficio ex pientissimo in Deum Cæsareæ Majestatis mandato per vos præclare cœpta res est, ut exterminatis celeriter opinionum dissidiis, per eosdem Ecclesiæ suæ tranquillitatem reddat, ut inducta, imo reducta jam diu profligata animorum consensione, gaudium nostrum nullo contaminatum metu, nulla sollicitudine vitiatum ex omni parte absolvat.

XVI.

GEORGIUS noster, optime atque amantissime Cochlæe, huc reversus, una cum literis tuis fascem quoque librorum mihi reddidit. In quo, præter alia illi etiam continebantur libri, quibus adversus gravem Ecclesiæ adversarium Lutherum, fortis Evangelii religionisque assertor, non minus docte pieque quam strenue pugnas. Postquam Georgius in Angliam rediit,

* Perhaps *provocatam*.x Read *ob*.y Read *numerose*.§ Perhaps *præfuere*.

complures

complures diversis temporibus Epistolas abs te accepi. Postrema ea fuit, quam de Zuinglio et Œcolampadio scriptam misisti, quorum nunciata mors lætitiā mihi attulit. Quamquam enim dolendi causas reliquere nobis heu nimium graves, propter multa quæ neque sine horrore eloqui possum, et nemini sunt ignota, neque audire homines pii sine profundo gemitu debent; sublato tamen e medio esse tam immanes fidei Christianæ hostes, tam accinctos ad Ecclesiæ excidium, tam intentos ubique in omnem perimendæ pietatis occasionem, jure gaudere possumus. Valetudine aliquot superioribus mensibus non tam in speciem gravi me intuentibus, quam sentienti mihi formidolosa usus sum. Quam ne nunc quidem post impetratam omnium munerum vacationem satis possum excutere. Ita fiebat ut Cancellarii obire officium haud satis possem, nisi valetudinis malum finerem indies magis magisque crescere, sanitatem non aliter promittente medico, quam si in otium recederem: ac ne sic quidem satis fidenter tamen. Movit ergo animum meum recuperandæ cura sanitatis; sed multo magis publicæ utilitatis respectus, quam multis modis remoraturus videbar, si homo valetudinis impeditæ, negotia publica simul cogerer impedire. Otium quod Illustrissimi Principis in me prona benignitas precibus meis annuere dignata est, posthac studiis et Deo constitui dedicare. Quod ut mihi contingat felicius, tu me, Cochlæe charissime, precibus apud Deum tuis adjuva. Vale feliciter, ex ædibus nostris Chelcheicis, quartodecimo die Junii.

XVII.

Thomas Morus paulo ante suam condemnationem, quam arētissime carceribus inclusus, omnique sublato instrumento scribendi, carbone hanc insequentem epistolam exaravit, atque ad intimum suum amicum Antonium² Bonuifum, mercatorem Lucensem, jam tum quidem Londini agentem, nunc Lovanii sepultum, mittendam curavit. Anno M.D.XXXV.

² **A**MICORUM amicissime, et merito mihi charissime, salve. Quoniam niam præfagit mihi animus, fortasse falso, sed tamen præfagit, haud diu superfuturam ad te scribendi facultatem; decrevi, dum licet, hoc saltem epistolio significare, quantum in hoc fortunæ meæ deliquio, amicitiae

² Three Italians, Antony Bonvice, Benedict Bonvice, and Balthazar Guarsey, were excepted, amongst other Papists, from a general pardon granted by Edward VI. Anno 1552. *Strype's Memor.* vol. II. p. 396. Queen Elizabeth in the year 1558 exacted some money from Alexander Bonvice, and other Italian merchants, by way of fine and forfeiture. *Strype's Ann.* vol. I. p. 14.

Pole, in a speech, full of bigotry, to the Citizens of London, mentions this Antony Bonvice, as then living, with great encomiums, and relates some conversation between him and his friend More. *Strype's Mem.* vol. III. Append. p. 244. See also More's Life of Sir T. More, p. 268. 271.

² From Rooper's Life of More, p. 142. and *Mori Lucubrat.* p. 494. Basil 1563. These two copies differ in some places; and Rooper's is usually the better.

tuæ jocunditate reficiat. Nam ante quidem, vir ornatissime, tametsi mirifice certe semper amore isto in me tuo delectatus sum; tamen recordanti mihi annos jam prope quadraginta perpetuum Bonuifæ domus, non hospitem, sed alumnum fuisse me, nec amicum interim ulla rependenda gratia, sed sterilem tantum amatorem præstitisse, verecundia mea profecto fecerat, ut sincera illa suavitas, quam alioqui ex amicitiae vestrae cogitatione deglutiebam, paululum quiddam pudore quodam rustico tanquam neglectæ vicissitudinis subacesceret. Verumenimvero nunc hac ego me cogitatione consolor, quod bene vicissim mihi merendi de te nunquam se præbebat occasio. Ea siquidem amplitudo fortunæ tuæ fuit, ut commodandi tibi nullus mihi relinqueretur locus. Conscius igitur mihi, non officii neglectu vicem non rependisse me, sed quia deficiebat occasio; cum jam te conspiciam etiam sublata rependendi spe, sic in me amando et demerendo persistere, imo adeo progredi potius, et cursu quodam indefesso procurrare, ut pauci sic amicos fortunatos ambient, quomodo tu prostratum, abjectum, afflictum, et carceri addictum Morum tuum diligis, amas, foves, et observas, cum pristini pudoris mei qualiquali me amaricie abluo, tum in hujus admirabilis amicitiae tuæ suavitate conquiesco. Et nescio quo pacto tam fidelis amicitiae prosperitas videtur mihi cum hoc improspere classis meæ naufragio propemodum paria facere: certe (tollatur indignatio non amati mihi minus quam metuendi Principis) quod ad reliqua pertinet, propemodum plus quam paria; quippe cum illa sint inter fortunæ mala numeranda omnia. At amicitiae tam constantis possessionem, quam tam adversus fortunæ casus non eripuit, sed ferruminavit fortius, amens profecto fuerim, inter caduca fortunæ bona si numerem. Sublimius, haud dubie, bonum est, atque augustius, peculiari quadam Dei benignitate proveniens, amicitiae tam fidelis, et reflante fortuna constantis, raro concessa felicitas. Ego certe non aliter accipio atque interpretor quam eximia Dei miseratione curatum, ut inter tenues amiculos meos, tu vir talis, amicus tantus, tam longo ante tempore parareris, qui magnam istius molestiae partem, quam mihi ruentis in me fortunæ moles invexit, tua consolatione lenires ac relevares. Ego igitur, mi Antoni, mortalium omnium charissime, quod solum possum, Deum Opt. Max. qui te mihi providit, obnixè deprecor, ut quando tibi talem debitorem dedit, qui nunquam solvendo sit futurus, beneficentiam istam quam mihi quotidie tam effusus impendis, ipse tibi pro sua benignitate dignetur rependere; tum ut nos ab hoc ærumnoso et procelloso sæculo in suam requiem, pro sua miseratione perducatur, ubi non erit opus epistolis, ubi non distinebit nos paries, ubi non arcebit a colloquio janitor; sed cum Deo Patre ingenito, et unigenito ejus Filio, Domino et Redemptore nostro Jesu Christo, atque utriusque Spiritu, ab utroque procedente Paracleto, gaudio perfruemur æterno: cujus interea gaudii desiderio faxit Omnipotens Deus ut tibi, mi Antoni, mihique, atque utinam mortalibus undecunque omnibus, omnes hujus orbis opes, universa mundi gloria, nec non istius quoque vitæ dulcedo vilescat. Amicorum omnium fidelissime mihique dilectissime,

et,

et, quod prædicare jam olim soleo, oculi mei pupilla, vale. Familiam tuam totam, herili in me affectu simillimam, Christus servet incolumem.

Thomas Morus : frustra fecero si adjiciam Tuus ; nam hoc jam nescire non potes, quum tot beneficiis emeris : nec ego nunc talis sum, ut referat cujus sim.

XVIII.

I HAD overlooked this Epistle of More, which is prefixed to his Poëms.

Henrico VIII. Angliæ Regi Thomas Morus S.

^b **V**EREOR, Illustrissime Princeps, dum more virginum, quæ satis formæ suæ non fidunt, picturæ lenocinio gratiam illepidis versiculis comparare studeo, ne eos qua maxime dote placere potuissent, id est, ipsius rei novitate, fraudarim. Nam quum illico in præsentem coronationem tuam conscriptos eos pictori exornandos dedissem, effecit certe ^c podagra, qua protinus quam opus inchoavit, incommodissime tentatus est, ut eos nunc tandem, ferius aliquanto quam res postulare videbatur, exhibeam. Itaque si tecum pro insita humanitate tua liberius agi finis, haud scio majoremne gratiam versiculis nostris pictoris manus adjecerint, an pedes ademerint. Quippe quibus effectum est, ut mihi verendum sit, ne non minus fera, ac proinde intempestiva videri tibi possit hæc nostra gratulatio, quam olim Tiberio Principi visa est Iliensium illa consolatio, qua eum de morte filii jamdiu defuncti consolabantur, quam ille faceta dicacitate delusit, respondens se eorum quoque vicem dolere, quod bonum militem amisissent Hectorem. Verum eorum officium, ad luctum non senescentem modo, sed plane præmortuum, non potuit esse non ridiculum : meum vero ab hoc vitio vindicat immensa illa de celebri coronatione tua lætitia ; quæ quum pectoribus omnium tam efficacem sui vim ac præsentiam impresserit, ut senescere vel integra ætate non possit, effecit nimirum ut hoc meum officium non sero re peracta atque evanida, sed præsens in rem præsentem pervenisse videatur. Vale, Princeps illustrissime, et, qui novus ac rarus Regum titulus est, amatissime.

^b Edit. Bas. p. 180.

^c Above, p. 643.

N^o. LXIV.

A D D E N D A.

LIFE OF ERASMUS. VOL. I.

Page 2. **H**EGIUS. See Melchior Adam.

P. 7. Colet. See Wood, I. 11.

P. 7. Latimer. See Wood, I. 65.

P. 7. Grocin.

Menkenius, *Vit. Politian.* p. 80. Wood, I. 15. Amongst the Works of Grocin, are mentioned by Wood, *Epistolæ ad Erasmus et alios.* I never could meet with that book. We have not so much as one letter of Grocin, or to him, amongst the Epistles of Erasmus.

P. 7. Linacer.

Maittaire, II. 400. Wood, I. 19. Menken. *Vit. Polit.* p. 81. Erasmus says of him: — *virum sic in omni genere Philosophiæ doctissimum, ut nibila secius has Grammaticorum minutias ad unguem calleat.* Colloq. c. 721.

There is in the *British Museum* a manuscript Latin Dedication to Wolsey, of the Latin Translation of Galen *De sanitate tuenda*, by Linacer, prefixed to his printed Dedication to Henry VIII. The book is elegantly printed on Vellum, at Paris, Anno 1517. There is also a manuscript Dedication to Wolsey, of the Latin Translation of Galen's *Methodus medendi*, by Linacer: and then follows a printed Dedication to Henry VIII. This book also is printed on vellum, at Paris, Anno 1519. In these Dedications Linacer is not sparing of his compliments to the Cardinal. But as there is not much in them besides compliments, I shall not insert them here: I only thought it proper to inform the Reader where they may be found.

P. 9. Linacer had only the chantorship, &c.

But see Tanner *Bibl. Britannico-Hibern.* p. 482. *Anonymus.*

P. 19. Mantuan. See *Amæn. Lit.* tom. II. p. 396.

P. 20. Not. u add:

Lutetiæ Erasmus Adagiorum divulgatione cœpit magis quam antea inclarescere. Faustus etiam Andrelinus — Epistolas suas Adagiales conscripsit. Uter ab altero provocatus, a Faustone Erasmus, qui Adagia prope Latinæ Græcæque linguæ omnia collegit et digessit; an ab Erasmo Faustus, qui quamplurima paucis rerum argumentis contexuit, incognitum est. *Melch. Adam, Vit. Rhenani.*

P. 22. Loyola. See Bayle LOYOLA, Not. D.

P. 22. Valla.

Simon, Hist. Crit. des Verf. du N. T. p. 149. des Comment. du N. T. p. 484. *Erasmus Valle Annotationes Anno 1504. in Canobio Parcensi, prope Bruxellas, repertas, typis Badianis Anno 1505. Parisiis in folio edidit.* Wetsten. proleg. ad N. T. p. 87.

The hundred and third Epistle of Erasmus, is his Dedication of this Book of Valla to Fischerus.

P. 24. Caius. See Gefner, in Maittaire, III. 418. Strype's *Life of Parker*, B. III. chap. 4. p. 199.

P. 26. Not. k add: Strype's *Memor.* vol. I. p. 143. Leichius de Orig. Typogr. Lips. p. 34. &c.

P. 26. Hermonymus.

Codex Reg. 2244. seculo XV. manu Georgii Hermonymy Spartani, — qui Lutetiæ Literarum Professor, et Capnionis Budæique præceptor fuit, eleganter scriptus atque pictus. *Wetsten.* proleg. ad N. T. p. 47. See also Gerdesius *Hist. Ev. Ren.* tom. I. p. 12. where for *Hieronymus* read *Hermonymus*.

P. 27. Cope. See Melch. Adam.

P. 27. Concerning the journey of Erasmus to Italy, see Burigni, tom. II. p. 115.

P. 28. Carteromachus. See Menken, *Vit. Polit.* p. 79.

P. 28. Not. y lin. ult. add: 255. 275. 306. Gerdes. tom. I. and Appendix, p. 146.

P. 28. Musurus.

Marcus Musurus Cretensis, Philologus et Poëta ingeniosissimus, poemate suo Græco de laudibus Platonis a Leone X. Archiepiscopatum Epidaurenssem promeruit. Plura de eodem Musuro, ejusque effigiem, vide in Appendice Libri sexti Commentariorum Lambecii, p. 278, 279. *Amæn. Lit.* tom. V. p. 102.

P. 32. Not. i. See Erasmus *Colloq.* tom. I. c. 870. *Amæn. Lit.* tom. II. p. 363. IX. 773.

P. 36. Pullen.

“*Gratianus Pullus*, the English friend of Erasmus, was John Colet. Erasmus in the Colloquy *Peregrinatio* (tom. II. c. 785.) hath these words: *Postremo reducimur in sacrarium*, &c. The matter will be put beyond dispute, by comparing that Dialogue with the words of Erasmus at p. 170. of your book. Not. h.” *Anonymus*.

P. 37. Becket.

Erasmus calls him *Thomam Acrenssem*, tom. I. c. 483. IX. 949.

“*Considering* Thomas Becket stubbornly withstood the wholesome laws established against the enormities of the Clergy, and fled into France, and to the Bishop of Rome, to procure abrogation of those laws; and that his death, untruly called martyrdom, happened upon a rescue made, and that he gave opprobrious words to the Gentlemen, who counseled him to leave his stubbornness, and called one of them *Bawd*, and took another [Tracy] by the

the bosom, and violently shook him, and had like to have thrown him upon the pavement; in which fray one of the company struck him, and so in the throng he was slain, — there appeared nothing in his life and conversation, whereby he should be called a Saint; but rather be esteemed a Rebel and a traitor, &c.” *Injunctions of Henry VIII.* Anno 1539. in *Strype's Memor.* vol. I. p. 344.

P. 39. Chrysoloras. See *Maittaire*, II. 202, 203. *Gerdes.* tom. I. p. 10, 11.

P. 39. Gaza. See *Erasmus*, tom. I. c. 839. and the notes. *Gerdes.* tom. I. p. 11.

P. 40. Warham.

The hall of the Archbishop's palace at Canterbury was of such vast amplitude, that in the year 1519, it was graced with the presence of the Emperor Charles V. and King Henry VIII. at the same time, together with Queen Catharine — wherein they feasted together in a most splendid manner, at the incredible cost and expences of Warham. *Strype's Life of Parker*, B. II. p. 174. *Memor.* vol. I. p. 73.

Concerning this Prelate see also *Wood*, vol. I. c. 668. where we are informed that Warham was a Prophet, and foretold that he should have for a successor a *Thomas* (i. e. Thomas Cranmer) *that should as much by his vicious living and wicked heresies, dishonour, waste, and destroy the See of Canterbury, and the whole Church of England, as ever the blessed Bishop and Martyr St. Thomas did before benefit, bless, adorn, and honour the same.*

For the truth of this *valuable anecdote*, *Wood* appeals to a *manuscript treatise* of *Nicolas Harpesfield*, a zealous Bigot.

P. 40. Fisher.

St. John's College in Cambridge lost much by the calamities of Fisher, as *Ascham* informs us.

Joannes Fischerus, dum falsam doctrinam nimis perverse defendit, optimas literas in hoc Collegio suis ornamentis et suis divitiis denudavit. Hic vir suo nutu rexit hoc Collegium; et propterea in manu ejus posita sunt clarissima ornamenta, que *Diva Margareta* huic Collegio elargita est. — Libri ejus universi nostri erant. Cum libros ejus dicimus, magnum thesaurum dicimus. — Quid multis? Ejus perversa doctrina et illum vita, et nos summis divitiis nostris privavit. *Liber unus*, Ep. I.

Concerning Fisher, see also *Strype's Memor.* vol. I. p. 176.

P. 43. The Maid of Kent. See *Strype's Memor.* vol. I. p. 176.

P. 46. Add:

“*Erasmus* once lodged at London with *Bernard Andreas*, [of whom mention hath been made p. 8.] the old tutor to Prince Arthur, Poët Laureate and Historiographer to Henry VIII. in Augustine Fryars, and dieted in the same Convent: for which *Bernard* demanded too large a sum; and quarrelled with him, till Lord Montjoy, for the sake of *Erasmus*, was forced to make him satisfaction of twenty Nobles. Upon this *Erasmus* could hardly ever after endure him; and also bore hard upon him for envying *Linacer*. — *Quod uterer*, says he, *cæco duce — Bernardo illo Andrea, Gallo, quondam Arturi Principis optimi non optimo præceptore.*

He calls him *a blind guide*, (the poor man had really lost his eyes) and it seems likely to be upon him that we must understand the biting Epigram of Erasmus made upon a blind corrector of Tragedies :

Cur adeo, Lector, crebris offendere mendis ?

Qui castigavit, lumine captus erat."

Knight, p. 118.

P. 49. Not. f. c. a. line ult. add : So that some of these letters are falsely dated.

P. 49. Not. f. c. b. line 6. add : There came out a fifth Edition, in 1535.

P. 49. Wessel.

G. Brandt, vol. I. p. 32. Gerdes. tom. I. p. 45. Hardenberg wrote a Life of Wessel, which hath been printed. *Bayle Suppl.* HARDENBERG.

P. 50. Basil. See Burigni, tom. I. p. 161.

P. 53. Wolsey.

Wood hath given an account of Wolsey, and extolls him to the skies. vol. I. c. 666. It seems strange that our *Antiquary* should have admired a man, who had been the *Demolisher of Monasteries*.

Wolsey behaved himself very handsomely to Latimer (afterwards Bishop Latimer) who had been accused to him of heresy. See the story in Strype's *Memor.* vol. III. p. (234) See also vol. I. p. 2, &c. 114, &c.

P. 54. line 15. Sanders.

"*Longuerue* was not aware that Sanders, who died in 1583, if not indeed in 1581, could not be known by Massey." *Anonymus*.

It is true, as this Gentleman observes, that Massey could not have known Sanders personally. But *Longuerue* seems to have only meant, that Massey knew his private history, and his character : though indeed it is not well and clearly expressed by *Longuerue*.

P. 58. line 4 a fine : *regalem* ; a royal, generally spelt *real*. *Anonymus*.

P. 64. Bonif. Amerbachius. See Melch. Adam.

P. 64. Zasius. See Melch. Adam.

P. 65. Beat. Rhenanus. See Melch. Adam. Gerdes. tom. I. p. 193. *Amoen. Lit.* tom. VI. p. 607.

P. 65. *Œcolampadius*.

Melch. Adam, *Vit. Capitonis*. Gerdes. tom. I. p. 118. Simon, *Hist. Crit. des Comment. du N. T.* p. 733. Capito wrote the Life of *Œcolampadius* ; which is amongst the Lives of learned men, published by Fichard.

P. 66. Reuchlin. See Melch. Adam. Gerdes. tom. I. p. 138.

P. 71. and 77. Read *Bishop of Worcester*. *Anonymus*.

P. 73. Dorpius. See Simon, *H. Cr. des Vers.* p. 80, 81.

P. 77. Zuinglius. See Gerdes. tom. I. p. 101. 263. Simon, *H. Cr. des Comm. du N. T.* p. 726.

P. 77. Gerbelius. See Melch. Adam. Thuanus, *L. XXVI.* p. 810.

P. 77. Copus.

Copus was of Basil. His son Nicolaus, who was made Rector of the University of Paris, fled from France on account of religion, and settled at Basil. Melch. Adam, *Vit. Calvin.* p. 33.

P. 77. Budæus,

See

See Gerdes. tom. I. p. 181. Ducatiana, I. p. 165.

“*Cardan* insults Erasmus and Budæus for having extolled each other profusely and pedantically; and then he adds, by way of excuse, that indeed they were not Philosophers, but only Grammarians. I know not how he can be excused, for treating so contemptuously two men, who though their talents differed from his, yet deserved as much esteem as he. [*Ten times more in my opinion; for what great matter is to be learned from the voluminous works of Cardan, who was more than half mad?*] But the Italians have usually shewed much jealousy and malevolence towards the Learned of other nations; and Greg. Gyraldus hath presumed to pass this censure upon Erasmus, that he was *inter Germanos Latinus, inter Latinos aliquando Germanus*. He seems to have borrowed this sneer from a compliment which Jerom payed to Ruffinus, when he said to him: *Tantam habes Græci et Latini sermonis scientiam, ut Græci te Latinum, et Latini Græcum putent.*” La Motthe, tom. XIV. p. 74.

Melanchthon says to Camerarius:

Budæi transitum Hellenismi ad Christianismum, et Sadoleti Commentarios in Romanos vidisse te spero: sane tragice invehitur uterque in nostros: [id est, in Protestantes] sed sinamus sibi quemque canere. Epist. p. 731.

P. 82. Agricola. See Melch. Adam, G. Brandt, vol. I. p. 33. Gerdes. tom. I. p. 13. Gerardus Noviomagus, or Geldenhaur, wrote the life of this Agricola. It is amongst the *Vitæ Eruditorum*, published by Fichard. This book is in the *Museum Britannicum*.

P. 82. Politian.

The censures which Melanchthon, Jul. Scaliger, and Vives have passed upon Politian, are collected by Menckenius: they relate to his style and his compositions; and sometimes to his morals. See Mencken. *Vit. Polit.* p. 87, &c. 211, 212. 278. 366. 430. 433, 434.

P. 83. Capito. See Gerdes. tom. I. p. 115. II. 110. Melanchthon, Epist. p. 74.

P. 84. Not. a, line 2. *in six volumes*: Read *nine*.

P. 87. Francis I. See Maittaire II. 444. 459. Ducatiana I. p. 183.

P. 90. Epistolæ obscuror. virorum. See Ducatiana I. p. 30.

P. 90. Pirckheimer. See Maittaire II. 278. Melch. Adam. Gerdes. tom. I. p. 167. et Append. p. 170.

P. 91. Pepericornus. See Gerdes. tom. I. p. 141.

P. 93. Ortuinus Gratus. See Maittaire II. 323.

P. 94. Alardus. See Melch. Adam. G. Brandt, vol. I. p. 83.

P. 94. Add:

Erasmus wrote a letter to Joannes Sapidus (Ep. 96. c. 1581.) concerning whom see Melch. Adam. He wrote two letters (Ep. 51. c. 1552. and 53. c. 1553.) to Urbanus Regius; and in a letter to Eccius he gives Regius a great character. (Ep. 376.) This learned man was a Lutheran. See Melch. Adam. Bayle REGIUS. Gerdes. tom. II. p. 83.

P. 95. Glareanus. See Melch. Adam. Thuanus, L. XXXV. f. 273. Gerdes. tom. II. p. 380.

P. 96.

P. 96. Faber.

Faber was a *bastard*; and for that reason could not be a Doctor of the Sorbonne. *Pithæan*, p. 510. It would have been more for the honour of that reverend Sodality to have excluded *Blockheads*. Concerning Faber see Maittaire II. 195. 645. 660. 730. Gerdes. tom. I. p. 172. Simon, Hist. Crit. des Verl. du N. T. p. 239. Hist. Crit. des Comment. du N. T. p. 488. 491. Nouv. Observ. p. 147. Ducatiana, I. p. 182.

P. 98. Aventinus.

Annos igitur bene multos delituerunt Annales Aventini. Erasmus postquam egregium opus supprimi cognoverat, Leonardum ab Eckh Consiliarium Bavaricum adiit, eumque Anno 1535 rogavit, ut copiam sibi Annalium et Chronici faceret, per Hervagium imprimendi. Promiserat quoque Eckius se missurum desiderata; quum autem sequenti anno Erasmus mortem obiret, omne hoc negotium exspiravit; et per integros viginti annos opus summa expectatione desideratum delituit, fortasse Monachorum quorundam opera, &c. *Amæn. Lit.* tom. V. p. 81. 88. tom. VI. p. 596. tom. VIII. 455.

Perron calls Aventinus a Lutheran writer, and a sworn enemy to the Popes. It is a mistake: he lived and died in the communion of the church of Rome, and was a Catholic, *more Erasmico*, and no warm friend to Popes, Prelates, and Monks.

P. 98. Lee.

"*This* English Divine shewed himself tolerably learned on a subject to which most of his brethren had applied themselves very little. But as he was not skilled in the Greek tongue, nor in the art of Criticism, Erasmus learnedly refuted him, and in his answers cleared up several points which deserve our attention." Simon Hist. Crit. des Verl. du N. T. p. 246. H. Crit. des Comment. du N. T. p. 528.

See Strype's Memor. I. 304. 187. — 191. where you will find that Lee blamed Fisher very much, *for laying down his life upon no sufficient cause, whilst he favoured men who maintained dangerous positions on high matters of faith*, meaning Erasmus without question. Lee could not forgive Fisher for having taken part with Erasmus, any more than he could forgive Erasmus. He imprisoned John Bale, the Antiquary; for heresy, I suppose. See Strype's Life of Parker, p. 143.

Lee shewed much kindness to Ascham, and gave him a pension of forty shillings a year. Ascham in a letter to a friend, written soon after the death of Lee, says:

Reverendus Pater [Leus] ipse mihi narrabat, se scripsisse in universum Pentateuchum Mosis; et quantum ego tum ex sermone ejus elicere potuerim, in animo habuisse ut liber ille excussus (r. *excusus*) in vulgus appareret. Si hic liber opera tua, in lucem et conspectum hominum prodire potest, ea res et tibi præclaram laudem, et Reverendi Patris nomini immortale decus et Christianæ religioni omni immensum quendam fructum et emolumentum aliquando est paritura. — Si munus præfandi in eos libros mihi imposueris, non onus sed honorem eximium mihi attuleris. Quam operam libentius suscipere-

rem, ut auctori nescio cujus *Pasquilli* respondeam, qui præter alias maculas gravissimas nomini Reverendissimi Patris aspersas, tribuit ei, etiam in Dialogo quodam personam indoctissimi et barbarissimi Quæstionistæ: cum ego tamen noverim, illum omnis elegantiae et purae dictionis amatorem præcipuum, ad quam rem perpoliendam non me semel exhortatus est. Lib. II. Ep. 17.

It was grateful in Ascham, to interest himself in the remains of his deceased friend. But this Commentary never came forth: and certainly Posterity hath lost nothing by the suppression of it.

Melanchthon says:

Scripsit in Erasmus futilis quidam Anglus, Eduardus, multa odiose infectatus, in quibusdam etiam foedissime lapsus. Tamen gaudebunt sophistarum literarum patroni, ansam sibi datam calumniandi bonarum literarum principem. Epist. p. 575.

P. 104. Tonsal.

Maittaire II. 336. Wood, I. c. 127. Strype's Life of Cranmer, B. II. ch. 32. Life of Grindal, p. 27. Annals, vol. I. p. 142. Life of Parker, p. 141, 142. and Memor. vol. I. p. 74. — 87. where you will see that Tonsal was an oppressor of the Protestants, though he did not shed their blood, and compelled these poor people to accuse themselves, their friends, and their nearest relations. Cursed are the Theological Principles, which produce such sad effects even in good-tempered men, and eat up so much of their honour and humanity!

Tonsal told Bernard Gilpin, that in the matter of transubstantiation, Innocentius, Pope the third of that name, had done unadvisedly in making it an article of faith; and further confessed that the Pope committed a great fault in the business touching Indulgences, and other things. Strype's Ann. vol. I. p. 79. See also p. 143.

P. 106. Constantine.

Strype gives him a bad character, Memor. vol. I p. 166.

P. 109. Spalatinus. See Gerdes. tom. I. p. 237. Kirchmaier, p. 11.

P. 112. Indulgences. See Von der Hardt H. Lit. Ref. P. IV. Melch. Adam, Vit. Luth. p. 50. Fath. Paul, B. I. § 5. p. 9. and Courayer. Gerdes. tom. I. p. 73. and Append. p. 114.

P. 112. after line 5. insert:

Erasmus, in a letter to Clava (Ep. 209.) makes mention of Jacobus Faber of Daventer, and of a Letter which this Faber had sent to him.

Cum rari ante Reformationem fuerint in Belgio viri docti et literarum studiosi, dignus est Jacobus Fabri, qui in clariore luce collocetur. Natus is est Anno 1472. Daventriæ. Præceptorem ibi habuit eundem ac Erasmus, Alexandrum Hegium. Anno 1499. edidit carmen heroicum. Post Lector secundæ classis Daventriensis edidit opera præceptoris sui Hegii, quorum partem Erasmo dedicavit, A. 1503. Anno 1511 edidit Catonis disticha cum aliis Gnomologicis e Græco versis. Jac. Faber Stapulensis eum donavit Psalterio Quintuplici, quod A. 1509. ediderat. Quin etiam varia nostri Jacobi exstant MSS. in Bibliotheca Daventriensi. Isaaci Argyropuli et D. Matthæi Græcorum Canones et Menologia suâ manu Græce descripsit, in Latinum

Latinum vertit, et notas adjecit. In vestibulo cujusdam codicis scriptum est: *Fuit aliquando in possessione Magistri Jacobi Fabri, viri tam Græce quam Latine undequaque docti, et interanei Daventriensis Lectoris secundæ classis in Scholis laude dignissimi.* Adhuc erat in vivis A. 1515. Denique J. C. Wolfius ex cujus bibliotheca hunc codicem mihi comparavi, in prima pagina adnotavit: *Possideo Genesin et Exodum Hebræice in quarto MS in cujus limine et calce Jac. Fabri hujus nomen comparet, ibique Daventriensis vocatur, liber autem ab eo legatus dicitur Fratribus Montis Agnetæ.* —

90. Codex chartaceus scriptus manu Jacobi Fabri Daventriensis, seculo XVI. continet duobus in quarto voluminibus Novum Testamentum, &c. In capite libri hæc notantur: *Quatuor Evangelia non semel collata magno labore cum antiquissimo exemplari membranaceo, quod fuit Magistri Wesseli Groningensis.* — *Non facile dixerim quantum laborem mihi pepererit collatio, non occurrente et ad manus existente, qui auscultaret, et ego recognoscerem.* — Observo, tum Wesseli, qui A. 1489 diem obiit, codicem suum Evangeliorum accepisse ex Bibliotheca Vaticana, dono Sixti IV. Pontificis, tum codicem Græcum, unde suum descripsit Jac. Faber, fuisse scriptum A. 1293, &c. Wetsten. Proleg. ad N. T. p. 56.

P. 113. Luther.

See Melch. Adam. Gerdes. tom. I. p. 87. 210. Simon Hist. Crit. du V. T. p. 185. 334. Hist. des Comm. du N. T. p. 684. Kirchmaier, disquisit. de Luthero, &c. Wittebergæ, A. 1750.

In this book of Kirchmaier, there are many remarks on Luther, particularly on his face and features; and a very good print of this Reformer, from an original by Lucas Cranachius, an eminent painter.

Luther's widow, and, after her decease, her eldest son John Luther, wrote to Christian III. King of Denmark, who had been a patron to Luther, and had given him a pension. They complain of being reduced to the utmost poverty, and beg the continuance of his favour to the distressed family. *Nouv. Bibl. Germ.* A. 1759. p. 112, &c.

“It seems *strange*, says this writer, that the family of such a man should have been thus neglected. The public calamities of those times seem not to be a sufficient excuse, to clear the Lutherans of ingratitude.”

The Journalist wonders at this: so do not I.

P. 114. line 5. The pains of Hell.

In Bembus: *apud Inferos pæna.* I am obliged to Dr. Warburton (who since I wrote this note is Bishop of Gloucester) for having reminded me that it should rather be, *The pains of Purgatory.* I might plead, that our English word *Hell* is lax enough to answer to *Inferi*, or to all the supposed districts of the *Infernal Regions.* — But I had rather own that his version is more accurate than mine, and take this opportunity to return him my thanks, and to repay civility with civility.

As to Bembus, he would rather have gone to purgatory himself, than have defiled his Latinity with the barbarous word *Purgatorium.* He left us to collect it from his politer phrase, *apud Inferos pæna.*

Erasmus says:

Nunc

Nunc passim venditur purgatoriae carnificinae remissio; nec venditur modo, sed obtruditur nolentibus, non jam dicam ob cujusmodi causas. Tom. VII. p. 851.

P. 116. Not. b, add Strype's Memor. vol. I. p. 60.

P. 117. Tetzal.

Melch. Adam, Vit. Frid. Myconii, p. 84. Gerdes. tom. I. p. 73. 133. 204. and Append. p. 69. Gerdesius hath given us a print of Tetzal. Von der Hardt, Part IV. One Wimpina was supposed to be the author of the *Theses* published under the name of Tetzal. See Bayle, WIMPINA.

P. 119. Not. m, add, Strype's Memor. vol. I. p. 230.

P. 123. Not. m, add, Wetsten. Proleg. in N. T. p. 181.

P. 125. George of Anhalt. See Melch. Adam. Gerdes. tom. I. p. 65.

P. 125. Luther's family.

Melch. Adam hath written the Life of Paul Luther, a Doctor of Physic, and son of the Reformer.

P. 126. Not. b. See Melch. Adam, Vit. Luth. p. 78.

P. 127. Eckius, or Eccius.

See Gerdes. tom. I. p. 208. Amoen. Lit. tom. VI. p. 354. 398.

Melanchthon *Epist.* p. 76. 772. 778. gives him a very bad character, and represents him as an inhuman persecutor, a sophist, and a knave, who maintained doctrines contrary to his belief, and against his conscience.

P. 133. Not. q. See also *Clarorum virorum et Sadoleti Epistolæ*, p. 300.

P. 143. Philolphus.

Philolphus, cum amplissimis stipendiis ob famam et auctoritatem nominis sui publice duceretur (sexcentos namque aureos nummos quotannis habebat) tamen adeo inutiliter erat prodigus, ut consumtis bonis omnibus, ad extremum pro beneficio habuerit, se in xenodochium Mediolanense recipi, ibidemque mori. *Insulanus*, Orat. in obitum Erasmi.

P. 149. Sampson. See Strype's Memor. vol. p. 154. 324.

P. 150. Clement.

John Clement, with some other Papists, was excepted from a general pardon, granted by Edward VI. A. 1552. *Strype's Memor.* vol. II. p. 396.

P. 152. Stokeſlie. See Strype's Life of Cranmer, B. I. ch. 8. and Append. N°. 15.

P. 154. Justiniani. See Maittaire, II. p. 119, &c. 276, 277.

P. 154. lin. 18. Mentz. Add:

The Emperor Maximilian in the Privilege, and Hutten in the Dedication, and Carbachius in a Preface, do the same. Maittaire dates this Edition A. 1519. II. 333.

P. 155. Melanchthon.

See Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 406. Annals, vol. I. p. 234. Gerdes. tom. I. p. 240. Simon, H. Cr. du N. T. p. 693.

Had not Edward VI. died so soon, Melanchthon would have come to England, and been placed in the University of Cambridge: for a letter in Latin was sent to him from the King, signifying that the King had elected him

him to supply the place which Martin Bucer, deceased, had held in that University; and a warraht was issued out — to deliver fifty pounds to be sent to him, to bear his charges. Strype's Memor. vol. II. p. 401.

Amongst his letters, there is, *Epistola de seipso et de Editione prima suorum scriptorum*; which well deserves to be perused, p. 144.

Camerarius, in his Life of Melanchthon, thus describes his person:

Fuit statura Philippus brevior, non tamen brevitatem notabili. — Membrorum compositio plane elegans, frons explicata et ardua, insignis vena quadam ampliore in illa eminenti, capillus rarior, collum procerum, jugula insigniter concava, oculi pulchri, et acies horum mirabiliter clara, pectus satis amplum, venter et ilia adstrictiora, omnium partium corporis et integra atque vera sua figura, et congruens erat soliditas, sensus omnes acres in corpore, nulla mole carni gravato.

P. 155. Paraphrases.

Strype's Memor. vol. II. p. 28, &c. 130, &c. 317. 401. The Paraphrases of Erasmus were printed in English, at the charge and direction of the amiable and learned Queen Catharine Par, who employed Nic. Udal and others in that work, and is supposed to have done part of it herself. The Lady Mary also, afterwards Queen Mary, employed herself in translating some of it. But, alas! she profited little, it seems, from studying that excellent work, which neither mended her vile temper, nor enlightened her cloudy mind.

P. 156. lin. 16.

Sir John Cheke was no less credulous in Astrology, and so were many other considerable men. It seems to have been a common distemper in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. See Strype's life of Cheke, p. 138. and Annals, vol. II. p. 16.

P. 157. Carlostadius. See Melch. Adam, Gerdes. tom. I. p. 235.

P. 157. Mosellanus.

Maittaire, II. 317. Melch. Adam. Gerdes. tom. I. p. 189. and Append. p. 192. Leichius de Orig. Typ. Lips. p. 40. &c.

Erasmus had such a regard for Mosellanus, that he intended to make him his heir. So says Goblerus, in his Life of Mosellanus, which is amongst the *Vitæ Eruditorum*, published by Fichard.

P. 158. Jac. Latomus. See G. Brandt, vol. I. p. 83. Simon, H. Crit. des Comment. du N. T. p. 527.

P. 159. Longolius.

See Melch. Adam. Maittaire, II. 218.

Qui bene de Longolio sentiunt, habent me non repugnantem: quanquam habeo et foris et domi, quos illi anteponam. Budæus amicum immerentem ingrata invidia, in quadam ad Erasmus Epistola, nimis acerbè premit. Erasmus apertius insectatur; et illum inepte, furaciter, servili et puerili more, nihil præter centones ex Cicerone consuere arguit: id quod ipse credo Erasmus aliquo potius scripsisse stomacho, quam certo suo statuisset iudicio. Nam scio ubi Longolio jam mortuo, non singularem aliquam, sed summam eloquentiæ laudem tribuit. Miror ipse magis quidem, quid tuo Paulo Manutio

nutio in mentem venerit, homini, ut audio, natura humanissimo, et, ut video, doctrina excultissimo : ut is Longolium, vivus mortuum, bonus non malum, eruditus non indoctum, Italus Italorum delicias, in literis suis ad Stephanum Saulium, etiam in lucem editis, tam acri stylo pungeret. Quo consilio hoc fecerit, nescio ; parum humaniter quidem, scio ; et an vero iudicio, plane dubito, &c. Aschamus, Epist. ad Sturmium, lib. I. p. 10.

P. 166. Add :

Erasmus in a letter to Euricius Cordus (whose Life is in Melch. Adam) a School-master, reminds him in how useful and how honourable an office he was employed. Epist. 404.

P. 167. Hutten.

Melch. Adam. Gerdes. tom. I. p. 157. Hutten was one of those who wrote against Lee, in favour of Erasmus. His Letter to Lee is in a Book, of which I give an account in this Appendix, N^o. XXII.

P. 171. Add :

In a letter to Ruseus, Erasmus commends Joannes Pinus, amongst other learned French-men, and also makes civil mention of him in the *Ciceronianus*. Epist. 393. See Bayle, PIN.

P. 172. Campegius.

See Amœn. Lit. tom. VI. p. 354. Melanchthon says :

Jam mihi eundem est ad Campegium Cardinalem. Is mihi egregie verba dat, cum quidem suavissime disputat : tamen alibi nos impugnat. Ait se posse concedere usum utriusque speciei, et conjugium Sacerdotum, &c. Ep. p. 595.

So Campegius seems to have been in some things well enough disposed towards the Protestant doctrines. But he was a Politician.

P. 172. Not. k. lin. ult.

This saying is ascribed also to Cardinal Pole. *Vit. Poli*, p. 91.

P. 173. Sanders.

See the character of Sanders in Strype's Life of Parker, p. 377.

P. 173. Claymond.

"Amongst the Works of Claymond, are, *Epistolæ ad Simon. Gryncum, Erasmus, et alios viros doctissimos*, in manuscript, and not, as I conceive, printed." Wood, I. c. 48.

P. 174. More.

Wood, I. 36. Gerdes. tom. I. p. 177. Strype's Memor. vol. I. p. 179. 205. where, after some shocking accounts of More's cruelty to the Reformers, he adds : "Yet he shewed mercy to one, for his wit, as I have read in an old manuscript. For, examining a Protestant, whose name was *Silver*, he told him, after his jesting way, that *Silver must be tryed in the Fire*. Ay, said *Silver* ; But *Quick-silver will not abide it*. With which ready answer being delighted, he dismissed him."

When More had resigned the great-seal, which was in the year 1532, Erasmus wrote a Letter, in which he warmly commends him ; and endeavours to extenuate and justify his severity towards the Reformed. It is Epist. 426. c. 1809.

P. 181. Utopia.

Maittaire, II. 323. 553, 554. 582, III. 561. Strype's Memor. vol. II. p. 315, 316. An English translation of it was printed in London, Anno 1556.

P. 189. Not. c.

Sic addictus — videatur.

This is to be found in Ep. 426. c. 1810, 1811.

P. 194. Hochstrat. See Fath. Paul, B. I. p. 15. and Courayer.

P. 197. Pyghards.

Ad Erasmus Fratres Bohemi Apologiam suam misere; orantes ut librum perlegeret, si quid errorum notaret, candide indicaret; sin, testimonio suo ornare dignaretur. Respondit post aliquot dies Erasmus: Errores nullos animadvertisse; testimonium tamen de his rebus dare, neque sibi tutum videri, neque Fratribus necessarium, &c.

Dedit nihilominus Erasmus testimonium Fratribus dupliciter: primum aliud agendo, Præfatione in Novum Testamentum; deinde aperte calumniatori Fratrum Joanni Schlectæ respondendo, &c.

Comenius, Hist. Fratr. Boh. p. 21.

P. 213. Add:

Erasmus, in a letter, to Tonstall says: *Solus, ut ferunt, Noxus ille fuit, qui et olim instigavit Dorpium, et hanc totam tragediam excitavit, &c.* Ep. 471.

This *Noxus* is put in the index to the Epistles. But Erasmus certainly means his pretended friend and secret foe, *Joannes Atensis*, who is often mentioned by him. "Ατῆ is *noxæ*.

P. 239. Brixius. See Ducatiana, II. p. 226.

P. 240. Cnoph.

Thuanus hath given a pretty large account of Cnoph, from which it appears that he was a Lutheran. Lib. XX. p. 633. See also Gerdes. tom. II. p. 55. 85.

P. 254. Grynæus. See Melanchthon, Epist. p. 74.

P. 254. Faber of Vienna.

Melanchthon says of him: *Fabrum Viennensem, qui tam multos insulsos libros scripsit, tam multos pios crudelibus suppliciis adfecit, extinctum esse certum est, et jam illi Quæstor Minos urnam movet.* Epist. p. 544.

P. 258. Jod. Jonas. See Gerdes. tom. I, p. 247:

P. 259. Charles V.

Non intempestivum fortasse fuerit, hoc loco, recensere, quod in castris ad Wittebergam, postea Lucas Cranachius, pictor senex Carolo sciscitanti narravit, cum ex oppido, in tentorium evocato Carolus exposuisset, sibi a Duce Saxoniae, Jo. Friderico nuper a se capto, tabulam egregiam a Luca pictam, in Conventu Spirensi dono datam fuisse, cujus aspectu aliquoties delectatus, picturas ipsius magni fecerit. Est autem, inquit, Mechliniae, in conclavi meo tabella, in qua effigiem meam, cum puer essem, depinxisti. Scire igitur ex te volo, quæ fuerit tunc ætas mea. Respondit, Octo annorum erat ætas tua, cum Imperator Maximilianus te dextra circumducens, iuberet Belgicam nobilitatem et civitates juramento promittere obedientiam.

Cum

Cum autem picturam ordiner, Majestas tua sæpe ad diversa loca respiciebat, ut solent pueri, Ibi præceptor, qui tuam naturam norat, dicebat te mirifice delectari aspectione teli, jussitque ad parietem adversum collocari egregie fabricatum telum : cum tu ab eo non deflecteres oculos, ego feliciter absolvi picturam. Cæsar hac narratione valde delectatus, blande Lucam compellavit. Ibi tum bonus senex, cogitans de fortuna et patriæ, et Domini sui, flens procumbit coram Cæsare, et pro suo captivo hero fit supplex. Cæsar placidissime, Perficiam, inquit, ut Dominus tuus, captivus Princeps, experiatur meam clementiam ; ornatumque munere Lucam in urbem remittit. *Chytræus*. See Kirchmaier, p. 31.

Cranachius obtained leave to be confined with the Elector, his master, and lived with him during the whole time of his imprisonment.

P. 265. To Not. o. add :

Monachi conati sunt Caroli Imperatoris corpus effosso sepulchro contumelia afficere ; quod vix impedire filius potuit, &c. Melanchthon, Epist. p. 273.

P. 269. lin. 21. for *eighth* read *ninth*.

P. 269. Stunica. See Simon, H. Cr. des Verf. du N. T. p. 241. des Comment du N. T. p. 532.

P. 270. Ximenes. See Maittaire, III. 899. Gerdes. tom. I. p. 14. Erasmus, tom. VI. c. 756. Amœn. Lit. tom. II. p. 357.

P. 278. Not. o. add : Strype's Memor. vol. I. p. 33.

P. 280. Polyd. Virgil.

“By one Italian trick of Polydore Virgil, while he was in England, the properties and doings of all other Italian Papists in former times may partly be conjectured. For so Fox was informed by such as precisely would affirm it to be true, that when Polydore, being licenced by the King to view and search all libraries, had once accomplished his story by the help of such books as he had procured in his said search, in the end, when he had taken out what he would, he piled those ancient books together and set them all on a light fire.” Strype's Life of Parker, p. 531. Memor. vol. II. p. 282. Wood, I. 4.

P. 281. lin. 3. read :

Hæc Polydori sunt munera Vergilii.

P. 283. Alciat. See Ducatiana, I. p. 146.

P. 284. Cajetan.

Cajetanus, says Melanchthon, *est homo incivilis, quo genere nihil est intractabilius. Pluris, ut vereor, auctoritatem sui Thomæ, quam Rempublicam, quam Ecclesiæ pacem faciet.* Epist. p. 679. which confirms the character given to him by Erasmus. See Gerdes. tom. I. p. 225. Simon, H. Cr. des Comment. du N. T. p. 537.

P. 286. Leo X. See Fath. Paul, B. I. § 4. and Courayer. Gerdes. tom. I. p. 66.

P. 292. Hilary. See Simon Hist. Crit. des Comm. du N. T. p. 127.

P. 295. Colloquies.

The Colloquies of Erasmus have made more Protestants than the Ten Tomes of Calvin. Mem. de Trevoux, Anno 1707. p. 369.

Edita

Edita est ridicula deliberatio Cardinalium de emendandis abusibus, in qua prohibent in scholis proponi pueris Colloquia Erasmi; et ad hanc deliberationem sunt adhibiti illi heroës, Sadoletus et Aleander. Quid spei esse potest? Melanchthon Epist. p. 753.

P. 299. Sorbonne. See Gerdes. I. 7, 8. not. c. and Simon, H. Crit. des Comment. du N. T. p. 565, &c.

P. 300. Durer.

“*Pliny* says of Parrhasius, that he was the first who enriched painting with symmetry. Herein he hath had no equal in the last century, unless we bestow that honour upon Albert Durer and Michaël Angelo. It is well known that Michaël Angelo hath passed for an incomparable artist in architecture, sculpture, and painting. It is true indeed that he was willing to yield the preference to Durer, as to one who had shewed him the way, and over whom he had only the advantage of conveying into his works the beauties of the antique statues at Rome, which Durer dwelling in Germany had not an opportunity of performing. Yet both these Masters have been charged with the same defect which was reproached to Demetrius, with neglecting to give their works an agreeable air, in only aiming at strong resemblances, and a close imitation of nature. *Nam Demetrius tanquam nimius in eo reprehenditur, et fuit similitudinis quam pulchritudinis amantior.*” La Motthe Le Vayer, tom. X. p. 78.

Memini virum excellentem ingenio et virtute Albertum Durerum pictorem dicere, se juvenem floridas et maxime varias picturas amasse, seque admiratorem suorum operum valde lætatum esse, contemplantem hanc varietatem in sua aliqua pictura. Postea se senem cœpisse intueri naturam, et illius nativam faciem intueri conatum esse, eamque simplicitatem tunc intellexisse summum artis decus esse. Quam cum non prorsus adsequi posset, dicebat se jam non esse admiratorem operum suorum ut olim, sed sæpe gemere intuentem suas tabulas, ac cogitantem de infirmitate sua. Melanchthon, Epist. p. 42. Vide et p. 209.

Propemodum ut Dureri picturas, ita scripta tua discerno. Durerianæ grandes et splendidæ omnes, sed posteriores minus rigidæ, et quasi blandiores fuerunt. Idem, Epist. ad Camerarium, p. 755.

See also Erasmus, tom. I. p. 928.

P. 302, Caranza. See Simon Hist. Crit. des Comment. du N. T. p. 532.

P. 302. Arnobius Junior.

Cujacius said that he had never perused a book, from which he had not learned something, except *Arnobius in Psalmos*. Pithœana, p. 503.

P. 304. Adrian.

Adrian VI. invited Erasmus to Rome. Thomas Hanyball, who was at Rome, in a letter dated Anno 1522. told Wolsey that His Holiness had sent for Erasmus, under a fair colour, by his brief; and if he come not, I think, saith he, the Pope will not be content. Wood, vol. I. c. 21.

P. 309. after lin. 3. add:

Epist.

Epist. 320. c. 1699. is from Zeigler to Erasmus. *There* are Protestant writers, says Bayle, who acknowledge Zeigler for a brother. He was much disposed that way, as it appears from a work which he composed at Rome in favour of Erasmus against Stunica, and which was printed at Basil by Froben, Anno 1523. It is entitled : *Libellus Jacobi Zeigleri Landavi Batavi, adversus Jacobi Stunicæ maledicentiam, pro Germania.*

Froben says concerning it :

Commodum a Romæ missus est libellus Zeigleri — quo promittit perpetuam rerum gestarum seriem ex Quatuor Evangeliiis contextam, et obiter Stunicam pro ipsius dignitate tractat. — Videtur hic Landavus homo multæ reconditæque lectionis, ingenio festivo, magno judicio, stylo non neglecto, denique toto pectore Germanam spirans indolem. Bayle, ZEIGLER.

P. 310. Glapio. See Gerdes. tom. II. p. 24.

P. 312. Paracelsus. See Thuanus, lib. XXIV. p. 212.

P. 314. lin. 22.

Erasmus, when he printed this letter, thought proper to suppress the secret advice which he had given to the Pope ; and that is the reason for which the Epistle breaks off abruptly.

P. 322. Prieras. See Gerdes. tom. I. p. 207.

P. 324. Adrian VI.

See Fath. Paul, B. I. § 22, &c. and Courayer. Brandt, B. II. p. 46, &c. Gerdes. tom. II. p. 58. 115. Hafæi Bibl. Brem. Class. V. Fasc. I. p. 104. — 109.

Adrian confessed, in some letters, that the Church stood in need of reformation ; but he added that it must be done *step by step*. Luther, in a marginal note upon this expression, observed that it was the Pope's intention, that between each step, there should be an interval of some hundred years.

Ducatiana, I. p. 24.

P. 324. Not. x. add : Brandt, B. II. p. 45, &c.

P. 328. Lascaris (Joan.) See *Claror. Viror. et Sadoleti Epist.* p. 299.

P. 328. Lascaris (Constant.) See Gerdes. tom. I. p. 12.

P. 341. Hedio. See Gerdes. II. 110.

P. 342. Farellus. See Gerdes. tom. II. 269. Ducatiana, I. p. 75. 180.

P. 342. Brunsfeld.

He published an Edition of the works of John Huss. See Comenius, Hist. Fratr. Bohem. p. 9.

P. 354. Sadolet.

Simon, Hist. Crit. des Comment. du N. T. p. 550, &c. *Clarorum viror. et Sadoleti Epist. Romæ* 1754. Petrus Lazeri, who published this book, hath given some account of the Life and works of Sadolet, p. 229, &c.

P. 355. Muncer. See Melanchthon's Epistles, p. 630, 631. 633.

P. 355. Peasants. See Gerdes. II. 136.

P. 355. Anabaptists.

Thuanus, lib. LXXI. p. 442. Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 35. The Anabaptists in England, in the year 1550. were, or were accounted, Arians and Pelagians. Strype's Life of Parker, B. I. ch. 7. Melchior Hofman,
one

one of the chiefs of the sect, was not put to death, as I supposed, but died in a jayl at Strasburg. He was brought to his senses at last, and converted by the mildness and address of Bucer. See an account of him in the *Nouv. Bibl. Germ.* for 1759.

P. 358. Minius Celsus. See *Amœn. Lit.* tom. VII. p. 86.

P. 371. Ceratinus. See *Leichius de Orig. Typ.* Lips. p. 44.

P. 375. Sutor. See *Simon, Hist. Crit. des Vers. &c.* p. 79.

P. 384. Pole. See *Wood*, I. 113. II. 1014. *Strype's Life of Whitgift*, p. 5, 6. of *Cranmer*, p. 6. and the Appendix, N^o. I. p. 344. N^o. 82. p. 373. 381. N^o. 89 p. 263. 390. *Annals*, I. p. 32. 37. 578. *Memor.* I. p. 289. 309, &c. *Fath. Paul*, tom. I. p. 485, &c. II. p. 10, &c.

P. 384. Dudithius.

Wood says of Dudithius, that he was *Bishop of Tiniensis*, &c. tom. I. 123. *O rem ridiculam!* He might as well have said of Pole, that he was *Archbishop of Cantuariensis*.

P. 392. Not. q. add :

"*Gerardus*, to whom Erasmus sends his service in the same letter, may possibly be the person mentioned in *Ascham's Toxophilus*, written in 1544. (Edit. 1571. fol. 10.) *Pastimes for the minde only, be nothing fit for studentes, because the body, which is most hurt by study, should take no profite at all thereat. This knewe Erasmus very well, when hee was here in Cambridge: which, when he had been sore at his book (as Garret, our bookebynder, hath very oft told me) for lack of better exercise, would take his horse, and ryde about the market hill, and come (perhaps it should be home) againe.* See *Knight* p. 141. note." *Anon.*

P. 392. Contarenus.

Melanchthon thus speaks concerning the behaviour of this Cardinal at the diet of Ratibone :

Mirabantur multi Contarenum, cum et doctrinæ Christianæ peritissimus esse diceretur, et singulari gravitate et virtute præditus, non libere profiteri quid sentiret, &c. *Epist.* p. 18. & p. 38.

P. 394. Albertus Pius. See *Ducatiana*, I. p. 9.

P. 395. Luther *de Servo Arbitrio*. See *Gerdes*. II. 141.

P. 395. lin. 12. *for having demeaned himself*: I should have said, *debased*.

P. 398. Not h. lin. ult. add :

See *Bayle*, *SYNERGISTES*, concerning Melanchthon.

P. 399. Pellicanus. See *Gerdes*. I. 109.

P. 402. lin. 15. add :

Ruffinus was one of these Braggards, if we may believe his impetuous adversary :

Ante biduum, quam ad nos epistolam scriberes, libellos meos in manus tuas venisse testaris. — Tam apertum temporis mendacium est, ut non dicam respondere, sed legere biduo mea scripta non potueris. *Hieronym.* adv. *Ruff.* tom. II. p. 238.

But there is no trusting to this Father, when he gets into his scolding and railing fits ; and Erasmus perhaps never shewed less discernment, than when he judged very unfavourably of *Ruffinus*, induced, I suppose, by the bad character

character which Jerom thought fit to bestow upon him. Tillemont, in his Life of Jerom, hath treated Ruffinus with more candour, and Jerom with more freedom, than one would have expected.

P. 406. Leo Judæ.

Gerdes. I. 107. Simon Hist. Crit. des Verf. du N. T. p. 266. where there are some curious remarks concerning this Reformer.

P. 407. Not. a. add : See the note of Erasmus on St. Matth. in tom. VI. c. 55. n. 25.

P. 418. A Lasco.

Strype's Life of Parker, p. 288. Life of Cranmer, B. II. chap. 22. Memor. II. 241. 283. 374. Hafæi Bibl. Class. VII. Fasc. II. p. 291, &c.

A Lasco was first and chief Pastor of the Reformed Church of Foreigners, in Austin Fryars, London. Afterwards, when Queen Mary came to the crown, he and his flock fled to Denmark, where the King would not permit them to stay. See an account of this in the *Nouv. Bibl. Germ.* for 1759.

P. 419. Cox.

Cox translated into English the Paraphrase of St. Paul's Epistle to Titus, written by Erasmus, with whom he was acquainted. Wood, I. 56.

P. 424. Gardiner. See Strype's Life of Cranmer, B. I. chap. 8. B. II. 19. 25. B. III. 15, 16. Memor. I. 372. and Append. p. 326. II. 461. III. 270, &c.

P. 430. Bucer.

Strype's Life of Cranmer, B. II. chap. 13, 14. 16. 24. Gerdes. II. 110. Simon Hist. Crit. des Comment. du N. T. p. 735. Amœn. Lit. tom. VI. 370.

"Bucer died poor; and seemed to be in some want of necessaries in his last sickness. There is a short letter, in a scrawling hand, which I have seen, wrote by him to Parker, his great friend, to lend him ten crowns, which I shall here insert :

S. D. Oro D. T. Clarissime D. Doctor, ut des mihi decem coronatos mutuo, uno tantum mense. Reddam bona fide. Opt. vale. D. T. dedidiff. in Dno. Martinus Bucerus, manu per ægre propria.

Under which is writ by Dr. Parker, out of the honour he had for his memory : *Scriptum novissimum omnium quod scripsit D. Bucerus paulo ante mortem ejus.*"

Strype's Life of Cranmer, B. II. chap. 24.

P. 431. lin. 14. the little vein, &c.

Ut venæ in manibus, quod in nullo homine vidi, subsilirent, et tremarent, quoties audiret a nobis quod offendebat. See Strype's Memor. II. 65, &c.

I have an Epistle of Gardiner to Bucer, printed at Lovain, Anno 1546. It is not amiss, as to style; but full of effrontery, scurrility, calumny and bigotry. The Bishop understood the *stewing of Lettices* (for which Erasmus^a compliments him, Ep. 896.) and the *broiling of Heretics*, much better the than principles and the precepts of Christianity.

^a Life of Erasms. p. 423. not. g.

P. 443. The *Ciceronianus*.

De Ciceroniano — plane quod pace auctoris dixerim summi viri, mirificus libellus est, nec videtur in aliud scriptus, nisi ut Longolii manes darent quorundam dictorum poenas. Melanchthon. *Epist.* p. 661.

P. 450. Paul. Manutius. See Thuanus, lib. LIX. p. 65.

P. 462. Gattinarius. See Gerdes. I. 195.

P. 465.

In a letter to Stadius (*Ep.* 971.) Erasmus commends Augustinus Marius; concerning whom see Gerdes. II. 345.

P. 466. Bembus.

Bembus dissuaded Sadolet from writing Comments upon St. Paul's Epistles, and says to him :

Quod reliquum est, multa mecum Polus de te, de tuis scriptis, quæ habes nunc quidem in manibus ; de Hortensio etiam tuo ; de quo, deque Pauli Epistolis interpretandis cum sermo esset inter nos, [*it should be* vos] ut aiebat, institutus ; quod tibi ille quærenti in utro potissimum scriptionis genere tuam tibi operam esse ponendam existimaret, in Paulo responderit, sane non probo. Confici enim illum abs te Dialogum quam primum tua interesse valde puto.

Sadolet says to Bembus :

— *mihi* Commentarium quemdam, in quo de sacris agitur rebus, Venetiis imprimendum. De quo siquid tu audieris (nam non sum ausus hoc genus scriptorum ad tuum iudicium deferre, tanquam a lenioribus studiis alienius) peto a te — ut aliquam curam adhibeas, quo sine mendis edatur, &c. *Claror. Vir. et Sadol. Epist.* p. 284. 292.

These are plain proofs that Bembus had no taste and inclination for sacred literature.

P. 470. Wimphelingus. See Gerdes. I. 187.

P. 473. Titelman. See Simon Hist. Crit. du V. T. p. 422. des Comm. du N. T. p. 525.

P. 473. Not. m. add : See Gerdes. II. Append. p. 138.

P. 476. Berquin. See Simon Nouv. Obs. p. 146.

P. 476. Add :

Glareanus left Basil at the same time with Erasmus ; and *Æcolampadius* was well pleased to be rid of him. *Glareanus etiam ipse*, says he, *maledicentie morbo obnoxius, absens quam præsens utilior erit.* *Æcolamp.* *Ep. ad Grynæum.* See Gerdes. II. Append. p. 149.

P. 479. Fuggerus. See Bayle, VELSERUS. Not. C.

P. 493. Mary of Hungary. See Gerdes. II. 176.

P. 503. Castellanus,

Francis I. discoursing one day familiarly with Castellanus, asked him if he was a Gentleman. Sir, said Castellanus, you know that there were three in Noah's Ark : I really cannot inform you from which of those three, I am descended. His reply pleased the King.

Castellanus

Castellanus valued himself upon having a most extensive literature, in-
much that, the vast erudition of Postellus exciting his jealousy, he brought
many persecutions upon his rival, as says Thevet in his Eloges, speaking
of Postellus. *Lettres de Bayle*, tom. I. p. 20.

P. 506. Augustinus Steuchus. See Amœn. Lit. tom. V. p. 265.

P. 508. lin. 5. add :

Francis II. Marquis of Mantua, who died in 1519. Petrarch in 1374.
Agricola in 1485. and the Duke of Parma in 1592. were buried, as they
had desired, in the habit of a Monk. *Ducatiana*, II. p. 254.

P. 511. Pflug. See Gerdes. I. Append. p. 192.

P. 533. Agrippa's dog.

There is a story of the same kind mentioned in Thuanus : *Marcus Bra-*
gadinus — securi percussus est ; una et duo canes nigri sclopettorum ictibus
confossi, totidem malignos spiritus, quibus ille ad præstigias suas abuteba-
tur, celare crediti. Lib. XCIX. p. 102.

P. 534. lin. 13. add :

Erasmus also complains much of Luscinius, in Epist. 1233. *Nuper apud Car-*
tusianos in convivio dixit [Luscinius] Erasmus esse nebulonem, et omnes qui legunt ip-
sius libros fieri nebulones.

Concerning this man see Ep. 1210. and the Amœn. Lit. tom. VI. p. 455.
&c. 601, &c.

P. 539. Not. col. a. lin. 18. *fortassis aliud quiddam est, &c.* He probably
means Henry's love for Anne Boleyn.

P. 542. Alexander ab Alexandro.

He died at Rome, aged 62. in the year 1523.

P. 544. Wicelius. See Amœn. Lit. tom. IX. 28, &c.

P. 548. after lin. 4. add :

Ep. 1246. is to Petrus Vulcanius, who appears to have been one of the
friends and defenders of Erasmus, and who was the father of Bonaventura
Vulcanius, a Professor of Leyden.

P. 549. Sepulveda.

Thuanus and Du Pin have censured him ; and so hath La Motthe Le Va-
yer, tom. IX. p. 279, 280.

P. 554.

"It may be worth the while to see what Burnet hath said, since Secken-
dorf, on occasion of Luther's Paper, in his third part of the Hist. of the Ref.
p. 175." *Anonymus.*

P. 560. Paul III. See Amœn. Lit. tom. VII. p. 263.

P. 560. Julius III. See Father Paul, tom. I. p. 487.

P. 565. Doletus.

See *Ducatiana*, I. p. 51. 176. II. 346. Duchat says that the picture and
the elogium of Doletus are to be found in the *Icones* of Beza. They are not
in the Edition which I have, of Geneva, 1580. Stigelius made this Epi-
gram upon Doletus :

In DOLETUM.

*Esse tibi nomen potius debebat OLETO ;
Nam tua Musa sapit, præter OLETA, nihil.*

Melanchthon says to Camerarius :

Gallicum scriptum Doleti vidi, et cogito de aliquo instruendo, qui respondeat, καὶ ὁ Ἐρασμὸς ἐκ ἐκφύγει τὴν Ἀδράσειαν : sed displicet mihi petulantia in illo juvene. Epist. 732.

P. 572.

“ The Monasteries suppressed in 1535. were those only that were not able to expend clearly above two hundred pounds a year. See Tanner’s Notit. Monast. Pref. p. 37.” *Anonymus.*

P. 573. lin. 17.

See an Epistle of Melanchthon, upon the subject of Dæmoniacs. Epist. 572.

P. 580. Bullinger. See Simon Hist. Crit. des Comment. du N. T.

p. 371. Thuanus lib. LXI. p. 112.

P. 602. add :

Erasmus made frequent use of the flesh-brush, and recommended it to his friends :

Hac frictione quotidie utens hoc tempore, mane præsertim, Erasmus, tueri se incolumitatem valde imbecillis alioqui corporis putat ; meque obnixe monet ut faciam, ac studiosos præterea omnes. Sequor amici suasionem, et juvamentum sentio. Huttenus apud Burchard, Vit. Hutt. tom. III. p. 152.

P. 629.

In the first line of the third specimen read, *mi Bucere.* And p. 630. in the third line of the sixth specimen, for *exceptæ*, read *scriptæ*.

VOLUME II.

Pag. 86. **R**OBERTUS LICIENSIS.

Robert de la Lice (Licius or Liciensis) was a Cordelier, and a famous preacher in the time of Louis XI. Erasmus speaks of him in his Ecclesiastes. *Ducatiana*, I. 75.

P. 190.

Sir Chr. Wren could not come into the opinion that a Temple of Diana had stood where St. Paul’s was afterwards built. See Wren’s *Parentalia*, p. 266. 296. 302, 303.

P. 210. Grotius says :

Prophetis prophetia raro aderat cum Deus vellet, &c.

If you place a comma after *aderat*, the sense may be : *Prophetis prophetia raro aderat : aderat nempe cum Deus vellet ; neque ex Prophetarum arbitrio et voluntate pendebat.* And then the place will need no alteration.

P. 309. lin. ult.

Add

Add to this, that Grunnius, in his reply to the letter of Erasmus, says that he read it all to the Pope, and that, *Beatissimus Pater, ut stylo tuo visus est unice delectari, ita vix credas quam incanduerit adversus istos vere plagiarios, &c.*

This suits the character and temper of Leo X. a polite man and a man of letters ; but not the character of Julius II.

P. 372. lin. 18. a fine. — *θυμολέον*. Nuenarius would have said, or should have said, *θυμολέοντα*.

P. 568. Add to the note :

Aliquanto minus narro, quam res habet, tantum abest ut quicquam admentiar. Epist. 650.

P. 425. lin. 20. Valis.

He means Georgius Vala, or Valla, whom he hath mentioned in Epist. 1091. See Bayle, NEMESIUS.

P. 598. Not. z. add :

He says, in Epist. 318. — *Vitellius* vivus etiam male gesti imperii poenas dignas dedit ; quas et Nero daturus erat, ni supplicii foeditate deterritus, ipse sui carnifex esse maluisset. Quod quidem exemplum utinam in hæc usque tempora duraret, si quis, quod Deus omen avertat, similis illorum existeret. Nunc enim nihil est impunitius, quam, quod nulla satis gravis animadversio pensare queat, male obiti magistratus culpa.

P. 600. lin. 25. add :

“ Anno 1535. A dialogue between Pope Julius (who died 1503.) and St. Peter at Heaven gate, where the Pope is replied. Imprinted at the beginning. Translated into English. Printed at London. Cum priv. reg. Quarto.” *Ames* Typographical Antiquities, p. 496.

ERASMUS published two Catalogues of his Works. The first is an epistle to Botzem, which I have inserted in the Appendix, and which contains a large account of his writings. The second is a short epistle to Bœotius, written some years after, with a bare Catalogue or Index added to it.

Clement, in his *Bibliothèque*, tom. VIII. p. 81. censures Le Clerc for altering and interpolating these Catalogues. He makes a great outcry about a small matter : for the case is thus :

Le Clerc's edition, or the Leyden edition of Erasmus was copied throughout, as he also tells us, from the Basil edition of 1540. and some additional pieces were inserted ; and from this edition these two Catalogues are taken, without any alteration.

I have an edition of these Catalogues, printed at Basil, A. 1537. in the first page ; A. 1536. in the last page ; in which the second Catalogue differs in some things from that which was afterwards published in 1540.

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XIX.

* *Ornatissimo doctissimoque viro Thomæ^b Ruthalo, Regio apud Anglos Secretario, Thomas Morus S. P. D.*

SI quisquam fuit unquam, vir doctissime, qui Horatianum præceptum impleverit, voluptatemque cum utilitate conjunxerit, hoc ego certe Lucianum in primis puto præstitisse: qui et superciliosis abstinens philosophorum præceptis, et solutioribus poetarum lusibus, honestissimis simul et facetissimis salibus vitia ubique notat atque insectatur mortalium; idque facit tam scite, tantaque cum fruge, ut quum nemo altius pungat, nemo tamen sit, qui non æquo animo illius aculeos admittat. Quod quum nunquam non egregie faciat, fecisse tamen mihi singulari quodam modo videtur in tribus his dialogis, quos ob id ipsum e tanto festivissimorum numero potissimum delegi, quos verterem, aliis tamen alios fortasse longe prælaturis. Nam ut e virginibus non eandem omnes, sed alius aliam, pro suo cuiusque animo præfert deamatque, non quam præcipuam tuto possit asserere, sed quæ sibi videatur: ita e lepidissimis Luciani dialogis alius alium præop-
tat. Mihi certe isti præcipue placuerunt, neque temere tamen, uti spero, neque soli. Nam ut a brevissimo incipiam, qui *Cynicus* inscribitur, quique posse videatur ipsa brevitate contemni, nisi nos Horatius admoneret, sæpe etiam in exiguo corpore vires esse præstantiores, ipsique minimas etiam gemmas esse videremus in pretio; in ejus ergo delectu honorifico calculo mecum suffragatus est divus Joannes Chrysostomus, vir acerrimi judicii, doctorum ferme omnium Christianissimus, et Christianorum, ut ego certe puto, doctissimus, quem usque adeo dialogus hic delectabat, ut bonam ejus partem in Homiliam quandam quam in Joannis Evangelium commentatus est, inferuerit. Neque id immerito: quid enim placere magis, viro gravi vereque Christiano debuit, quam is dialogus, in quo dum aspera parvoque contenta Cynicorum vita defenditur, mollis atque enervata delicatiorum hominum luxuria reprehenditur; nec non eadem opera, Christianæ vitæ simplicitas, temperantia, frugalitas, denique arcta illa atque angusta via, quæ ducit ad vitam, laudatur? Jam^d *Necromantia*, nam hic secundo dialogo

^a To the Epistles of Sir T. More, after pag. 704, add this which is prefixed to his translation of some Dialogues of Lucian. ^b See Life of Erasmi. p. 24. 470. ^c Edit. Bas. p. 273. ^d *Necromantia*. titulus

titulus est, non satis auspicato vocabulo, sed materia tamen felicissima, quàm falsè taxat vel Magorum præstigias, vel inania poëtarum figmenta, vel incertas quavis de re philosophorum inter se digladiationes? Superest *Philopseudes*, qui non sine Socratica ironia totus versatur, id quod titulus ipse declarat, in ridenda coärguendaque mentiendi libidine; dialogus nescio certe lepidiorne, an utilior: in quo non valde me movet, quod ejus animi fuisse videatur, ut non satis immortalitati suæ confideret, atque in eo fuisse errore, quo Democritus, Lucretius, Plinius, plurimique itidem alii. Quid enim mea refert quid sentiat his de rebus Ethnicus, quæ in præcipuis habentur fidei Christianæ mysteriis? Hunc certe fructum nobis afferet iste dialogus, ut neque Magicis habeamus præstigiis fidem, et superstitione careamus, quæ passim sub specie religionis obrepit, tum vitam ut agamus minus anxiam, minus videlicet expavescentes tristitia quæpiam ac superstitiosa mendacia, quæ plerumque tanta cum fide atque autoritate narrantur, ut beatissimo etiam Patri Augustino, viro gravissimo, hostique mendaciorum acerrimo, nescio quisnam veterator persuaserit, ut fabulam illam de duobus Spurinis, altero in vitam redeunte, altero decedente, tanquam rem suo ipsius tempore gestam pro vera narraret, quam Lucianus in hoc dialogo, mutatis tantum nominibus, tot annis antequam Augustinus nasceretur, irrisit. Quo minus mireris, si pinguioris vulgi mentes suis figmentis afficiant ii, qui se tum demum rem magnam confecisse putant, Christumque sibi devinxisse perpetuo, si commenti fuerint aut de sancto aliquo viro fabulam, aut de inferis tragœdiam, ad quam vetula quæpiam aut delira lacrymetur, aut pavida inhorrescat. Itaque nullam fere martyris, nullam virginis vitam prætermiserunt, in quam non aliquid hujusmodi mendaciorum inseruerint, pie scilicet: alioqui enim periculum erat, ne veritas non posset sibi ipsa sufficere, nisi fulciretur mendaciis. Nec veriti sunt eam religionem contaminare figmentis, quam ipsa Veritas instituit, et in nuda voluit veritate consistere; nec viderunt usque adeo nihil istiusmodi fabulas conducere, ut nihil perniciosius officiat. Nempe ut memoratus Pater Augustinus testatur, ubi admixtum subolet mendacium, veritatis illico minuitur ac labefactatur autoritas. Unde sæpe mihi suspicio suboritur magnam hujusmodi fabularum partem a vafriis ac pessimis quibusdam nebulonibus hæreticisque confictam, quibus studium fuit partim ex incauta simplicium potius quam prudentium credulitate voluptatem capere, partim fabularum fictarum commercio fidem veris Christianorum historiis adimere: quippe qui frequenter quædam, his quæ in Sacra Scriptura continentur, tam vicina confingunt, ut facile se declarent adludendo luisse. Quamobrem quas Scriptura nobis historias divinitus inspirata commendat, eis indubitata fides habenda est. Cæteras vero ad Christi doctrinam, tanquam ad Critolai regulam, applicantes caute et cum judicio, aut recipiamus, aut respuamus, si carere volumus et inani fiducia, et superstitiosa formidine. Sed quo progredior? Epistola fere jam librum superat: nec interim tamen verbum de tuis laudibus ullum, in quas alius fortasse totus incubuisset, quarumque citra ullam adulandi suspensionem uberrimam mihi materiam præbuisset (ut cæteras virtutes tuas omittam) vel egregia doctrina tua, summaque in rebus agendis prudentia, quam tot in diversis nationibus, in tam arduis negotiis, tam feliciter actæ legationes declarant; vel singularis fides, gravitasque, quam

nisi

nisi satis perspectam exploratamque habuisset, nunquam te prudentissimus princeps sibi a secretis esse voluisset. Sed cæterarum virtutum tuarum prædicationi unica modestia tua reluctatur, quæ facit ut quum laudanda tam libenter facias, fecisse te tamen non libenter audias. Parco igitur pudori tuo: hoc unum duntaxat abs te precatus, ut has in Græcis literis studii mei primitias æquo animo suscipias, sinasque ut quaecunque apud te sint amoris officique in te mei monumentum; quas tibi sim ausus eo majori fiducia committere, quod etsi tam acre tibi iudicium sit, ut quicquid erratum fuerit nemo penetrantius videat, is tamen est ingenii tui candor, ut nemo libentius conniveat. Vale°.

^e It is remarkable that this Epistle of More is ascribed to Erasmus, in the Leyden Edit. Ep. 475. c. 1862. I have here restored it to it's owner.



Specimens

Specimens of HAND-WRITING.

N^o. I. Budæus. N^o. II. Albert Durer.

THESE two are transcribed from a curious and valuable collection of manuscript Letters, amongst which are the heads of many learned men. It belongs to the Dutch Church in Austin Fryars.

The title page runs thus :

Abrahami Ortelii Ant. et Cl. Virorum ad eum Epistolæ, paucae e plurimis. In ordinem Alphabeticum redactæ a Jacobo Colio Orteliano. Londini, CIO IOC III.

The letter of Budæus is to Morillonus, with whom Erasmus corresponded. It is directed *Doctissimo viro Guidoni Morilliono a Secretis Imperatoris.*

From the contents in this letter, which is not dated, I find that Budæus was more than seventy years old, and that Charles V. had paid a visit in France to Francis I. and had been received with great respect and joy. This happened A. 1540. the year in which Budæus died.

N^o. III. to N^o. XIII.

These are taken from manuscripts in the *Museum Britannicum*.

No. III. is of Polydore Virgil to Lee. No. IV. of Pace to Wolley. No. V. of More to Wolsey. No. VII. of Munster to Henry VIII. No. VIII. of Pole to Henry VIII. and No. IX. of Calvin to Edward VI.

I.

Commodum ad me venerat Egidius Perrinus vetus tuus amicus cum hoc epistolium scripsi, quod is mihi expressit tum maxime occupato, utpote postridie in aulam profecturo.

Budæus tibi amicissimus, idque tuo merito.

II.

f. 1524. am Mandag noch barbare zw. Nornberg.

Mein gantz willig dinst zwfor libr. her Nicolae ewer schreiben das mir zwcumen

E. w.
Albrecht Dürer.

III.

Ego putabam pacem diuturniorem, quæ vix nata subito cecidit, id quod Turca in rem suam esse cognoscit, qui nos possessione multarum rerum sibi cedere in dies singulos cogit, &c. Iterum vale.

Tuus Poly. Verg.

IV.

And thus Jesu preserve your Grace in long helth and continual prosperitie. ffrom Wyndesore thys xv off Octo. By your Graces most humble & faythfull servant

Ri. Pace.

I redde

(ammodum ad me venerat equidius perrimus vetus meus ami-
cus cum hoc epistolum scripsi, quod is a mihi expressit
num maxime occupato, utpote pos hunc in aula profecturo,

Adans tibi ami-
nissimus, id est mo
merito

† 1524 am Monday hof barbare Zm horuberg

22 Ein gantz willig dinst zu for lib for nicolae cruce schreiben das zur
zukunfft

L. 2

Albrust direct

ego putabam pacē diuturniorē — quā mihi
nata subito audir, id quod Turca in rem suā
esse agnoscer, qui nos possiderunt multas res
sibi addere in dies singulos cogit, &c. Item uale
— T—6 Poly. vitz.

And thus jesu profue yo' grace n' longe helts &
cōtinuallth prospect. ffrom wyndesore this xv
off octo. By yo' grace most humble & faytfull
suant

Ri. Pare.

Handwritten text at the top of the page, appearing to be a header or introductory line.

Second line of handwritten text, continuing the narrative or list.

Third line of handwritten text, showing a continuation of the script.

Fourth line of handwritten text, with some visible ink bleed-through from the reverse side.

Fifth line of handwritten text, featuring more pronounced cursive handwriting.

Sixth line of handwritten text, appearing as a distinct entry or section.

Seventh line of handwritten text at the bottom of the page, possibly a signature or conclusion.

the other side of the river
the bridge is very old
and the water is very
shallow. The bridge is
very old and the water
is very shallow. The
bridge is very old and
the water is very shallow.

the bridge is very old
and the water is very
shallow. The bridge is
very old and the water
is very shallow. The
bridge is very old and
the water is very shallow.

the bridge is very old
and the water is very
shallow. The bridge is
very old and the water
is very shallow. The
bridge is very old and
the water is very shallow.

the bridge is very old
and the water is very
shallow. The bridge is
very old and the water
is very shallow. The
bridge is very old and
the water is very shallow.

I redde also to his highnes yo^r said letters wrytten to me whych
his highnes very gladly heard and in the reding said that
yo^r gra^{ce} was worthy more thanke than he could geve you &c
It being the 11th day of September

yo^r humble orato^r & most bounden bedeman
Thomas More

Magnifico & prestantissimo viro D
Thomae Cromwello Secretiss & potentiss
REGIS angliae consiliario, amico &
patrono Venerando .S. &c. M DXXXVI

Iustus Jonas Doctor
p^{er} Vittenbergam

Bene valeat tua maiestas clementissime rex, & boni consulat hanc
meam audaciam. Basileae apud Heluetios octava Martij,
Anno salutis 1537.

Tuae mansuetudo Clientulus
Sebastianus Munsterus, cuius &
Hebraismi publicus professor Basiliensis.

Quamobrem si dignetur tua summa bonitas vel verbo, etz oratori significare
haec oia tibi grata acceptaqz esse, — ad similia posthac officia magis
accendantur. Quod ut facias a tua benignitate oibz precibus peto atqz
obsecro Deus. opt Max. te felicem reddat. patavij pridie cal. sextiles

Tuae summae benignitatis alumnus
Raynoldus polus

V.

I redde also to his Highnes your said letters wrytten to me which his Highnes very gladly herd and in the reding saied that your grace was worthy more thanks than he could geve you, &c.

At Oking the 3d day of Septembre

Your humble orator and most bounden bedeman
Thomas More.

VI.

Magnifico & præstantissimo viro D. Thomæ Cromwello sereniss. & potentiss. Regis Angliæ Consiliario, amico & patrono venerando S. &c.
MDXXXVI.

Justus Jonas Doctor P. Vittenbergenfis.

VII.

Bene valeat tua majestas, clementissime rex, & boni consulat hanc meam audaciam. Basileæ apud Helvetios octava Martii, Anno Salutis 1537.

Tuæ majestatis Clientulus Sebastianus
Munsterus, civis & Hebraismi
publicus professor Basiliensis.

VIII.

Quamobrem si dignetur tua summa bonitas vel verbo eorum oratori significare, hæc omnia tibi grata acceptaque esse, — ad similia posthac officia magis accendentur. Quod ut facias a tua benignitate omnibus precibus peto atque obsecro. Deus opt. max. te felicem reddat. Patavii, pridie Cal. sextiles.

Tuæ summæ benignitatis alumnus
Raynoldus Polus.

5 D 2.

Sire,

IX.

Sire, combien que je dois craindre d'importuner vostre Majesté, et que pour cela aussi je m'abstiens de vous écrire plus souvent ; toutefois j'ay pris maintenant la hardiesse de vous envoyer avec mes lettres une briefve exposition, que j'ay faicte sur le Pseaume 78. —

De Genève le 4 de Julliet 1552.

Vostre tres humble & obeissant Serviteur Jehan Calvin.

X.

humill. Stor. J. Car. Campegius.

XI.

Tuus Ja. Sadoletus.

XII.

Joannes Lincoln. (Longland.)

XIII.

Ste. Winton. (Gardiner.)

XIV.

Erasmi.

* Gemma.

Sigillum argenteum.

Annulus aureus.

Manubrium osseum.

* See above, p. 485.

F I N I S.

Sire, combien que ie lors craindro d'importuner V^{re} Ma^{te}ste
 et que p^o v^{re} aussi ie m'abs^{te}ns de v^{re} es^{te}re plus soiment
 toutesfois iay p^{re}is mad^{re}nat en gardi^{re} de v^{re} d^{re}mo^{re}z avec
 mes cr^{es} une briefve expositi^{on}, que iay faicte sur le
 ps^{al}me 78. —

De Rome le 4. de Fev^{re}. 1552.

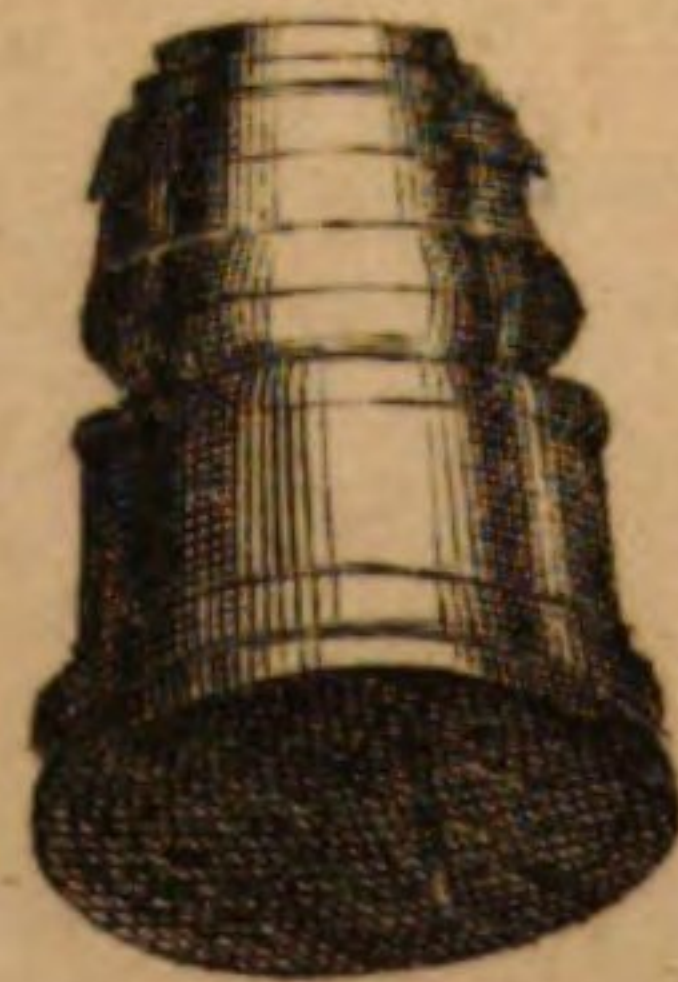
Vostre tres humble p^{re}obisat Jean de Hay Calvin

Jeunitt 8^{me} L^{re} Car. Lameper

Tous la sabbat 17

Jo^{se}ph Lin^{de}

Sto Winton



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100 - 2000000

Percutit nos hic vehementer casus Protectoris. quem si innocens
 patitur, dolemus: sin minus, dolemus etiam, et quidem acerbius.
 Aduersarij nostri hic, ea fama primo exultabant: nunc etiam
 poluerunt sibi restitutionem sua superstitionis etiam in
 istis bonis:

Joan. Schürmiers-

Quinde vixit ab eo affligit, quibusque via de
 hinc, affligit, ut regio vixit, hoc vixit
 puer in diphtheria &c

Valo 17 Kal. Martij. an. 1531

✓ capite
 digne p
 vixit vixit.

-Adolescentis

ipse ingenuus est spiritus aqz animo: et qd ad scriptum
 attinet velle iam fingit apertis, ut iam discubando
 magno possit usui vixit. Vobis ergo iuvimus id
 omnis impono ut cum &c.

XV.

^a Perculit nos hic vehementer casus Protectoris : quem si innocens patitur, dolemus : sin minus, dolemus etiam, & quidem acerbius. Adversarii nostri hic, ea fama primo exultabant : nunc etiam polidentur sibi restitutionem superstitionis etiam in istis locis.

Joan. Sturmius.

XVI.

Proinde vicissim abs te efflagito, quacumque via dabitur, efficias, ut regio responso, hoc nostrum studium non displicuisse, &c.

Vale, 17. Kal. Martii, an. 1531.

V. Capito
Argentinensis,
Ecclesiæ Minister.

XVII.

Adolescens ipse ingenuus est specie atque animo : & quod ad scripturam attinet belle jam fingit apices, ut jam describendo magno possit ufui esse. Vobis ergo invitatus id oneris impono ut eum, &c.

[Zuinglius]

^a These three are from the Library of Corpus-Christi College, Cambridge.

Above, p. 392. lin. 27.

— nullus lupo unquam fuit deteriore memoria.

Pliny lib. viii. c. 22. p. 451. Ed. Hard. Huic [Lupo cervario] quamvis in fame mandenti, si respexerit, oblivionem cibi subrepere aiunt, digressumque quærere aliud.

Pliny prudently gives us the story with an *aiunt*. Solinus is positive:

At hi, quos cervarios dicimus, quamvis post longa jejunia repertas ægre carnes mandere cœperint, ubi quid casu respiciunt, obliviscuntur, et immemores præsentis copiae, eunt quæsitum quam reliquerant satietatem. c. 2. p. 15.

Hence More took the hint, and applied it to Brixius, and made a proverb of it, which might be added to the *Adages* of Erasmus: *Lupo obliviosior*; and which may be applied to myself; for I had forgotten this passage of Pliny, at the time when I should have cited it.



